

Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus

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History of Buddhism

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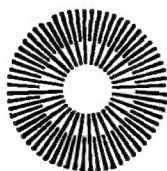
Bu-ston

I. Part

The Jewelry of Scripture

Translated from Tibetan by

Dr. E. Obermiller



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Dr. E. Obermiller

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With an Introduction by

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Introduction.

To European readers Tibetan historiography is known from Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India, translated simultaneously by two members of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science, W. P. Wassilieff into Russian and A. Schiefner into German.¹ But this is not the only work of this kind which the Tibetan literature contains. There are many others. Among them „The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet”²) by the great scholar *Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub-pa* (pronounce Budon Rinchenqub), also called Budon Rinpoche, is held in great esteem by Tibetan and Mongolian learned lamas. It is distinguished from the work of Tārānātha by the plan of its composition. It consists of three parts. The history proper is preceded by a systematical review of the whole of Buddhist literature so far as preserved in Tibet, and it is followed by a systematical catalogue of works, authors and translators of all the literature contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur collections. The first part is of an overwhelming scientific value. It represents a synthesis of everything which directly or remotely bears the stamp of Buddhism, that synthesis which is also the ultimate aim of the European investigation of that religion. The whole of its literature, sacred and profane, is here reviewed as divided in periods, schools and subject-matter. No one was better qualified for such a task than Budon, for he was one of the redactors of the Kanjur and Tanjur great collections in their final form. As a matter of fact his “History” is but an introduction and a systematical table of contents to the Narthañ editions of the Kanjur and Tanjur.

His work has not failed to attract the attention of European scholarship. Wassilieff quotes it in the first volume of his Buddhism, Sarat Candra Das has translated some excerpts out of it. I myself have published a translation in French, in the Muséeon 1905 (“Notes de littérature bouddhique. La littérature Yogācāra d’après Bou-

ston"), of the part devoted to the literature of the Yogācāra school, and, in English, of the part dealing with the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivādins, included in Prof. Takakusu's work on the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivādins. In the years 1927 and 1928 I have interpreted the work to my pupil E. E. Obermiller making it the subject of our seminary study. He then has made an English translation which was revised by me and is now published, thanks to the kind attention accorded to it by the Heidelberg Society for the Investigation of Buddhist Lore and by its president Professor M. Walleser.

The translation of the first part, now published, was not an easy task, since it consists predominantly of quotations, many of them having the form of mnemonic verse (kārikā's). They had to be identified and their commentaries consulted. With very few exceptions all has been found out by E. E. Obermiller in the Tanjur works. The high merit of this self-denying, absorbing and difficult work will, I have no doubt, be fully appreciated by fellow scholars who have a personal experience of that kind of work.

Budon Rinpoche was a native of Central Tibet. He lived in the years 1290—1364. He consequently belongs to the old school of Tibetan learning, the school which preceded the now dominant Gelugpa sect (the yellow-caps) founded by *Tsoṅkhapa*. Besides the History he has written many other works. A full block-print edition of all his works in 15 volumes has recently appeared in Lhasa. No copy of it has as yet reached Leningrad. Among his works there is one on logic, *Tshad-ma-rnam-ñes-pai-bsdus-don* = *Pramāṇa-viniścaya-piṇḍārtha*, with his own commentary. A block-print containing his biography (*rnam-thar*) is in my possession. It will be analyzed by E. E. Obermiller in the Introduction also dealing with the sources of Tibetan historiography, which will be attached to the translation of the whole work. The Translation is made from the text of the old block-print edition, a copy of which is found in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R.

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[Salutation to Buddha 1. 1—2 a. 4.]

Saluted be the blessed Buddha, the Lion of the Çākya clan.

1. (a) [Victorious be the Buddha], the Sun,¹⁾ who, nourished by the nectar of His Creative Effort²⁾ and of His virtuous deeds,³⁾ has appeared, shining with the beautiful lustre of unthinkable forbearance,
(b) and has attained the limits of His Three Bodies,⁴⁾ a precious jewel of immeasurable value, swiftly moving by the force of His previous vows, and who, being (the Absolute), free from the attire of differentiation into subject and object,⁵⁾
(c) is a leader in those vast skies,⁶⁾ where the clouds⁷⁾ of both the Obscurations⁸⁾ are dispersed, whose nature it is to move from East to West in pursuit of the welfare of others in its various forms,⁹⁾
(d) He, who by His immaculate word, — a light with millions of rays, producing heat, which he expands from region to region,
2. (a) Darkens the lustre of Brahma,¹⁰⁾ Viṣṇu,¹¹⁾ Manmatha, Çiva,¹²⁾ Gaṇeṣa,¹³⁾ Skanda¹⁴⁾, Indra,¹⁵⁾ Bṛhaspati¹⁶⁾ and the other (gods), —
(b) a multitude of planets, that shine with great pride, claiming to be the guides¹⁷⁾ in these three worlds,¹⁸⁾ [2 a]
(c—d) and blinds¹⁹⁾ that swarm of owls — the sages Kapila, Akṣapāda,²⁰⁾ Bādarāyaṇa,²¹⁾ the Digambaras,²²⁾ Cārvākas, Vyāsa, Dantavakra, Valmiki and the rest, stopping their course;
3. (a) at whose appearance, (like) bees, full of desire to behold (the flower), to enjoy its fragrant odour, and that exquisite honey, which gives delight to the senses, humming and infatuated with pride,
(b) the Çrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattvas, those worthy receptacles of heavenly bliss, assemble,²³⁾
(c) As that celestial flower — the Nirvāṇa²⁴⁾, — unfolds its leaves and expands its odour through the ten quarters of the sky.
(d) Victorious be He, this Buddha, the gem of Heaven, who has attained the double aim (of all human activity) and created the nectar of Omniscience!

[Salutation to the Compilers of Scripture and to the great Teachers of Buddhism 2 a. 4—b. 2.]

4. (a) [I bow before the Compilers of the Doctrine]²⁶) who, for the sake of vanquishing the evil teachings of an Eternal Soul and of Nihilism,²⁶) — though (themselves) they were free from all confusion, —
 (b) to reject the contempt of the Gods of Light²⁷), — though the eight egoistic qualities of praise,²⁸) censure and the rest had been abandoned (by them) before, —
 (c) and, out of compassion for living beings, to secure a long existence for the Teaching (of Buddha), — though they had renounced all wordly attachments, —
 (d) have collected the Doctrine from the mass of (Buddha's) Speeches and written it down.²⁹)
5. (a) I salute the Assembly of the Saints,³⁰) the Teachers free from error, whose greatness the highest of Buddhas had foretold, the Propagators of the Doctrine, who, thoroughly apprehending the stainless work (of Buddha) [2 b.],
 (b) in full possession of all the great Lord's Highest Truth, have duly expounded the systems of the Three Vehicles,³¹)
 (c) and made the Teacher's Word perfectly clear; them, who, endowed with great wisdom and a powerful mind,
 (d) have mercifully composed elucidating works.³²)
 [Salutation to the Translators of Scripture, the Sages of Tibet and the Author's own Teachers. 2 b. 2—4]
6. (a) The perfect Translators of the mighty streams of Words, that descend from the snowy mountain of Buddha's Omniscience,
 (b) and those of the holy Compilers of the Doctrine,³³)
 (c) and of that Lake, adorned by the lotuses of explanatory works³⁴)
 (d) — the noble Lotsavas and Paṇḍitas, I honour with a reverential bow.
7. (a) [The Elephants], who, covered by the golden net of the Three Disciplines,³⁵)
 (b) the four methods of Propaganda³⁶) being their powerful well-grown tusks,
 (c) have vanquished in contest their adversaries by speech, controversy and works, —
 (d) the great Sages of Tibet,³⁷) I worship.
8. (a) [Those swords], which, obtained from the precious element of the Doctrine,
 (b) hardened in the fire³⁸) of Perfect Analysis,

- (c) and endowed with the vigour of fine words,³⁹)
 (d) rent asunder the net of my mind's doubts, —
9. (a) The Assembly of Lamas,
 (b) the twelve, who are weighty by the burden of their virtue,
 (c) and, foremostly, the six Teachers full of benevolence,
 (d) I look to for protection with a devoted mind.
 [Introduction. 2 b. 5—3 a.₃.]
10. (a) Cherished by teachers, affectionate as a mother,
 (b) in that Garden of Lotuses, — the Man-Lion's perfect Word,
 (c) like a bee, full of delight, clinging to its flowers,
 (d) the mind grows wide in the boundless Doctrine.
11. (a) Therefore, the ocean of Çākya's Word,
 (b) the immeasurable, infinite, I wish to cross,
 (c) and, though unable of penetrating into its depth,
 (d) why should I not secure the precious jewel of its marvellous meaning?
12. (a) But though I have obtained it, it will be, like a jewel in a beggar's hands,
 (b) my composition, pure and stainless (by itself),
 (c) but defiled by the spirit of rivalry, hatred, and envy (of others).
 (d) Who, therefore, will accept it, as an object of appreciation⁴⁰) and belief? [3 a.]
13. (a) Nevertheless, though disregarded (by enemies), why should not this nectar of the Highest Doctrine,⁴¹)
 " (b) remove my own mental agony,
 (c) and if, moreover, it would be accepted by some (friendly critics),
 (d) would it not appease the fever of their painful doubts?
14. (a) Therefore, to relieve the poverty of my own mind,
 (b) and, amongst those that strive for religion,
 (c) to magnify the triumph of the greatest of doctrines, —
 (d) I open the doors to the Jewelry of Scripture.
15. (a) From it, of the various Vehicles, the great and the small,
 (b) the diverse jewels of their meaning shall come forth,
 (c) which I present to you without restraint.
 (d) May you, full of delight, partake of them as you desire!

Book I.

[A Review of Buddhist Teachings.]

3 a. 3.

Our Teacher, the Foremost of the Çākṛyas, endowed with the four miraculous powers,⁴²⁾ as with a four-membered army, has vanquished in battle the Evil One,⁴³⁾ whereupon, having united the converts (to His Faith) within the sphere of His Church⁴⁴⁾ by the four methods of propaganda,⁴⁵⁾ He has revealed (His) Doctrine in all its (three) forms.⁴⁶⁾

The most holy regents of Buddha's religious realm⁴⁷⁾ have duly preserved this teaching of virtue, which, being the foundation of happiness and welfare for all living beings, including the gods, must be zealously maintained. No other means exists for this, but only preaching the Doctrine and acting according to it, and, as action requires previous study (of the Doctrine) and preaching (of it to others), one must be aware of the methods for practising both.

There are four (such methods): —

- I. Recognition of the merit, gained by studying and preaching the Highest Doctrine,
- II. Knowledge of the true character of this teaching, which is to be studied and preached,
- III. Consideration and fulfillment of the rules prescribed for study and teaching, [3 b. and]
- IV. (Knowledge) of the way in which the Doctrine took its origin (— the History of Buddhism).

I. The Merit of Studying and Preaching the Doctrine.

(It is necessary to distinguish) two (principal topics): —

- A. The merit of study and of preaching with regard to the Highest Doctrine in general.
- B. The special merit of studying and teaching the Doctrine of Mahāyāna.

The merit of Studying and Teaching the Doctrine in general.

- A. Three kinds of merit (are to be regarded here): —
- a) of Study,
 - b) of Teaching,
 - c) of both together.

The merit of Study.

Aa. The *Bodhisattvapitaka* says:⁴⁸⁾ —

- (1) He, that studies, comes to know the Doctrine,
- (2) He, that studies, will abstain from sinful deeds,
- (3) He, that studies, will reject all that is vain,
- (4) He, that studies, attains Nirvāṇa.

According to the *Vyākhyāyukti*,⁴⁹⁾ the four lines of this verse respectively mean: —

- (1.) Knowledge of the doctrines to be accepted or rejected through an investigation of orthodox and heretical philosophical systems.
- (2.) Subjection to Moral Discipline⁵⁰⁾ and rejection of immoral conduct.
- (3.) Subjection to Mental Discipline⁵¹⁾ and abandonment of vain desires.
- (4.) Subjection to training in Highest Wisdom,⁵²⁾ and through it — destruction of passions with Nirvāṇa as the result.

Otherwise: —

- (1.) Acquirement of the right philosophical point of view,
- (2.) Liberation from defilement,⁵³⁾ such as the influence of former deeds,⁵⁴⁾
- (3.) passions,⁵⁵⁾ and
- (4.) the remaining elements of phenomenal existence.⁵⁶⁾

And in third way: —

- (1.) Devotion to the Doctrine and religious discipline,
- (2.) Monastic life,
- (3.) Suppression of the senses;⁵⁷⁾ this leads to liberation from passions, that arise from vain desires, and thus to rejection of all that is harmful.
- (4.) Knowledge of the (Four) Truths (of the Saint) conducive to Nirvāṇa.

It is said in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:⁵⁸⁾ — Five kinds of merit, (obtained) through studying the Doctrine, have been mentioned by the Lord: —

- (1.) Study of matters unknown before,
- (2.) Reconsideration of the parts studied,⁵⁹⁾
- (3.) Solution of doubt,
- (4.) Establishment of a correct view, [4 a.] and
- (5.) Knowledge of the words and the deepest sense of the Climax of Wisdom.⁶⁰⁾

The meaning of this is, taken respectively: —

- (1.) Extensive study,⁶¹⁾
- (2.) Elucidation and perfect clearness (of the object studied),
- (3.) Acquirement of certainty,
- (4.) Consideration (of objects) from the correct point of view,
- (5.) Knowledge of the (Four) truths (of the Saint).⁶²⁾

It is said (with regard to this passage), that the first two points convey complete clearness of the wisdom obtained by study,⁶³⁾ the next two — of that arising from investigation,⁶⁴⁾ and the last — of that, which is the result of deepest meditation.⁶⁵⁾

It is said further on:⁶⁶⁾ —

In studying the Highest Doctrine, there is merit⁶⁷⁾ of five kinds: —

- (1.) Things, unknown before, are apprehended,
- (2.) False points of view abandoned,
- (3.) Matters doubtful — made certain,
- (4.) The ascertained truth is internally realized, and
- (5.) The Saint's pure vision of the Absolute truth attained.⁶⁸⁾

Again:⁶⁹⁾ —

Water renders service of five kinds: — it moistens rice-grains etc., cleanses body, clothes, and vessels, withdraws the suffering of the body in the hot season, appeases thirst and heat, and, giving rise to grass, corn, and woods, causes them to thrive.

In like way, faith in the word of Buddha having arisen, hardened hearts are made soft, the stains of immorality purged, the burning heat of passions appeased, thirst for repeated births in the Samsāra quenched, and roots, seeds, and woods of virtue, harmonizing with Enlightenment⁷⁰⁾ are produced and caused to thrive. These five kinds of service may otherwise mean — acquirement of faith and achievement of the three Disciplines with action corresponding to them. [4 a.]

Therefore, if there be a desire to obtain such help, the word of Buddha must be studied with devotion.

Fire does four kinds of work:⁷¹⁾ — it consumes, cooks, singes, and illuminates. Similar is the fire of Buddha's Word, destroying all that is sinful in the converted,⁷²⁾ bringing to maturity the roots of virtue in those on the path to conversion, causing pain to those, that take delight in the Samsāra by creating disgust (to it) and giving light, — by showing the right way and the wrong to the sorrowful, the doubting, and to those, that have gone astray. For this reason, the Doctrine is to be zealously studied.

A pleasant sandy-beach⁷³⁾ is frequented for five (different motives, namely, to wash, to obtain refreshment, to appease thirst, to enjoy mirthful sport (in the water)⁷⁴⁾, and to cross from this shore to the opposite. Accordingly, the pleasant soil of Buddha's Word, (that resembles such a sandy-beach) is repaired to for the sake of removing the stains of immorality, appeasing the heat of passions and the thirst for repeated births,⁷⁵⁾ enjoying the pleasure of possessing the special virtues of mystic absorption,⁷⁶⁾ the (six) supernatural faculties,⁷⁷⁾ the (four) limitless feelings,⁷⁸⁾ the (eight) degrees of liberation (from materiality)⁷⁹⁾ etc., and, finally, for passing from this shore of real individuality⁸⁰⁾ to the opposite of (impersonal) Nirvāṇa. Consequently, those desirous of betaking themselves to the pleasant sandy-beach, must devotedly study the Word of Buddha. —

The Merit of Preaching.

I Ab. (This merit is of four kinds):

- a₁. (The propagation of the Doctrine) is the highest means of worshipping Buddha the Teacher.
- b₁. (It) is superior to material gifts and more serviceable,
- c₁. Secures a good memory⁸¹⁾ and intellectual power,
- d₁. Augments virtue and leads to Enlightenment.

Worship of Buddha by Preaching the Doctrine.

I Aba₁. (The Teacher says): —

Wherever, for helping (living beings),
My Doctrine be duly preached, I shall be worshipped (through this),

But as to the offerings of flowers, ointments, and lamps, —
Such are no real means for honouring a Buddha. —

Superiority to material gifts.

I Abb₁. The *Maitreya-simhanāda-sūtra*⁸²) says: —

If one completely fills (all) the worlds of the Buddhas⁸³)
Which are (numberless) as the sands of the Ganges
With the seven kinds of treasures,
Thus joyfully sacrificing to the Lord;
And if another one delivers a verse (of Scripture)
To a single living being,
The great offering of precious jewels
Is unable to match, even by its number, even partly,
This gift of a verse that is granted out of mercy.
The merit of two or three (such verses) is, therefore, beyond
evaluation. —

And⁸⁴)

If one, who sacrifices gold and jewels,
Immeasurable as the sands of the Ganges,
Be compared to another who in bad times,
Pronounces a single verse (of Scripture),
The help that the latter affords, shall not be found with the
former. —

Good Memory as a result of expounding Scripture.

I Abc₁. It is said in the *Simha-paripṛcchā*:⁸⁵) —

He that grants the gift of Scripture, comes to remember his
previous births. —

And in the *Sāgara-nāgarāja-paripṛcchā*:⁸⁶) —

By the gift of Scripture the supernatural faculty of
destroying passions is intensified. —

And the *Ratnāvalī*:⁸⁷) —

Recollecting the ultimate aim of the Doctrine,
And, likewise, the meaning of the sacred texts, [5 b.]
And granting the pure gift of Scripture (to others), —
— All this secures remembrance of previous states of existence.

Augmentation of virtue through preaching the Doctrine.

I Abd₁. It is to be read in the *Adhyāçaya-samcodana-sūtra*:⁸⁸)
(Buddha said): — O, Maitreya, the merit of that immaterial
gift of him, who, free from the desire of gain and renown,

bestows the Teaching (upon others), is twentyfold, as follows:

He is possessed of a good memory (1)

and intellect (2),⁸⁹

of discrimination (3),⁹⁰

faith (4),

and philosophical insight (5);

he penetrates (the sphere of) the Highest Wisdom of a Saint (6),⁹¹

becomes devoid of passions (7),

of enmity (8),

and of ignorance (9), and

offers no opportunity⁹² to the Evil One (for harming him) (10).

He is, furtheron, respected by the Buddhas (11),

protected by spirits (12),⁹³ and

endowed with corporeal beauty and strength,⁹⁴

bestowed upon him by the gods (13).

He presents no vulnerable points to his enemies (14),

and is never deserted by his friends (15).

Moreover, (he becomes one), whose words are trustworthy (16),

secures (the four kinds of) moral intrepidity (17),⁹⁵

is full of mental satisfaction (18), and

praised by the Wise (19).

And, finally, his gift of Scripture will be remembered in times to come (20).

Such, o Maitreya, is this twentyfold merit!

And the *Çikṣā-samuccaya*⁹⁶ says: —

The immaterial gift of Scripture

Is the cause for virtue to be augmented.

The merit of study and preaching taken together.

I Ac. (Three kinds of merit are to be distinguished):

a₁. Increase of that element (of virtue, through which a human being from nature belongs to the family of one) of the three Vehicles;⁹⁷

b₁. General esteem, through becoming learned.

c₁. Attainment of Enlightenment through observation (of the precepts) of the Doctrine.

Increase of the element of virtue.

I Aca₁. The *Vyākhyāyukti* says:⁹⁸ —

The seed of virtue, (that leads to) heavenly bliss,

And that of Highest Wisdom, through which Nirvāṇa is attained, [6 a]

Are caused to thrive by him, who studies (the Doctrine) full of faith.

And a Commentary adds: — The Wisdom, that is obtained by study, gives increase to the element of attention.

(Here the following objection may be met with): All that has just been said, concerns only the merit of study, but is not correct as regards preaching, for study and preaching are not the same thing. (Such an objection) is not founded, for, says the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*:⁹⁹⁾ — Apprehension, recitation, and preaching, ¹⁰⁰⁾are to be regarded as having (all of them) one origin, which is study.

Honour through becoming learned.

I Acb. The *Āgamavibhanga* says:¹⁰¹⁾ —

He that has extensively studied, reaps merit of five kinds: —

- 1) Proficiency in (the theory of) the (5) groups of elements,¹⁰²⁾
- 2) „ „ „ „ „ the (18) component elements of an individual,¹⁰³⁾
- 3) „ „ „ „ „ the (12) bases of cognition,¹⁰⁴⁾
- 4) „ „ „ „ „ causality,¹⁰⁵⁾
- 5) One's instructions and precepts will not depend on others.

It is said in the *Jātakas*:¹⁰⁶⁾ —

1.¹⁰⁷⁾ Knowledge is a light, that disperses the gloom of ignorance

the greatest of treasures, which thieves etc. cannot rob,
a weapon, vanquishing the all-deluding enemy,¹⁰⁸⁾
and the best adviser, that guides one by instructions, morals,
and means.

2. It is the great treasury of fame and glory,¹⁰⁹⁾
the special cause¹¹⁰⁾ for receiving presents from persons
of high rank,

for giving delight to the learned in (their) assemblies,
and for blinding one's adversaries, like the light of the sun.

3.¹¹¹⁾ (Moreover, it is the cause) of refined and brilliant flash
of ideas, —

a sudden enclosure of great fame, — and

4. of good style.

Its full splendour knowledge attains in clear perception of reality¹¹²) through deep meditation.¹¹³)

4)¹¹⁴) Having acquired learning, one stands firmly and free from contradiction,
on the path of the three aims¹¹⁵) (of man in life),
internally realizes them according to one's learning,
[6 b.] and is easily delivered from the dungeon of births.

Attainment of Enlightenment through observation of the precepts of the Doctrine.

I Acc. Preaching and Study (both of them) lead to observation of the religious precepts, as says the *Abhidharmakośa*.¹¹⁶) — Observation (of the precepts) consists exclusively in preaching and acting according to them.
All the merit of keeping the Doctrine is beyond the reach of human intellect.

The *Tathāgata-guhyā-nirdeśa*¹¹⁷) says: —

All the virtues (attained through) keeping the Highest Doctrine, have been ardently proclaimed by all the Buddhas during millions of aeons, but still (up to this time), their number is not exhausted.

The *Sāgaramati-paripṛcchā*¹¹⁸) says: —

- 1.¹¹⁹) He that keeps the Highest Doctrine of the Buddhas is favoured by them, as well as by gods, Nāgas and Kinnaras, favoured on account of his virtue and wisdom.
- 2.¹²⁰) He, that keeps the Highest Doctrine of the Buddhas becomes endowed with a good memory, discernment and intellectual power, with great wisdom and divine knowledge, — a sage that rejects all that is sinful and the inclination (towards passions).
- 3.¹²¹) He, that keeps the Highest Doctrine of the Buddhas protects the world as Indra or Brahma, becomes a universal sovereign, a chieftain of men, and, full of mental delight, attains Enlightenment.

Such and many other kinds of merit have been mentioned.

I B. The merit of studying and preaching the Doctrine of Mahāyāna (is of three kinds): —

- a. Superiority with regard to the merits of the Small

- a. Vehicle and augmentation of the Mahāyānistic family — from the initial time of taking the vow of a Bodhisattva.¹²²⁾
- b. Removal of all the obscurations and, through this, superiority to every other kind of virtue — when abiding on the (Mahāyānistic) Path.¹²³⁾
- c. Certainty of attaining omniscience — at the time of final Illumination.¹²⁴⁾ [7 a.]

Predominance over Hīnayānistic virtues.

I Ba. It is to be read in the *Prajñāpāramitā*:¹²⁵⁾ —

(Buddha asked): O Ananda, if the living beings in all the millions of worlds, were to become, all of them, Saints of the Small Vehicle (Arhats), what thinkest thou would be the virtues of such saints, that have their origin in charity, pure morals, and deep meditation?¹²⁶⁾ Would not the aggregate of these virtues be abundant? — O Lord, o Blissful, great and abundant would it be, — was the answer. The Lord said: — However, o Ananda, if a Bodhisattva recites, to whomsoever it may be, even for a single day, the Doctrine, that contains the Climax of Wisdom, the aggregate of his virtues will be greater.

And further on:¹²⁷⁾— This gift of Scripture, o Ananda, that is granted by the Bodhisattva, prevails over all the roots of virtue that exist in all living beings adhering to the Small Vehicle.¹²⁸⁾ —

Superiority to every other kind of virtue, when abiding on the Path.

I Bb. It is said in the *Uttaratantra*:¹²⁹⁾ —

1. One, that strives for Enlightenment, daily¹³⁰⁾ presents to the Buddhas their immeasurable worlds, filled with gold and jewels;
Another, if he hears a single word (of Mahāyānistic Scripture) and through this comes to faith, will attain merit, greater than that of an offering.

2. One, wise and desirous to attain Supreme Enlightenment, through many aeons,
preserves, without difficulty, body, speech and mind in stainless chastity; [7 b.]

Another, if he hears a single word (of Mahāyānistic Scripture) and through this comes to faith,
; attains merit greater, than that of pure morality.

3. One, suppressing the fire of passion in the three spheres of existence,¹³¹⁾
 abides in mystic absorption, which transfers him to the
 abode of the gods and that of Brahma¹³²⁾
 and is a sure means of attaining final Enlightenment;
 Another, if he hears a single word (of Mahāyānistic Scrip-
 ture) and through this comes to faith,
 attains merit greater than that of deepest meditation.
4. As charity brings about (wordly) enjoyment,
 pure morals — (the attainment of) heavenly bliss,
 deep meditation — the rejection of passions,
 and Highest Wisdom — removal of all the obscurations, —
 the (latter) is the greatest of virtues — and its source
 is study.

Attainment of Omniscience.

I Bc. It is said in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:¹³³⁾ —

- 1.¹³⁴⁾ He, that makes an effort to retain two verses (of Scripture
 whether merely their words or their meaning), —
 is the wisest of living beings, that comes to reap tenfold
 merit:
- 2.¹³⁵⁾ Full increase of the elements of virtue,¹³⁶⁾ (1)
 highest delight at the hour of death, (2)
 rebirth, according to one's desire, (3)
 remembrance of all previous births, (4)
- 3.¹³⁷⁾ Encounter with Buddhas,¹³⁸⁾ (5)
 study of the High Vehicle obtained from them, (6)
 faith connected with knowledge, (7)
 the two media for Enlightenment,¹³⁹⁾ (8—9)
 and attainment of the latter at an early date. (10)

In other works a great deal more is mentioned (with regard
 to the merit of Study and Preaching), but, for fear of too much
 detail, we do not enlarge upon it.

These parts omitted are of a similar subject matter as the
 (following verse of the) *Vyākhyāyukti*:¹⁴⁰⁾ —

If¹⁴¹⁾ the essential part of the Doctrine, the meaning
 of the Sūtras, comes to be studied,
 He that makes (the pupils) devoted to study and obser-
 vation (of the Teaching),
 Must first of all mention its aim.

II. General Review of the Scripture of Buddhism, the Doctrine to be studied and preached.

(The Sanscrit term for the Doctrine of Buddhism is *dharma*. As this word has many different meanings, it is necessary to know): —

- A. The various objects that bear the appellation of *dharma*.
- B. The etymology of the word.
- C. Definition and [8 a.]
- D. The various kinds of *dharma* (when the word appears in the sense of the Doctrine or of what is taught by it).

The different meanings of dharma.

II A. The word *dharma* has ten different meanings, as says the *Vyākhyāyukti*.¹⁴² —

Dharma means:

- 1) an element of existence (in general),
- 2) the Path,
- 3) Nirvāṇa,^{143a}
- 4) a non-sensuous element,^{143b}
- 5) virtue,
- 6) life,
- 7) the Doctrine,
- 8) (the quality of) constant becoming,
- 9) religious vow, and
- 10) worldly law.

Accordingly¹⁴⁴ 1) (in the sentence) — “the *dharma*s, of which some belong to the phenomenal world¹⁴⁵) and some are eternal,”¹⁴⁶ *dharma* means an element of existence (in general).¹⁴⁷)

- 2) (It has been said): — “The true philosophical insight¹⁴⁸) is *dharma*”; — here the word signifies the Path.
- 3) In “I seek refuge in the *dharma*” — the meaning applied to the word is — Nirvāṇa.
- 4) In the term “the *dharma* — base of cognition (*dharma-āyatana*)” — *dharma* is used in the sense of (a non-sensuous element), corresponding to the receptive faculty of the intellect.¹⁴⁹)
- 5) It is said: “The noble ladies in the queen’s attendance and the young princes behave, with regard to each other,

according to *dharma*;" — in such a context the word *dharma* is synonymous with „virtue.“

- 6) "Worldlings are attached to the present, the worldly *dharma*;" — the meaning of *dharma* is here — life.
- 7) (Buddha said): "The *dharma* is, as follows — the Sūtras etc." In this place the term *dharma* is equivalent to "the Doctrine".
- 8) (It is said): "This body is endowed with the *dharma* of decrepitude;" — in this sentence *dharma* stands for (the quality of) constant becoming (change).¹⁵⁰⁾
- 9) In "the four *dharma*s of a monk"¹⁵¹⁾ — *dharma* is used in the sense of "religious vow".
- 10) "The *dharma* of a country, the *dharma* of a tribe (or caste)." — The meaning of the word is here "worldly law (or custom)".

These are the principal (objects, designated by the appellation of *dharma*). There are, however (still others), not included in their number, for in the verse: —

An object is recognised by (its) *dharma*,
but not by that, which is not *dharma*,
the word has the sense of a quality, which, in logic, forms
the object of inference, in the affirmative (*dharma*) or negative (not-*dharma*) sense.

Etymology of 'dharma'.

- II B. The word *dharma* is a derivate of the verbal root *dhṛ*, which signifies "to hold" (to bear, maintain, support, withhold, etc.) Accordingly 1) The elements of existence (in general, are *dharma*s, being the bearers (holders) of the twofold essence, — the Particular,¹⁵²⁾ to begin with that of matter, which is impenetrability,¹⁵³⁾ and up to that of Omniscience — direct perception of all elements of existence (in a single moment), [8 b] and of the Universal, as — impermanence, (the Universal Essence) of all (active) elements of the phenomenal world, phenomenal reality — that of all elements influenced by defiling agencies, nonsubstantiality — of all (separate) elements in general, and Quiescence — of every kind of Nirvāṇa.
- 2) (Mental phenomena), corresponding to the intellectual faculty are *dharma*s, being the bearers of their Particular Essence on one side, and being perceived (held) by the intellect, — on the other.

- 3) Life is *dharma*, as it sustains bodily existence and the uniformity of species.
- 4) The Doctrine — “of the Sūtras etc.” as says the *Vyākhyāyukti*,¹⁵⁴ “(is *dharma*), as it is a bearer of true and incontrovertible meaning”.
- 5) (The quality of) constant becoming is *dharma* by being a support of perpetual origination.
- 6) (A religious vow) — by being held by a person, that performs acts of religious observance.
- 7) Worldly law (or custom) — by maintaining the habits of a country or race.

The Path, Nirvāṇa, and virtue are all of them *dharma*s, as they withhold from (moral) fall. (One must distinguish): 1) preservation from fall into evil births and 2) that from falling into the Samsāra.

- 1) The *Udānavarga*¹⁵⁵ says: —

In this world and beyond it

those that have practised *dharma* sleep in peace.

Here the word means practice of the ten virtues,¹⁵⁶ or of (the four stages of) mystic absorption (*dhyāna*) and of the (four kinds of) meditation which transfer into the immaterial sphere,¹⁵⁷ — by him, that has obtained faith in the Law of Retribution and adheres to the correct point of view with regard to this world. Such practice is *dharma* as it withholds from fall into evil births. This (kind of *dharma*) is likewise to be found in some of the heterodox systems.

- 2) That which preserves from fall into transmigratory existence is Nirvāṇa “the highest ideal of those, that have taken refuge in the Teaching of Buddha and become dispassionate,”¹⁵⁸ and the Path, by which it is attained, with its preliminary stages.¹⁵⁹ [9 a.]

The Mahāyānistic Nirvāṇa, Path, and Doctrine (are *dharma*s, withholding from fall into the Small Vehicle. The high knowledge of Relativity,¹⁶⁰ Love, and Great Commiseration¹⁶¹ etc. taken together, prevent from falling into the Samsāra and the (egoistic, Hinayānistic) Nirvāṇa.¹⁶²) The special Etymology of the (Sanskrit) term *saddharma* — the Highest Doctrine — applied to Buddhism.

The word *sat* = High, may be taken to mean "the Supreme Buddha"; the Doctrine (*dharma*), being taught by Him, is *saddharma* — the Doctrine of the High One. (the compound *sad-dharma* is in this case of the *tatpuruṣa*, *ṣaṣṭhisamāsa* type: *sato* = *sambuddhasya dharma iti saddharmaḥ*).

Otherwise — *sat* may have the sense of "that which is the highest"; the Doctrine, through being such, is *sad-dharma* — the Highest Doctrine. Here the compound is (a *karmadhāraya* — *sañ ca dharmaḥ ce' ti saddharmaḥ*), in which the two members are in apposition.¹⁶³)

In a third way (*sat* may signify a virtuous person) and, the Doctrine, as its precepts are to be observed by such a person, — as, for instance, the four great vows of a monk, — is *saddharma* — the Doctrine for a high, virtuous being (*sataḥ satpuruṣasya caritavyo dharma iti saddharmaḥ*).

Definition of dharma in the sense of the Doctrine.

II C. (First of all) it is necessary to make the following ascertainment: — the Highest Doctrine is, — viewed from the point of its principal subject-matter, — virtue, the Path, and Nirvāṇa, and, — from the point of view of its expression in speech, — Scripture.

It is defined as "that, which being relied upon, is a means for human beings to remove (moral) defilement, as it is said: —

The Highest Doctrine is that, which puts an end to all phenomenal existence,

And to every kind of defilement.

Here it is necessary to distinguish, — the Doctrine as the practice,¹⁶⁴) and the Doctrine as the theory, the word of Scripture.¹⁶⁵) The *Abhidharmakośa* says:

The Teacher's Doctrine is of two kinds, —

Scripture and (its) subject-matter (— the positive part).

The Doctrine, viewed as (the positive part of) the subject-matter is defined as "deliverance from passions and that, by means of which such is attained".

The *Uttaratantra*¹⁶⁶) says: —

The Doctrine has its essence in the two (last) truths (of the Saint),

that which represents liberation from passions,

and that which leads to it, — the Truth of Extinction¹⁶⁷) and that of the Path, in both of which deliverance from passions is contained. Accordingly “that which represents liberation from passions” corresponds to the Truth of Extinction (of phenomenal existence = Nirvāṇa), and that by means of which it is realized, is the Path. Of these two, the Truth of Extinction [9 b.] is to be defined, according to the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*,¹⁶⁸) as “the Extinction of all active elements of life, being merged in the Absolute”. It represents, therefore, the rejection of all defilement¹⁶⁹) and even of the saintly individuality,¹⁷⁰) the final Nirvāṇa after death,¹⁷¹) and the Cosmical Body of Buddha according to Mahāyānistic conception.

The definition of the Path is: — undefiled transcendental knowledge, which, in connection with preliminary stages, is a means of realizing Nirvāṇa. The *Abidharmakośa* speaks of it as “the undefiled Truth of the Path”, and the *Uttaratantra*¹⁷²) — as “the pure and brilliant antidote (of passion). The Path is therefore, that of Illumination,¹⁷³) Meditation,¹⁷⁴) and of the Ultimate Result,¹⁷⁵) or, as the *Uttaratantra* views the Mahāyānistic Path — the first two, — the Path of Illumination and that of Meditation. The Path of Accumulating Merit¹⁷⁶) and that of Subsequent Training¹⁷⁷) are to be regarded as preliminary stages.¹⁷⁸)

The Doctrine viewed as Scripture, is defined as “the Word that introduces into the (sphere of) the Doctrine, viewed as the practice. It is necessary to distinguish that kind of verbal expression which agrees with the habit¹⁷⁹) of viewing a pluralistic universe¹⁸⁰) and such, which is the natural outflow of (the conception of) a (monistic) Absolute.¹⁸¹) The first, as for instance talk about horses, oxen etc, is of (exclusively) worldly nature, whereas Scripture, in its twelve parts,¹⁸²) is, as stated before (— the natural outflow of the Absolute), as it is the natural outflow of the (intention of) teaching the true transcendental Essence of the Universe,¹⁸³) or the natural outflow of the knowledge of the (monistic) Absolute. The *Madhyāntavibhanga*¹⁸⁴) says (of the Absolute): It is the highest aim of its natural outflow¹⁸⁵), and the *Sphuṭārtha* says: It (the Word) is the natural outflow of the Absolute. The Paṇḍit *Sunayaṅgi*¹⁸⁶) says: The whole of the Doctrine is

based upon the knowledge of Relativity. The three kinds of Enlightenment,¹⁸⁷⁾ that resemble small, middle-sized, and large birds soaring in the skies, [10 a] are secured by means of the knowledge of the two kinds of non-substantiality, — that of the individual and that of all the (separate) elements of existence.¹⁸⁸⁾ (Consequently, the Word of Scripture), as it harmonises with the conception of Nirvāṇa, is of transcendental nature.

It is said in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*:¹⁸⁹⁾ The four great streams, that fall into the ocean, flow descending toward it. In a like way all the Doctrine, that has its goal in Nirvāṇa, has consequently its course directed toward it.

The various aspects of the Doctrine.

- II D. The Doctrine has already been viewed as the subject-matter, and the Word of Scripture. (We may otherwise)¹⁹⁰⁾ discriminate between a) the Doctrine viewed from the aspect of ultimate result, b) the Doctrine (as that which leads to) realization (of this result), and c) Scripture.

The Doctrine from the point of view of result.

- II Da. This is Nirvāṇa, which is defined as the Quiescence of all phenomenal existence, as well as of the cause that produces it. This Quiescence is of seven kinds,¹⁹¹⁾ namely that of

- 1) birth,
- 2) decrepitude,
- 3) death,
- 4) meeting the disagreeable,
- 5) forsaking the agreeable,
- 6) unfulfillment of desires,
- 7) corporeal suffering.

Otherwise, it is the state opposed to the four kinds of impermanence, (which is characterized as follows): —

Accumulated (wealth) is to get finally exhausted,
the body will finally be subjected to decay,
the end of every union is separation, and
that of every life is death.

The Doctrine as the means of realizing Nirvāṇa.

- II Db. This is the Path, the complement of all the attributes conducive to the ultimate result (Nirvāṇa). These attributes

- are four in number, namely: 1) (the Path is) straight,¹⁹²⁾ as it conveys to the city of Nirvāṇa, but not to that of Samsāra.
- 2) It is uninterrupted, being closely connected with (its aim) — Nirvāṇa and free from hindrance and vicissitude.
- 3) It is free from danger, as it not exposed to the rapine by robbers, such as passions etc.
- 4) It is endowed with the perfection of enjoyment, by being connected with partaking of the food of the delightful Doctrine [10 b.].

The Doctrine as the Word of Scripture.

II Dc. The Doctrine, viewed as the Word of Scripture, is the perfect elucidation of the facts constituting the Path. Its functions, are four in number, —

- namely 1) Declaration, as — “this is the Path”.
- 2) Ascertainment — “only this is the Path, but not anything else”.
- 3) Elucidation of the means of attainment — “the (four) methods of intense mindfulness¹⁹³⁾ etc. are the cause of the Path.”
- 4) Demonstration of (the various kinds of) defilement, as — “the defilement of passion, that of former deeds, and that of (the remaining elements of phenomenal) existence,¹⁹⁴⁾ are the impediments on the Path.” — So is it to be read in the *Pratītya-samutpāda-ādi-vibhanga-nirdeśa-ṭīkā*.

This Doctrine of Scripture has two main divisions:

- a₁) The Word (of Buddha) and
b₁) The theoretical treatises (Çāstra).

It is said: —

The whole of the Doctrine is contained in the Word of Buddha and the learned treatises, —
the perfect Word and the works that explain its meaning;
By means of the (two), the Teaching of Çākya is to abide for long in the lands of this world.

The Word of Buddha.

II Dca₁. With regard to the first (of these two divisions) — the Word of Buddha, we must know: —

- a₂) — its definition,

- b₂) — the etymology (of the word *subhāṣita*, which is its appellation in Sanscrit).
 c₂) its varieties.

Definition of the Word of Buddha.

- II Dca_{1a}₂. A certain (lama of) the Chim-pa tribe defines it as “the Introductions, the Sermons, and (the words of) approval (from the part of the adherents) — such is the Word of Buddha fully accomplished, as regards words and meaning.” (The correct definition is): — “the Word, which, being in close connection with the Doctrine, that forms its subject-matter, speaks of the work to be done, namely, — the rejection of all defilement in the three spheres of existence¹⁹⁵) and of the result, which is the bliss of Quiescence (Nīrvāṇa); it is produced by the agency of Buddha, who is its principal determining cause.¹⁹⁶)

The *Uttaratantra*¹⁹⁷) says:

That, which, in close connection with the Doctrine — its subject-matter,
 speaks of the rejection of all defilement in the three spheres of existence,
 and shows the bliss of Quiescence, — [11 a]
 is the Word of the great Anchorite; all that disagrees with it,
 is of other origin.

Etymology of the word Subhāṣita.

- II Dca_{1b}₂. (One of the appellations for the Word of Buddha) in the Sanscrit language is “*Subhāṣita*”. The particle “*su*”, which is used in ten different senses, — (in this case) signifies “well”, and “*bhāṣita*” has the meaning of “spoken”. The Word of Buddha is, consequently, “that, which is well spoken”. (Here the following question may arise): — Why is (the Word of Buddha) called “the well-spoken”? (To this we may answer): — It is the “well-spoken” from ten different points of view. It is said in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:¹⁹⁸) — How comes (the Word of Buddha) to be called “the well-spoken”? — It is such from ten different points of view, namely: its
- 1) final accomplishment,¹⁹⁹)
 - 2) regard (for all living beings)²⁰⁰)
 - 3) perserverance,
 - 4) completeness,²⁰¹)

- 5) manifoldness,
- 6) foundation,
- 7) way of making itself intelligible,
- 8) (character of) teaching
- 9) time, and
- 10) exclusive qualities.

The meaning of this is as follows: —

(The Word of Buddha) is called the “well-spoken”, as it has been spoken: —

- 1) after the attainment of Final Enlightenment (by Buddha),
- 2) with regard for all living beings,
- 3) not merely occasionally, at intervals, but repeatedly and uninterruptedly,
- 4) fully, without any omissions made,²⁰²) as it is the case with teachers, that conceal their books.
- 5) in accordance with the intellectual faculty of the various human beings,
- 6) by means of the voice, endowed with the five perfections²⁰³)
- 7) making itself intelligible, — though having been spoken in one way, — in all the innumerable lands of the world, and reaching all its adherents, whosoever they might be,²⁰⁴)
- 8) indicating the Path, that leads to rejection of the two extremities²⁰⁵) [11 b]
- 9) to converts, that have attained complete maturity, and
- 10) endowed with the sixty distinctive features of perfect speech.

Now, of what kind are these sixty distinctive features?

(The answer will be as follows):²⁰⁶)

(The Word of Buddha is) —

Soft, — as it supports the roots of virtue in the character of a human being, (1)²⁰⁷)

Mild, — as the contact with it even in worldly life causes delight, (2)²⁰⁸)

Pleasing, — by its good meaning, (3)²⁰⁹)

Agreeable, — by its exquisite sound, (4)²¹⁰)

Pure, — because it has been obtained after the highest transcendental contemplation, (5)²¹¹)

Immaculate, — as it is free from the influence of the impression left by passions, (6)²¹²)

Brilliant, — through the perfect clearness of its words and sounds, (7)²¹³)

- Charming, — because it possesses the force and merit of vanquishing all the teachings of heretics and of the evil-minded, (8)²¹⁴
- Worthy of being studied, — because, — through realization of it, — Nirvāṇa is attained, (9)²¹⁵
- Without defect, — for it cannot be damaged by its antagonists, (10)²¹⁶
- Sweet, — as it gives pleasure to all, (11)²¹⁷
- Cultured, — since it is averse to passion, (12)²¹⁸
- Not harsh, — being an easy means of teaching discipline, (13)²¹⁹
- Not unkind, — because in the case of transgression, it shows a means of salvation (through confession), (14)²²⁰
- Highly cultured, — as it teaches the Discipline of the Three Vehicles, (15)²²¹
- Agreeable to hear, — because it keeps off distraction, (16)²²²
- Producing bodily ease, — being conducive to trance, (17)²²³
- Causing mental satisfaction, — since its result is the supreme delight of transcendental knowledge, (18)²²⁴
- Gladdening the heart, — as it clears all doubt, (19)²²⁵
- Bringing about satisfaction and happiness [12a], — by removing all that is wrong or uncertain, (20)²²⁶
- Never causing pain, — since there can be no regret if (its precepts are) realized; (21)²²⁷
- It must be known thoroughly, — for it is the foundation of the complement of knowledge, that is attained by study; (22)²²⁸
- It must be known in detail, — being (likewise), the foundation of the complement of knowledge, which is the result of investigation; (23)²²⁹
- It is perfectly clear, — because it shows the Doctrine as it is, and not subjected to mutilation by some teacher, (24)²³⁰
- It is to be welcomed, — as it is favourable to those, that have attained their personal aim, (the Arhats) (25)²³¹ and met with rejoicing, — because it is craved for by those that have not yet attained their aim, (26)²³²
- It gives thorough knowledge, — as it teaches, from a correct point of view, matters that belong to the Transcendental Sphere, (27)²³³
- And gives knowledge in detail, — for the same reason, (28)²³⁴
- It is correct, — because it is not contrary to logic, (29)²³⁵

Duly connected (with its subject-matter), — because it teaches its adherents in the right way, (30)²³⁶

Free from the defect of tautology, — as it never speaks without a special aim, (31)²³⁷

Powerful, like the lion's roar, — as it terrifies all the heretics, (32)²³⁸

Sounding like the cry of an elephant, — by its high, dignified tone; (33)²³⁹

(It is like) the roll of thunder, — by its deepness, (34)²⁴⁰

The voice of the Nāga-king, — because it is worthy of being heard, (35)²⁴¹

The concert of Gandharvas, — by its sweetness, (36)²⁴²

The song of the Kalavinka, — as it is clear and melodious, (37)²⁴³

The sound of Brahma's voice, — as it reaches far (38)²⁴⁴ and

The tune of the Chakora-bird, — as it is a lucky omen, that preceeds every kind of success. (39)²⁴⁵

In all these cases (in the original text) the words *svara*,²⁴⁶ *rūta*,²⁴⁷ and *ravita*²⁴⁸ are used (in the sense of "voice", "sound" etc.). *Svara* has the meaning of — "indicating such and such word", [12. b.] *rūta* — "showing, that the word is full of meaning", and *ravita* — "communicating the conventional meaning of such and such sounds".

Moreover, (the Word of Buddha is): —

Delightful, like the voice of Indra, — since it cannot be surpassed by anything else, (40)²⁴⁹

Sounding like a drum, — as it preceeds victory over all the demons and antagonists, (41)²⁵⁰

Free from arrogance, — as it is not spoiled by flattery (42)²⁵¹

Free from humiliation, — as it is not defiled by censure (43)²⁵²

Fit for all (the various forms of) verbal expression, — because it accomodates itself to the forms and character of every kind of grammar, (44)²⁵³

Free from corrupt ungrammatical language, — since such never appears through want of memory, (45)²⁵⁴

Not incomplete, — because it assists at all times the converts in their acts, (46)²⁵⁵

Independent, — as it is not influenced by profit and honours, (47)²⁵⁶

- Not timid, — being free from fear, (48)²⁵⁷
 Joyful, — as it is completely devoid of sorrow, (49)²⁵⁸
 Comprehensive, — because it shows proficiency in every branch of science, (50)²⁵⁹
 Perfect, — since it brings about fulfillment of all the aims of living beings, (51)²⁶⁰
 Fluent, — because it is not interrupted, (52)²⁶¹
 Handsome, — as it appears in a variety of forms, (53)²⁶²
 Accomplishing the aim of all (the diverse) sounds, — because through the pronunciation of one word, many words in different languages are communicated. (54)²⁶³
 Giving satisfaction to all the faculties, — by connoting many ideas in one, (55)²⁶⁴
 Irreproachable, — since it accomplishes what it has promised, (56)²⁶⁵
 Reliable, — as it refers to future results, (57)²⁶⁶
 Not rash, — as it does not speak inconsiderately, (58)²⁶⁷
 Reaching all its adherents, — because it is equally heard from far and near, (59)²⁶⁸
 Possessed of the best of forms, — as it uses all the worldly objects as parables. (60)²⁶⁹

Such are the words of the Saint Asanga, — says the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-ālokā*.²⁷⁰ In other translations the word *akhila* ("perfect") is rendered by "accomplished" (*chub-pa*) and *lalita* ("handsome") by "beautiful" (*hbel-ba*).

The passage concerning the sixty distinctive features appears exactly in the same form in the five volumes of the *Yogacaryābhūmi*,²⁷¹ the *Çatasāhasrikā-bṛhat-tikā*,²⁷² the Commentary on the *Sūtrālamkāra* and in the *Vyākhyāyukti*. Now, the *Tathāgata-acintya-guhya-nirdeça* mentions sixty-four distinctive features, namely after "reaching all its adherents (59)", the following are added: —

- Calming passion, (60)
 Pacifying anger, (61)
 Withdrawing ignorance, (62) and
 Putting an end to the plots of Māra (63).

Maitreya,²⁷³ however says: "the Word, endowed with sixty distinctive features and of transcendental nature." Moreover, Āryāśaṅga, Vimuktasena, Vasubandhu and other authorities (profoundly versed) in Scripture say that that

very Sūtra (the *Tathāgata-guhya*) mentions sixty distinctive features.²⁷⁴) It is therefore necessary to consider, whether (the passage just mentioned) is an interpolation or not.

Varieties of the Word of Buddha.

II Dca₁c₂. The Word of Buddha, with regard to its various parts, may be viewed from six aspects, namely: —

- a₃ time,
- b₃ subject-matter,
- c₃ style,
- d₃ that, against which it is directed,
- e₃ (the various kinds of) converts, and
- f₃ chief determining cause.

Varieties of the Word with regard to time. The three "Wheels of the Doctrine".

II Dca₁c₂a₃. (We must distinguish): —

- 1) The Teaching²⁷⁵) of the four Truths of the Saint²⁷⁶) preached at the earliest period.
- 2) The Teaching of Non-substantiality,²⁷⁷) preached in the intermediate period.
- 3) The Teaching, founding the conception of Absolute Reality,²⁷⁸) — preached last of all. These three (subdivisions) are mentioned in the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*.²⁷⁹)

Varieties of the Word with regard to the Subject-matter. The discourses of conventional and direct meaning.

II Dca₁c₂b₃. It is said: —

The Buddhas have preached the Doctrine. [13 b.]
basing upon the twofold Reality.

Accordingly, the discourses, referring to the Empirical Reality²⁸⁰) and not founded upon arguments, are of conventional meaning, and those, that treat of the Absolute Truth²⁸¹) and are vindicated by arguments — of the direct meaning.

The *Akṣayamati-nirdeṣa*²⁸²) says: — the (discourses) which demonstrate Empirical Reality are of conventional, and those, that refer to the Absolute, — of the direct meaning.

As to the opinion, that all the Sūtras are, with regard to Buddha, of conventional meaning, and, with regard to the converts, — of the direct, — it is to be held as completely erroneous.

Varieties with regard to form. The twelve classes (Anga) of sacred texts.

II Dca₁c₂c₃. (The texts of) Scripture (with regard to form) belong to twelve classes.²⁸³) The commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*-called *Sārottamā*²⁸⁴) says: —

The *Sūtras*,²⁸⁵) *Geya*,²⁸⁶) *Vyākaraṇa*,²⁸⁷)

Gāthā,²⁸⁸) *Udāna*,²⁸⁹) *Nidāna*,²⁹⁰)

Avadāna,²⁹¹) *Itivṛtaka*,²⁹²)

Jātaka,²⁹³) *Vaipulya*,²⁹⁴)

*Abhutatadharma*²⁹⁵) and *Upadeśa*²⁹⁶)

these are the twelve classes of Sacred Texts.

The Class of Sūtras (proper) contains (such sayings), in which the subject-matter is expressed briefly, in the form of aphorisms.²⁹⁷) Now, (may it be asked), why have not the topics been entered upon in detail? The *Abhidharma-samuccaya*²⁹⁸) (gives the following answer): — The Lord has preached the Doctrine in the form of aphorisms, considering ten kinds of advantage (of teaching in such a manner), namely,

It is easy to establish (such and such a thesis), (1)

to preach, (2) and

to retain in memory; (3)

He, that is devoted to the Doctrine, will, at an early date, achieve the accumulation of merit, (4) and

apprehend the true transcendental essence of the Universe

(5)²⁹⁹)

obtain faith in Buddha (6),

in the Doctrine and the Church, after having come to

know (their essential character), (7) experience the highest

bliss³⁰⁰) during this worldly life, (8) give mental satisfaction

to the wise, by bringing about decision (of religious questions)

through controversy,³⁰¹) (9) and come to be reckoned

among the wise, (since everybody will point to him saying),

“this is a wise man”! (10)

The *Geya* (sing-song) Class is called so, because (the texts that belong to it), in the middle or at the end of the *Sūtras*, render the contents of such in verse, [14 a] or because they communicate, (in sing-song, the chief points of) the *Sūtras* of conventional meaning.³⁰²)

The *Vyākaraṇa* Class (prophecies or revelations) bears this appellation, because it contains the prophecies concerning the death or birth of (diverse) *Çrāvakas*, as for in-

stance, (the prophecy in) the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*,³⁰³) or elsewhere, because it explains the Sūtras of direct meaning and reveals their sense.

The Gāthā Class (verses) consists of (the sayings) in verse. These verses may be of two quarters³⁰⁴) as: —

O Brethren, this is the Teacher,
he has attained Quiescence and is free from passion,

Of three quarters: —

Here, (viewed from the aspect of Absolute Reality) there-
is neither an Ego, nor a living being,
and life is likewise unreal, (for)
all these things are relative.³⁰⁵)

Of four quarters, as: —

All elements of existence have a cause,
(this cause has been explained by Buddha
and the Great Ascetic has likewise taught
About their annihilation).³⁰⁶)

And of five and of six quarters: —

All this is an illusion,
as that which is perceived in a dream.
If one awakens from the sleep of ignorance,
all the phenomenal world will appear unreal.
Therefore, if, with regard to whatsoever it may be,
the thought (of its being a separate Reality) does not appear,
one becomes a Buddha.³⁰⁷)

The Udāna Class (solemn utterance) is, as says the *Vyākhyāyukti*³⁰⁸) “that, which is spoken, not with regard to (separate) individuals, but only in the interest of maintaining the Doctrine”. Such are the utterances of joy and praise. For instance, if a Buddha brings about (moral) purification of the world and the living beings, all the Buddhas (grant their approval) saying: — Conversion is praiseworthy, Quiescence is praiseworthy!

The Nidāna Class contains that which is spoken for the sake of special individuals; it is the teaching of religious discipline, connected with a tale (of instructive character). Such are, for instance, the precepts given to Dhanika,³⁰⁹) forbidding him to steal. [14 b.]

The Avadāna Class is that, which is related in the

form of parables, in order to elucidate the meaning of the Sūtras.

The Itivṛttaka Class contains legends of former times, as the stories about Gautama.

The Jātaka Class is that, which tells of the deeds of (Buddha during his existence as a) Bodhisattva in his previous births as, for instance, the story of Viṇṇāntara.³¹⁰)

The Vaipulīya Class ("that of great extension") contains Mahāyānistic Scripture.³¹¹) It is called so, because it is the foundation of welfare and bliss for all living beings and because it demonstrates the Doctrine in an extensive, grand and profound form. It is called "completely crushing",³¹²) as it suppresses all defilement, "the matchless"³¹³) as it cannot be compared to anything else, and "the great Vehicle", for being endowed with the seven kinds of greatness.³¹⁴)

The Adbhuta-dharma Class has for its subject-matter the miraculous faculties of the Ārāvakas, Bodhisattvas and Buddhas.

The Upadeśa Class is that which demonstrates the essence of all elements of existence in its true form. The meaning of the Sūtras etc. is thus rendered clear by it.³¹⁵)

Varieties of the Word with regard to that against which it is directed.

The three Codes. (Piṭaka.)

II Dca₁c₂d₃. (From this point of view) — the Word of Buddha is to be regarded as consisting of the three Codes³¹⁶) (of sacred texts). It is necessary to know: —

- a₄) The classification of the twelve varieties (just mentioned) as contained in the three Codes.
- b₄) The etymology of the word *piṭaka* (which is the common appellation of the Codes in Sanscrit).
- c₄) The motives for founding three Codes (of Scripture).
- d₄) The etymology of each of their appellations (*Sūtra*, *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya*).

The twelve Classes of texts contained in the three Codes.

II Dca₁c₂d₃a₄. The first five classes, namely, the *Sūtra* (proper), *Geyā*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, and *Udāna* are contained in the Ārāvaka Code (of Sūtras)³¹⁷) The *Nidāna* Class, teaching discipline in connection with some (instructive) tale, forms the principal part of the *Vinaya* Code³¹⁸) and the three following

Classes, — *Avadāna*, *Itivṛttaka*, and *Jātaka* are of a similar character;³¹⁹ all the four therefore belong to the Vinaya. [15 a.]

The *Vaipulya* and *Adbhuta-dharma* Classes form the Mahāyānistic Code of Sūtras. The exclusive faculties of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are of transcendental nature and full of grandeur; the Adbhuta-dharma Class, which treats of these (miraculous powers), is therefore to be regarded as a part of the Mahāyānistic Sūtra-Code.

The *Upadeśa* Class (as a whole) forms the Abhidharma Code,³²⁰ both Hinayānistic and Mahāyānistic.

This classification is given by the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*;³²¹ in other works it is different.

Etymology of the word piṭaka.

II Dca₁c₂d₃b₄. In the Sanscrit language (a Code of sacred texts) is called *piṭaka*. This word may, in one way, be regarded as a synonym of *piṇḍa*, which has the sense of “heap” or “collection”. (A Code of sacred texts) is a *piṭaka*, because it is a collection of many topics or of all the objects of study which are its subject-matter.³²²)

Otherwise, the word *piṭaka* may be taken as the appellation, given in Central India to a large *droṇa* measure, which contains a great number of small *droṇas*. Accordingly, (a Code of Scripture) is a *piṭaka*, because many topics and disciplines are contained in it.

The motives for founding three (separate) Codes

II Dca₁c₂d₃c₄. The three Codes have been founded for nine causes,³²³ namely: —

- a₈ — with regard to (the three points) that are to be rejected (with their help),
- b₈ — with regard to the (three) Disciplines,
- c₈ — with regard to (the three kinds of) objects to be known.

The three Codes with regard to the points to be rejected.

II Dca₁c₂d₃c₄a₅. The Code of Sūtras has been founded as an antidote against the defiling element of doubt,³²⁴ because the Sūtras (proper) etc. (which are contained in it) have been preached for the sake of putting an end to all the doubts of the converts as regards the (Three) Jewels and the Absolute Truth.

The Vinaya Code is directed against the defilement of the two extremities (in life). Being averse to the accumulation of riches out of greediness, it condemns such even in its slightest form and thus brings about rejection of the extremity of licence;³²⁵) on the other hand, as it permits (the possession of) houses with 100 storeys, food of 100 different tastes and clothes worth 100,000 Karṣapaṇas, if such are obtained without covetousness and by a person of pure morals, — it causes the extremity of self-torture to be abandoned.³²⁶)

The Abhidharma Code acts against the defilement, which consists in maintaining the theory of an existing personality³²⁷), for it shows in detail the true character of all elements of existence.

The three Codes with regard to the three disciplines.

- II Dca₁c₂d₃c₄b₅. The Code of Sūtras is destined to teach (all) the three Disciplines; it enlarges upon them, giving clear knowledge of them to the converts.³²⁸)

The Vinaya Code is conducive to moral and mental training, for, through subjection to monastic discipline, the complete purification of morals and, as a consequence, there being no regret (as to this having taken place), — the concentration of mind is gradually brought about.³²⁹)

The Abhidharma Code leads to realization of the training in Highest Wisdom, since it largely enters upon the means of a thorough and deep analysis (of existence) into its elements.³³⁰)

The three Codes with regard to the subject studied.

- II Dca₁c₂d₃c₄c₅. The Code of Sūtras is intended to communicate the Doctrine and its meaning; it gives full knowledge of words and sense.³³¹)

The Vinaya is destined to form a foundation for the realization of the (ultimate) aim of the Doctrine. Accordingly, this Code conduces to (moral and mental) training; as a consequence, in the process of investigation and through pure morality, the concentration (of one's mind) is produced. In such a way all defiling elements are annihilated and the aim of the Doctrine realized.³³²)

On the basis of the Abhidharma, controversies are conducted and the true meaning ascertained.³³³) The complete enjoyment of this kind of knowledge produces a condition of felicitous feeling, as the true character of existence (divided into) particular, universal etc. becomes clear.

Through study of these three Codes (the Doctrine) is suggested (to the mind);³³⁴) by means of investigation, the meaning (of the Codes) comes to be known³³⁵) [16 a], subsequently, by profound meditation, concentration of mind is brought about,³³⁶) which removes moral defilement. Finally, supreme transcendental knowledge enables one to apprehend the Absolute Truth³³⁷) and to become delivered from the roots of sin. Having this in mind, (the author of) the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*³³⁸) says: —

Three or two³³⁹) Codes, being (each) a collection (of sacred texts),
are taken in consideration for nine causes.
through suggestion, clear understanding, pacification and
transcendental knowledge,
they conduce to final salvation.

Etymology of „Sūtra”, “Abidharma”, and “Vinaya”.

II Dca₁c₂d₃d₄. The *Sūtrālaṃkāra*³⁴⁰) says:

“Sūtra”, “Abhidharma”, and “Vinaya”,
are, in short, considered to have (each of them) four meanings.
The Sage, that comes to know (these three Codes)
will attain the state of Omniscience.

Here the word “meaning” (*artha*) has the sense of “etymology”, and it would be a mistake, if we took it to mean “definition”. The Sage, that is a Bodhisattva, through the thorough knowledge of the three Codes, is able to attain Omniscience.³⁴¹) A Ārāvaka, having come to know the meaning of a single verse (of the Codes) may attain arhatship,³⁴²) as Ārāputra or Kṣudrapanthaka.³⁴³)

Now, in Sanscrit, the word *sūtra* means aphorism, brief indication.³⁴⁴) Accordingly (a Sūtra) indicates place,³⁴⁵) as “in Rājagṛha”,³⁴⁶) the essence (of an element of existence), as “solidity is the essence of the solid element”, the Word of the Doctrine and its meaning.³⁴⁷) Such aphorisms, combined together, form a class or section. The *Sūtrālaṃkāra*³⁴⁸) says: —

The Sutra (is called so) as it is an indication

as to place, essence, the Doctrine and its meaning.

In “*Abhidharma*” — “*abhi*” may, in one way, be taken to mean “*ābhimukhya*”, that is “made manifest”. The *Abhidharma* is in this case called so, because it is a teaching (*dharma*) of the Absolute Reality, which is made manifest by it.³⁴⁹ “*Abhi*” appears here in the direct meaning of the word.³⁵⁰)

Otherwise, “*abhi*” may be regarded, as (an abbreviation) of “*abhiḥṣṇa*”, which means “repeatedly”. In this context, *Abhidharma* has this appellation, because it is the Doctrine (*dharma*) which demonstrates repeatedly, and in various aspects the (5) groups of elements,³⁵¹ the (18) component elements of an individual,³⁵² the (12) bases of cognition,³⁵³ the objects existing in reality³⁵⁴ and such, that are mere logical constructions.³⁵⁵ [16 b.] Such (is the etymology), met with in books.³⁵⁶)

Moreover, “*abhi*”, may have the sense of “*abhibhū*” — “to predominate, surpass”. Accordingly, thorough knowledge of the Particular and the Universal Essence of all elements of existence enables one to show one’s predominance over adversaries, in deciding (religious questions) by means of controversy, or otherwise in silencing all bad orators.³⁵⁷)

And, finally, “*abhi*” may“ be *abhisamaya*” — “full comprehension”. The *Abhidharma*, from this point of view, is called so, because it gives full knowledge of all objects, whatsoever they may be, of such that are existing in reality and of mere logical constructions.³⁵⁸) (Consequently, as says the *Sūtrālamkāra*:³⁵⁹) —

The *Abhidharma* (is called so), because it makes manifest, (teaches) repeatedly, (is a cause of) predominance, and gives full comprehension.

As concerns “*Vinaya*”, two groups (of ideas, each containing) four are expressed by it,³⁶⁰ namely: —

1. *vipatti*³⁶¹) — “(moral) fall”, — it is *vinaya*, because it demonstrates this fall and makes it sure.
- (2. *utthāna* — “the cause of this fall”,³⁶²)
- (3. *vyutthāna* — “recovering from it”),
- (4. *niḥsaraṇa* — “means of salvation”);

or: —

1. *vinīṣaya* — “decision”; — it is *vinaya*, because it brings about (*nayati*) decision, —
 - (2. *pudgala* — “the Individual”, to whom discipline is taught”),³⁶³)
 - (3. *prajñapti* — “the teaching by itself”),
 - (4. *pravibhāga* — “the different forms of teaching”).
- (Accordingly, as says the *Sūtrālamkāra*:³⁶⁴) —

The Vinaya is to be viewed from the point of (moral) fall, its cause, improvement, and (means of) salvation, the Individual, the teaching, (its) different forms and decision.

Varieties of the Word with regard to the converts.

II Dca₁c₂e₃. It is said in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:³⁶⁵) “Three or two Codes (of sacred texts).” (The “two Codes” are those of Hinayānistic and Mahāyānistic Scripture).³⁶⁶) The Ārāvaka Code (Hīnāyāna) is preached for converts that adhere to Low Church,³⁶⁷) and the Mahāyāna Code, — for those who are devoted to High Church. The Great Vehicle differs from the Small, by being possessed of the seven kinds of greatness, or, as says the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*:³⁶⁸)

By the subjects studied, (their) essence, by (the converts), that adhere to it,
by its cause, effect and varieties,
by the three disciplines, their result, and that, which is rejected through them,
as well as by Divine knowledge, — the Vehicle, which (is called) the Great One — predominates.

Consequently, from the Hinayānist point of view, “the Code of great extension” (*vaipulya*), has this appellation, because the Sūtras (belonging to this Code) contain a great number of chapters and are very diffused. The Mahāyānists, in their turn, regard *vaipulya* otherwise [17 a], etymologically; (they say), it is called so because it is a large, spacious Vehicle (toward Salvation)³⁶⁹) It is: —

- 1) great, with regard to the Doctrine (expounded by it), since it contains (the teaching of the Climax of Wisdom) of 100 000 verses,³⁷⁰)
- 2) great, if viewed from the point of the creative Effort (of the Bodhisattvas that adhere to it), because such is directed

toward Supreme Enlightenment, in pursuit of the welfare of all living beings,

- 3) great as concerns faith, since (its adherents) found their belief in a Doctrine profound and magnificent,
- 4) great, by the thoughts, (acquired through it), — as it leads to equal treatment of oneself and of other living beings,³⁷¹)
- 5) great, as regards the accumulation of merit, because (the Bodhisattva), after having entered upon the Path of a Saint, amasses every moment virtue and wisdom immeasurable.
- 6) great, viewed from the aspect of time, — since the energy of the Bodhisattvas manifests itself during innumerable aeons, and
- 7) great, by its result, because (by means of it), the state of a Buddha, incomparable to anything else, is attained.

In the *Sūtrālamkāra*,³⁷³) the characteristic of) the seven kinds of greatness, slightly differs from that (just mentioned). Moreover, (with regard to the different converts) we have to distinguish: —

- 1) The “Vehicle of the Cause”, — that of Philosophy,³⁷³) — for a person of feeble intellect, craving for the Cause (of Salvation);³⁷⁴) it is conducive to the realization (of this cause).
- 2) The “Vehicle of the Effect”, — that of Mysticism,³⁷⁵) for a convert possessed of acute faculties, who strives for miraculous, instant production of both Cause and Effect. This Vehicle is to convey such an (immediate) result.

It is said in the *Rājāvavādaka*?³⁷⁶) — Mañjuçrī asked: —
O Lord, if Thou hast with certainty taught,
of the three Vehicles, conducive (to Salvation),
why hast Thou not mentioned that sure Vehicle,
which miraculously produces the Cause and the Effect,
and where no other help for becoming a Buddha is needed.

(The Lord answered): —

The Teaching of that, which is the Cause,
having been duly preached for those, that are devoted to
this Cause,
the Vehicle of Magic,³⁷⁷) which is a shorter way,
will in future times appear.

As to the difference between the Vehicle of Mysticism and

that of Philosophy, we read in the *Naya-traya-pradīpa*, the work of the teacher *Tripitakamāla*³⁷⁵) [17 b], as follows:

Infallible, in regard of the unique aim³⁷⁹) (of Buddhism),
affording means numerous and easy, and
accessible to (a convert) of acute faculties, —

the Vehicle of Mysticism³⁸⁰) is superior (to other doctrines).

Accordingly, neglecting all external means (the Vehicle of Mysticism brings about the realization of the six transcendental virtues through internal contemplation,³⁸¹) and thus proves infallible as regards means. Further on, it possesses a great number of expedients, as it teaches about the mystic contemplation of the Mind, the Word and the Body (of the Buddhas) which is a concentration of mind upon the Most Subtle — the thought and its manifestations, the Subtle, — the (symbolic) letters and sounds, and the Gross, — the images (of the Buddha) and the attributes of mystic ritual; likewise, it demonstrates the Absolute Truth. Moreover, *it is not something wearisome, as it accomodates itself to the wishes of the converts and shows them easy means of fulfilling (these wishes), such as mystic gestures*³⁸²) etc. It is to be realized by one possessed of exclusive faculties, who will remain undefiled by deeds, that would conduce others, if they committed them, to evil births. In these four ways the Vehicle of Mysticism shows itself superior (to that of Philosophy). It is considered by Āryadeva as a fourth, separate Code of sacred texts — that of Esoteric Science.³⁸³) The teacher Ratnākaraçānti says, that it forms a part of the Sūtra Code, because it communicates topics of profound meaning in an abridged form. The teacher Abhayākara Gupta regards it as belonging to all the three Codes, as it contains the teaching of the three Disciplines.

Varieties of the Word of Buddha with regard to the chief determining cause.

II Dca₁c₂f₃. From the point of view of the chief determining cause, the Word of Buddha is of three kinds, namely: —

- a₄. that, delivered (by Buddha) personally,
- b₄. that, which is the result of Buddha's blessing³⁸⁴) (and is communicated by a Çrāvaka or Bodhisattva),
- c₄. the passages, containing the expression of Buddhas will³⁸⁵) (as to the compilation of Scripture etc.).

The Word delivered personally.

- II Dca₁c₂f₃a₄. To this class belongs, for instance, the *Āryasaṃcaya*.³⁸⁶)

The Word which is the result of blessing.

- II Dca₁c₂f₃b₄. In the Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* three kinds of blessings are mentioned:

- 1) Corporeal (as laying hands on the head of the disciple etc.),
- 1) Verbal, and
- 3) Mental.

The Word, derived from the first kind of blessings, may be illustrated by the *Daṣabhūmaka-sūtra*, that, which is the result of the second kind, — by the *Ajātaśatru-kaukrtya-vinodana*,³⁸⁷) and that issuing from the third, by the *Sa-mantabhadra-caryā-nirdeśa*.³⁸⁸) Some authorities distinguish three kinds of mental blessings, [18 a] namely, that of the contemplative mind, that of the mind full of Great Commiseration, and that of the mind endowed with the power of Truth. The first may be illustrated by the *Prajñāhṛdaya*,³⁸⁹) the second — by the magic formulas uttered by the Yakṣas etc. through Buddha's blessing, and the third — by the words of the Doctrine, issuing from musical sounds, from the rays of light and from the skies, — likewise a result of the blessing of Buddha.

The passages containing the expression of Buddha's will.

- II Dca₁c₂f₃c₄. Such are: The introduction (to a discourse),³⁹⁰) the conjunctive parts (of it) and the words of approval.³⁹¹) For instance, we have in the *Dharmasaṃgīti-sūtra*³⁹²) — “O brethren, compile the Doctrine, saying — thus have I heard,” and “It is necessary to teach in due connection and order.” Such utterances express the will (of Buddha).

The Division of the Exegetical Treatises (Cāstra).

- II Dcb₁. (In analysing the division of the) Exegetical Treatises, we take in consideration three points: —
- a₂) Definition (of an Exegetical Treatise on Buddhist Scripture),
 - b₂) Etymology (of the word cāstra, — its appellation in Sanscrit),
 - c₂) Varieties (of Exegetical Treatises).

Definition of an Exegetical Treatise.

II Dcb_{1a}₂. (An Exegetical Treatise on Buddhist Scripture) is an interpretation of the meaning of Buddha's Word, which is composed by a trustworthy author and harmonizes with the Path toward Salvation. It is said in the *Uttaratantra*³⁹³): —

That, which, referring exclusively to the Teaching of Buddha,³⁹⁴)

is an explanation of it by a trustworthy (teacher),
in harmony with the Path, that leads to Salvation —
is to be revered, as if it were the Word of the Great Ancho-rite (Himself).

Etymology of "çāstra".

II Dcb_{1b}₂) In Sanscrit, an Exegetical Treatise is called *çāstra*. (*çās* has the sense of) *çāsana* — "ruling". Indeed, an Exegetical Treatise (in Buddhism) rules over the cause of moral defilement, the three sources of evil ³⁹⁵) and the deeds, that result from them, — by teaching the three Disciplines.

(*tra*) is *trāyi* or *tāraṇa*³⁹⁶) — "saving" (An Exegetical Treatise on the Word of Buddha) saves from phenomenal existence, from evil births and transmigration (in general) — the consequence (of former deeds). Such an etymology is met with in Scripture.³⁹⁷) The *Vyākhyāyukti*³⁹⁸) says: [18 b] The Word of Buddha is in harmony with the true essence of a Çāstra. As to the etymology, — *çāstra*, — an Exegetical Treatise, — bears this appellation since it rules (*çāsti*) and saves (*trāyate* or *tārayati*).

That, which rules over our enemies, the passions, (whatsoever they may be),

and saves us from evil births and transmigratory existence (in general), —

is a Çāstra by these its virtues of ruling and saving, which cannot be met with in any other doctrine (except Buddhism).³⁹⁹)

Therefore, the Word of Buddha, being, by its qualities of ruling and saving, the Çāstra,⁴⁰⁰) one must be keen upon its study.

The various kinds of Exegetical treatises.

II Dcb_{1c}₂. (The Exegetical Treatises) are to be discriminated from the point of view of —

a₃) (quality) — superior or inferior,

- b₃) aim,
- c₃) subject-matter,
- d₃) interpretation,
- e₃) various classes.

Varieties of treatises as regards quality.

II Dcb₁c₂a₃. In the *Yogacaryābhūmi*⁴⁰¹) nine kinds of treatises are mentioned: —

1.	2.	3.
senseless, erroneous, correct	propagandistic, unscrupulous, conducive to the ex- tinction of pheno- menal existence.	formalistic, polemical, conducive to practical results.

Of these nine kinds, the latter (of each triad) are superior in quality, whereas the other two (are to be regarded as) inferior. Some class the formalistic and polemical treatises among the superior, (thus admitting) five (kinds of treatises of this order). This is not correct, for in the *Nirṇayasamgraha*⁴⁰²) the two kinds of treatises just mentioned are regarded as heterodox. Therefore, only the latter (of each triad) are to be regarded as superior (in quality), since they are mentioned in the Word of Buddha.⁴⁰³)

The aim of the different treatises.

II Dcb₁c₂b₃. (From this point of view, we distinguish three kinds of treatises, namely): —

- 1) Condensing excessively large (portions of) Scripture,
- 2) Giving an analysis of (its) profound meaning,
- 3) Arranging in a regular system that, which (in Scripture) is in disorder. [19 a.]

(The treatises of) the first kind are those, like the *Vinaya-sūtra*,⁴⁰⁴) of the second — like the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, and of the third — like the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* or the *Çikṣā-samuccaya*.

The various treatises with regard to subject-matter.

II Dcb₁e₂c₃. (As regards the subject-matter), — there are three kinds of works to be distinguished: —

- a₁) treating on Empirical Reality,⁴⁰⁵)
- b₁) demonstrating the Absolute Truth,⁴⁰⁶)
- c₁) conducive to Salvation and Omniscience.

Works on Empirical Reality.

II Dcb₁c₂c₃d₄. (The treatises of this kind)may be

- 1) on general topics, and
- 2) on special (branches of science).

The works of the first kind are those on worldly policy¹⁰⁷) (or ethics), as the 18 Examinations, the *Prajñā-śataka*,⁴⁰⁸) the *Jana-poṣaṇa-bindu*,¹⁰¹) the *Āryākoṣa*,⁴¹⁰) etc. These works are conducive to worldly happiness, as says the *Prajñā-śataka*:

(The form of existence, which is) the foundation of Nirvāṇa may be attained (in the following manner):

If worldly laws and customs are duly observed, —
it will not be far to go to reach the abode of the gods.

In ascending the stairs of godly and human existence,
one draws near to final Salvation.

Of a similar nature are the *Sāmudrika*,⁴¹¹) works on horses, elephants etc.

Of the second category are the treatises on the principal branches of science. It is said in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*:⁴¹²) —

The highest of Saints, if he were not zealous in the five branches of science,

would never attain the state of an omniscient being.

Therefore, to vanquish and to help others,

as well as to obtain thorough knowledge himself, he is earnestly applied to study.

Accordingly, the sciences of Logic⁴¹⁴) and of Grammar (and Literature)⁴¹⁴) (are studied) in order to vanquish one's adversaries (in controversy); the sciences of Medicine⁴¹⁵) and of Art,⁴¹⁶) — for administering help to others, and that of Metaphysics,⁴¹⁷) — to acquire thorough knowledge for oneself.

The works on Logic contain an analysis of direct sense-perception,⁴¹⁸) inference,⁴¹⁹) syllogism,⁴²⁰) the relative meaning of words,⁴²¹) examples, and futile answers (or logical fallacies).⁴²²)

A summary exposition of these six points is given by the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*,⁴²¹) the seven treatises (of Dharmakīrti) commenting on it, the 7 Examinations,⁴²¹) the 8 Proofs,⁴²⁵) the 7

- 1) secondary works etc. The seven treatises (of Dharmakīrti) consist of three main works, which may be compared to a body, and four supplementary, which act as its members. The first are the *Nyāyabindu*, *Pramāṇa-viniṣaya*,⁴²⁶) and *Pramāṇa-vārtika*⁴²⁷) which demonstrate a means of easily

apprehending the modes of correct knowledge⁴²⁸) for (scholars of acute, mediocre, and weak intellectual faculty. “The *Pramāṇa-viṇiścaya*”, says the Kashmirian Paṇḍit Jñānaçrī,⁴²⁹) “is not to be regarded as a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*; nevertheless, I shall elucidate its theory”. The teacher Dharmottara,⁴³⁰) on the contrary says that it is a commentary on the work in question, and this opinion is to be regarded as correct.

The four supplementary works do not enlarge upon the chapter of sense perception. (The subject of) inference is treated in detail by two works — the *Hetubindu*⁴³¹) which contains an investigation of the major and the minor premises,⁴³²) — and the *Sambandha-parikṣā*,⁴³³) — a discussion on difficult points, such as concomitance or logical fallacies. The syllogism is enlarged upon in the *Vāda-nyāya* which describes the disputant, (his) adversary, (the process of) controversy, victory, defeat, and the reason of the latter.⁴³⁴) The *Samtānāntara-siddhi*⁴³⁵) shows that, from the point of view of Empirical Reality, the inference of the existence of other minds on the basis of the existence of their words and actions does not conflict with Idealism, as follows:

Having observed that one's own purposive acts are preceded by knowledge,

when observing the same fact with others,
the existence of other minds is conjectured.

This will not be in conflict with Idealism.

These and other works on Dialectics are regarded by (some) Tibetan authorities as belonging to the Abhidharma Code. This is not correct, for Dialectics are (the subject-matter of) the treatises on the Science of Logic [20 a], whereas the Abhidharma consists (exclusively) of works on Metaphysics. It is said in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:⁴³⁶) —

(A Logician is to be recognized) —

by his disposition (to argue),⁴³⁷) by analysis⁴⁴⁰) and discussion
(of matters),

by practise, obtained in former births, by non-perception
(of the Absolute Truth),⁴⁴¹) and

by having no recourse to Scripture.

The merits of the logicians are considered to be of five kinds:
energy, thorough attention (as to the object investigated),

- tradition, complete apprehension (of the modes of proof),⁴⁴³
- and perfect moral purity.⁴⁴³

(The logicians are thus characterized) as not founding (their discussions) upon the Word of Scripture. On the other hand, the *Sūtrālamkāra*⁴⁴⁴ says:

Dependent (on Scripture),⁴⁴⁵ uncertain, incomprehensive,⁴⁴⁶ empirical, wearisome, —

Logic is to be viewed as the sphere of worldlings;⁴⁴⁷ (the Great Vehicle is therefore not its object).

(All this) disagrees with (our view of) the Abhidharma, since the latter is (our revered) Mother.⁴⁴⁸ The *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* says: —

It (the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*) has been composed in order to cause those, that adhere to heterodox views, to abstain from them, since they are false, — by discussing the modes of cognition and their (respective) objects. It does not, however, intend to convert anyone to Buddhism by these means only, for the Doctrine is not the object of dialectics. (But), if (heretical views) are rejected, the Teacher's Doctrine is studied and apprehended without difficulty, since all the numerous impediments are withdrawn.

- Moreover, the same work has the following verse:
 He, that leads to the Absolute Truth by the way of Dialectics,
 will be very far from the Teaching of Buddha and fail.
 Nevertheless, if the essence of the Lord's Teaching
 will endure change, it is advisable to probe it (by Logic).

Grammar.

The works on Grammar contain the analysis of three main points, namely: —

- 1) The crude forms (of words),
- 2) The various suffixes,⁴⁴⁹ and
- 3) The formation (of sentences and compounds, according to the rules of euphony etc.)

(These works are): — the fundamental grammatical aphorisms (of Pāṇini)⁴⁵⁰ and the supplementary (treatises on special parts of grammar). The crude forms are [20 b] the verbal roots⁴⁵¹ and the nouns (and adjectives) in their uninflected form. The suffixes are primary (*kṛt*)⁴⁵² used for the derivation of a noun from a verbal root and secondary (*tad-*

dhita)⁴⁵³) which form nouns and adjectives from primary derivatives. The latter are divided into suffixes of generality, unlimited plurality and abstract nouns.

The inflections which are used to form a word from a verbal root and differ with regard to time are called tense-terminations (*tiñ*), and those forming a word from the basis of a noun and varying as to their meaning — case-terminations (*sup*). The insertions of letters or syllables between the crude form and the suffix are called augments (*āgama*), and the particles, which alter the meaning of a verbal root — prefixes (*upasarga*).⁴⁵⁴) The latter are regarded as a part of the crude form of a verbal root.

The formation (of sentences and compounds). The elision and change of letters according to the rules of euphony⁴⁵⁵) etc. as well as the formation of compounds and the like are treated under this head.

Such are the principal topics, that form the subject-matter of grammar. Otherwise the main part of it is an exposition of euphonic rules, the nouns, the verbs, and the suffixes; the verbal roots, the prefixes and the uṇādi terminations being viewed as secondary subjects. In this order (grammar is taught) by the *Kalāpa-sūtra*⁴⁵⁶) or the *Vacana-mukha*,⁴⁵⁷) the latter being a summary teaching of phonetics, etymology, and syntax. All these works ought to be studied since they are conducive to the four departments of knowledge;⁴⁵⁸) they do not however belong to any of the three Codes.

Prosody and Lexicography.

In close connection (with the grammatical treatises) are the works on Prosody⁴⁵⁹) such as the *Chando-ratnākara*,⁴⁶⁰) which demonstrate the rules for employing (metrically) long and short vowels and give a tabular representation (of such vowels in a metre).⁴⁶¹) The synonyms of words, the differentiation of the three genders and the homonyms are treated in the lexicographical works such as the *Amarakoṣa*⁴⁶²) etc.

Poetics (Alamkāraçūtra).

The works on Poetics, the *Kāvya-darṣa*⁴⁶³) and the works on dramatical composition that teach in accordance with it etc. demonstrate the definition of a poetical composition, the various schools of poetics, the thirty-five poetical figures [21 a],

the acrostychs, and the poetical suggestions.⁴⁶⁴) In such a form poetics etc. are a part of the science of grammar and literature. Otherwise, they are a part of the Veda.⁴⁶⁵) (The *Amarakoṣa* says: —

The *Sāma* —, the *Rc* —, and the *Yajurveda*, —
These are the three Vedas.

Medicine.

The works on the Science of Medicine describe various diseases, their origin, the medicaments acting as an antidote against them, and the methods of treatment, or otherwise: —

The body (of a pregnant woman), the infant, (its) diseases, the body (its interior), its upper part, the (wounds inflicted by) weapons and bites, as well as the remedy against infirmity, — such are the eight (principal) spheres, where medicinal treatment is applied.

Accordingly, pregnancy (and female diseases in general), infant-diseases,⁴⁶⁶) the body, — that is its internal part or the trunk, the upper part, — the head, further on, (the sphere of surgery) — the wounds inflicted by weapons and those caused by bites, and, finally, the Himalayan lizard (which affords a remedy against infirmity) are treated in the medical works, such as the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*⁴⁶⁷). The works on the Science of Art are those on Alchemy,⁴⁶⁸) on the dimensions of images⁴⁶⁹) etc.

Metaphysics.

The works on Metaphysics demonstrate the (5) groups of elements, the (18) component elements of an individual, the (12) bases of cognition, the difference between them, and their special characteristics, — from the standpoint of Empirical Reality. Such is the Abhidharma-literature, the *Mahāyāna-lakṣaṇa-samuccaya*,⁴⁷⁰) etc.

Treatises referring to the Absolute Reality.

II Dcb₁C₂C₃b₄. The works referring to Absolute Reality demonstrate the four Truths of the Saint, or non-differentiation into subject and object, and Non-substantiality, as the *Satyadvaya-viniścaya*,⁴⁷¹) the *Triṃśaka* (of Vasubandhu) or the *Madhyamaka-ālamkāra*.⁴⁷²)

The treatises conducive to Salvation and Omniscience.

- II Dcb₁c₂c₃c₄. (The treatises) that show the way to Salvation and Omniscience are those like the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*,⁴⁷³ the *Çrāvaka-bhūmi*,⁴⁷⁴ the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* etc. Some authorities say, that each of these works treats on a special topic (and is to be regarded as) a treatise of the smaller type [21 b], whereas the great works, that contain the exposition (of the Doctrine) as a whole, are those like the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* or *Abhidharmakośa*.

Varieties of interpretation.

The different conceptions of Buddhism.

- II Dcb₁c₂d₃. (We have to distinguish) the interpretation of Buddha's Word in general and that of special parts of it (relating to the different periods). With regard to the first kind it is said that the verbal part (of the Doctrine) is elucidated by the grammatical treatises, and the contents — by the works on the Science of Logic. I, however, do not share this opinion.

As to the interpretation of special divisions of Scripture (that of the early, the intermediate and the latest period), the works containing them are, (respectively), of three kinds, as follows: —

Treatises interpreting Hīnayānistic Scripture.

The treatises that give an interpretation of early Scripture are of two kinds, — those elucidating the theoretical part and those referring to religious practise.

Works on Abhidharma.

Of the first kind are the seven (fundamental) treatises on Abhidharma, which are: —

- The *Dharma-skandha*,⁴⁷⁵ — of Çāriputra, (1)
- The *Prajñāpti-çāstra*,⁴⁷⁶ — of Maudgalyāyana, (2)
- The *Dhātu-kāya*,⁴⁷⁷ — composed by Pūrṇa,⁴⁷⁸ (3)
- The *Vijñāna-kāya*,⁴⁷⁹ — by Devaçarman,⁴⁸⁰
- The *Jñāna-prasthāna*,⁴⁸¹ — of Kātyāyana⁴⁸² (5)
- The *Prakarāṇa-pāda*,⁴⁸³ — of Vasumitra,⁴⁸⁴ (6) and
- The *Samgīti-paryāya*,⁴⁸⁵ — composed by Mahākauṣṭhila,⁴⁸⁶ (7) so runs the tradition.⁴⁸⁷

The Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas regard these seven works as be-

longing to the Word of Buddha. They say, that they contain sermons delivered by the teacher at various times, at different places and to diverse persons separately, the Arhats and Ārjavakas having subsequently collected them, as, for instance, it is the case in the *Udānavarga*.⁴⁸⁹ Otherwise, they say, the three Codes of Scripture would not be complete.

The Sautrāntikas and the other (schools) say, that the Abhidharma is included in both the Sūtras and the Vinaya, or otherwise, has been expounded at intervals, and that no mistake is made (by admitting such an order). As to the seven works, (the schools just mentioned) regard them as exegetical treatises. The contents of these works is rendered, in abridged form, by the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, which in its turn is condensed in the *Abhidharmakośa* and other treatises.

Treatises on Vinaya.

(The practical side of Early Scripture) is exposed in the *Vinaya-sūtra*,⁴⁸⁹ which first of all demonstrates the tenets of monkhood⁴⁹⁰ the first of the 17 subjects of Vinaya, then, having for its principal subject-matter (the contents of) the two *Vinayavibhanga* [22 a], and the (remaining) 16 subjects, — it explains (all these points), referring to passages from the *Uttara-grantha*⁴⁹¹ — the chapter of questions⁴⁹² and that of instructions,⁴⁹³ — and the divisions of the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*,⁴⁹⁴ when necessary. (Other works) as the *Puṣpamālā*⁴⁹⁵ or the *Triṣata-kārikā*⁴⁹⁶ expound (Vinaya) on the basis of the *Vinaya-vibhanga*, with references, when needed, to the other (canonical works on Vinaya).

Treatises on the Mādhyamaka Doctrine and the Prajñāpāramitā.

The exegetical treatises interpreting Intermediate Scripture are likewise of two kinds, — those elucidating the theoretical, and those referring to the practical part. Four “Waylayers of the Vehicle” are known, as follows: —

The six main treatises of Nāgārjuna.

- 1) The six main treatises of the Mādhyamika Doctrine (by Nāgārjuna⁴⁹⁷) demonstrating that, which is expressed by the Sūtras directly, or otherwise, the essential meaning (of the Doctrine). These works are, —

- The *Ānyatā-saptati*,⁴⁸⁸) — expounding the theory of the Relativity of all elements of existence, devoid of the extremities of causality⁴⁸⁹) and pluralism,⁵⁰⁰) and
- The *Prajñā-mūla*,⁵⁰¹) — denying the reality of origination from self and non-self,⁵⁰²) — these two works (are to be regarded as) the fundamental or principal. Next come:
- The *Yukti-śaṣṭikā*,⁵⁰³) — containing a logical vindication (of the theory).
- The *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*,⁵⁰⁴) — refuting the challenges of antagonists,
- The *Vaidalya-sūtra*,⁵⁰⁵) — demonstrating the methods of controversy with adversaries and logicians (in general) and
- The *Vyavahāra-siddhi*,⁵⁰⁶) showing that, from the point of view of the Absolute Truth — Non - substantiality, and from the empirical standpoint — worldly practise go along together.

Works on the Prajñāpāramitā.

- 2) The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*⁵⁰⁷) has for its principal subject-matter the meaning of that, which is taught indirectly, — namely, the knowledge of the practical way (to attain the dignity) of a Buddha. It is a summary of the following eight subjects:⁵⁰⁸) —

The three kinds of Divine Wisdom, which are: —

The Omniscience of the Buddha,⁵⁰⁹)

The Knowledge of the Path, (Hīnayānistic and Mahāyānistic, — by the Bodhisattva),⁵¹⁰)

The Knowledge of the Empirical World, (accessible to the Hīnayānist Saint),⁵¹¹)

The four Methods of Realization, which are: —

The thorough Knowledge of all the forms of the 3 kinds of Wisdom (beforesaid) and of their respective objects,⁵¹²)

The Culmination of the Process of Illumination,⁵¹³)

The Progressive Process of Illumination,⁵¹⁴)

The Final, Momentary Intuition,⁵¹⁵) and

The Result of the Path, which is the Unity of the Cosmos, viewed as the Body of the Buddha.

- 3) The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha*⁵¹⁶) explains the subjects of Prajñāpāramitā in 32 paragraphs. It says:⁵¹⁷) —

The Founder (of the Faith), the adherents,
 the deeds (of virtue) the concentration of mind,
 the varieties (of the aspects of objective Unreality), the (two)
 signs,
 (moral) fall and the merit of virtuous life —
 (these subjects) are discussed (here).

Accordingly⁵¹⁹) the founder (of the Faith) — that is Buddha the Teacher, the adherents — the converts (Bodhisattvas etc.), the deeds — action according to the Climax of Wisdom. The ten forms of meditation act as an antidote against the ten kinds of mental confusion which consist in the imputation of nonsubstantiality,⁵¹⁹) of reality,⁵²⁰) imagined presence⁵²¹) and its repulsion, ⁵²²) of unity, ⁵²³) plurality,⁵²⁴) substance,⁵²⁵) quality,⁵²⁶) of the correspondence of objects with their names⁵²⁷) and the reverse.⁵²⁸) The varieties are those of the aspects of objective Unreality, sixteen in number, — to begin with the Unreality of the internal bases of cognition,⁵²⁹) and up to the Unreality of the essence of non-ens.⁵³⁰) The signs are those of the activity of the Evil-one and of (the Bodhisattva), who has attained the irretrievable state. The fall into evil births is a consequence of abstaining from the teaching of the Climax of Wisdom. The merit is that of practising the highest form of virtue in acting according to this teaching, — virtue, that is greater than offerings, which fill the innumerable worlds with gold and jewels. All (the contents of the Prajñāpāramitā) is comprised in these 32 points, which are entered upon repeatedly, when it is necessary.

- 4) The Commentary on the *Çatasāhasrikā*, (the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Aṣṭadaśa-sāhasrikā*⁵³¹) is an exposition of the Doctrine of the Climax of Wisdom) in the form of the three “media” and the eleven instructions. The subject is opened upon by means of an introduction. Then comes “the medium of teaching in abridged form” as “o Çāriputra, the Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas, who wish to attain complete Enlightenment, with regard to all the elements of existence, in all their forms, — must be keen upon (the study of) the Climax of Wisdom”, — where the individual, the cause, the subject and the way (of studying) is briefly indicated. Next comes “the medium of moderate teach-

ing" — up to the close of the first chapter,⁵³²) and finally, "the medium of teaching in detail", — up to the end. [23 a.] The eleven instructions are: — the precepts delivered to Ārīputra, the speech of Subhūti,⁵³³) the two instructions delivered to Indra, the four — to Subhūti, and one — to Ānanda. It is said, that this Commentary is the work of Dāṃṣṭrasena, but it will be more correct to regard it as composed by Vasubandhu. This work, as well as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha* expound (Prajñāpāramitā) from the standpoint of the Yogācāra System.

(The works referring to the practical side of Intermediate Scripture are the *Āikṣā-samuccaya*,⁵³⁴) the *Sūtra-samuccaya*⁵³⁵) or the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the three "Degrees of Meditation",⁵³⁶) where the theoretical and the practical part (of the Doctrine) are expounded jointly.

Yogācāra works.

The works elucidating Scripture of the latest period are (as in the two former cases, commentaries) on the theoretical and the practical part (of the Teaching). The treatises of the first kind are as follows:

The works of Maitreya.

- 1) The works of the Lord Maitreya, which are: —

The *Sūtrālamkāra*,

„ *Madhyānta-vibhanga*,⁵³⁷)

„ *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga*,⁵³⁸) and

„ *Uttaratantra*.

Some authorities say, that the first two of these four (treatises) belong to the Abhidharma Code, the latter two — to the Sūtra Code, and the *Abhisamayālamkāra* — to the Vinaya Code. I however see no reason (for such a classification).

The *Sūtrālamkāra* contains an exposition of all the Mahāyānistic Doctrines in abridged form: —

Like wrought gold, like an unfolded lotus flower,
like well prepared food, enjoyed by those that were starving,
like a message agreeable to hear, or like an opened chest full
of jewels, —

the Doctrine, that is expounded here, is the cause of the
highest delight.⁵³⁹)

In such a form its contents is presented (to the reader).

The *Madhyānta-vibhanga*. *Anta* — “extremity”, — means the extremities of Realism and Nihilism, or otherwise, those of Eternalism and Materialism. *Madhya* — “the middle”, — is the middle way shunning both these extremities. The treatise, as it gives an analysis (*vibhanga*) of both these points, is called *Madhyānta-vibhanga*. It treats on seven subjects, as follows: —

The three aspects (of Reality),⁵⁴⁰ the Obscurations, the Absolute Truth,
the antidotes (against defilement), profound meditation,
its sphere and the Highest of Vehicles, through which the ultimate result is attained.

The *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga*. “*Dharma*” are the elements of existence, that belong to the phenomenal world and are influenced by defiling agencies. “*Dharmatā*” is the true essence of all the elements — Nirvāṇa. The work, being an investigation of these two principles, bears the name, *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga*. The *Uttaratantra* is called so, because it is the highest (*uttara*) of the series (*tantra*) of the Mahāyānistic teachings, — it consequently contains the Highest of Doctrines. Otherwise *uttara* may signify “latest”. (The *Uttaratantra* is in this case called so) as it is an interpretation of the latest teaching of the Mahāyāna. It enlarges upon the Three Jewels, their character, the ultimate result, which is Enlightenment, the 64 qualities of the Buddha⁵⁴¹) and the deeds achieved by him as follows: —

Buddha, the Doctrine, the Church, their character, Enlightenment,
the qualities of Buddha, and, finally His achievements,
these are the seven diamond subjects, —
the contents of the whole work taken in short.

The five divisions of the Yogacaryā-bhūmi.

Having adjoined (to these four works) the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (mentioned before) we shall have all the 5 treatises of Maitreya. In harmony with these treatises are: — the great work of Aryāśaṅga, — the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi* in its five volumes,⁵⁴²) the two summary works (of the same author), and the eight treatises of Vasubandhu. Of these the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi* is to be regarded as the principal. It has the following five divisions: —

The *Bahubhūmika-vastu*,⁵⁴³ expounding (the Yogācāra Doctrine) comprised in 17 subjects. The summary (at the head of the work) is as follows: —

The subject of the five kinds of sensation,
that of the intellect and of the following three —
(subconscious thought) associated with a search⁵⁴⁴, a fixation
of mind⁵⁴⁵ etc.,
the subject of concentration and non-concentration of mind,
that of consciousness and unconsciousness, [24 a]
the subjects of study, investigation, and meditation,
that of three Vehicles, and (of Nirvāṇa) with rest⁵⁴⁶ and
without it.⁵⁴⁷)

These seventeen subjects are demonstrated with reference to the person, the conduct, and the result. They are, accordingly, of three kinds, as follows: — The subject of the five kinds of consciousness and that of the intellect are the foundation of personal (progress). The subject of (subconscious thinking) associated with a search and an attempt to fix the mind, ⁵⁴⁸) of (subconscious thought) associated with an attempt to fix the mind and without search⁵⁴⁹) and that of (thought) which is neither searching nor attempting to fix the mind⁵⁵⁰) are the modes of action of the person. Concentration of mind and the absence of such, consciousness and unconsciousness are the different states (of the person).

As regards the conduct, we have three subjects, — that of study, of investigation and of meditation. With reference to the result, — the subject of (the three Vehicles), — of the Ārāyikas, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, — concerning the preliminary result, and the subject (of Nirvāṇa) with rest, — in the form of the (five) groups of elements, and that without it, — which is the final result.

The *Nirṇaya-saṃgraha*⁵⁵¹) acts as a commentary on the preceding volume. It is an investigation of the verbal part and the subject-matter of the *Bahubhūmika-vastu* by the method of quadrilemmas⁵⁵²) etc. With the exception of the subject (of the Vehicle of) the Pratyekabuddhas it contains a summary analysis (of the different subjects). These two volumes completely elucidate the meaning of Scripture (belonging to the latest period).

The *Vastu-saṃgraha*⁵⁵³) demonstrates the order in which

(the contents of the *Bahubhūmika-vastu*) should be combined in accordance with the three Codes (of Scripture). Having briefly indicated this order, it then enlarges upon the part, which is to be included in the Sūtra and the Vinaya Code only. The Abhidharma, as it comprises all the five divisions of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi* (in general), is not mentioned separately. "The subject of study," says the *Nirṇaya-saṃgraha*, "is the Abhidharma, which is contained in the 17 subjects (of the *Bahubhūmikavastu*) and in the four compendia (*Nirṇaya-saṃgraha* etc.)."

The *Paryāya-saṃgraha*⁵⁵⁴) gives the synonyms of the words expressing the different subjects, and especially that of the purifying⁵⁵⁵) and defiling⁵⁵⁶) elements. [24 b]. These two works, (the *Vastu-saṃgraha* and *Paryāya-saṃgraha*) are explanatory.⁵⁵⁷)

The *Vivaraṇa-saṃgraha*⁵⁵⁸) enlarges upon the methods of teaching (adopted by the preceeding works). Consequently, with regard to the meaning of Scripture, the explanations and the methods of teaching, — five divisions of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi* are to be distinguished.

The summary works.

The two summary works (of Aryāsanga) are: —

The *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, which is a general summary of the Doctrine) in common with (all) the (three) Vehicles and an exposition of five points, — the definitions of all the subjects (of the Abhidharma), investigation of the (four) Truths (of the Saint),⁵⁵⁹) of the Doctrine,⁵⁶⁰) of the ultimate result⁵⁶¹) and of the methods of teaching,⁵⁶²) and the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*,⁵⁶³) — a summary of (the Doctrine of) the Great Vehicle. It demonstrates, in abridged form, ten points, — the varieties of the elements of existence etc. from the Mahāyānistic standpoint.

The treatises of Vasubandhu on Idealism.

The eight treatises of Vasubandhu are as follows: —

1. The *Triṃśaka-kārikā-prakaraṇa*,⁵⁶⁴) teaching that all the elements of existence are but modes of one conscious principle.

2. The *Vimśaka-kārikā-prakaraṇa*,⁵⁶⁵) — a vindication of this theory by means of Logic.

The *Pañcaskandha-prakarana*,⁵⁶⁶) — a vindication of the theory of the five groups of elements, which is the foundation of Logic.

The *Vyākhyāyukti*, vindicating the possibility of studying and preaching (the Doctrine), — in conformity with the theory of Idealism.

The *Karma-siddhi-prakarana*⁵⁶⁷) — vindicating the acts of the three media (from the same standpoint).

These five works are independent. Next come interpretations of other works as follows: —

The Commentary on the *Sūtrālamkāra*,⁵⁶⁸) — vindicating the practice of the six Transcendental virtues,

the Commentary on the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*,⁵⁷⁰) — vindicating the twelve-membered formula of the evolution of individual life, and

the Commentary on the *Madhyānta-vibhanga*,⁵⁷¹) — a vindication of the three aspects of Reality. Such are these eight works according to the tradition.

Some authorities say that, since this teacher has composed many more treatises, including the commentary on the *Daṣabhūmaka-sūtra*⁵⁷²) etc., the limitation of their number to eight is incorrect, and so is likewise that of twenty treatises connected with the teaching of Maitreya. Those that insist on a definite number with regard to the latter, count the five volumes of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi*, the two summary works, the five books of Maitreya and the eight treatises (of Vasubandhu).

The treatises elucidating the practical part of the Doctrine are the *Bodhisattva-saṃvara-viṃśaka*⁵⁷³) etc.

The various classes of exegetical treatises.

II Dcb₁c₂e₃. With regard to the various classes of exegetical treatises, we have to distinguish those, that do not base upon the Scripture of Buddhism [25 a], and their reverse. As to the treatises of the latter kind, — such may be interpretations of the Word of Buddha (proper) and independent works, dealing with its contents (in general). Of the first kind are: 1) the great Commentaries elucidating the verbal part and meaning (of the Doctrine) such as the *Pratimokṣa-sūtra-ṭīkā*,⁵⁷⁴) consisting of fifty chapters, 2) (special) Commentaries on the

verbal part, as the *Udānavarga-vivarāṇa*,⁵⁷⁹) 3) Commentaries on difficult points, explaining such, as the two Commentaries on the *Saṃcaya*,⁵⁷⁹) 4) works that give a brief account, rendering the principal part of the subject-matter (of the canonical text in question) in abridged form, — as the works of Vimalamitra and 5) Commentaries explaining the meaning of whole sentences, condensing such. Of the second kind are the treatises, which —

- 1) give a complete review of such and such part of Scripture,
- 2) demonstrate in a regular system that, which in Scripture is scattered, and
- 3) render the contents of many different parts of Scripture, taken together. Of the first kind are the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* or the *Vinaya-sūtra*, — of the second — the *Ḥraṇḍakārikā*, and of the third, — the *Ḥikṣā-samuccaya* or the *Suhrillekhā*.⁵⁷⁷)

Commentaries in general bear different names, such as *vr̥tti*,⁵⁷⁸) *bhāṣya*,⁵⁷⁹) *vyākhyā*,⁵⁸⁰) *nibandhana*,⁵⁸¹) *piṇḍārtha*,⁵⁸²) *pañjikā*,⁵⁸³) *ṭīkā*,⁵⁸⁴) *saṃskāra*,⁵⁸⁵) *vibhanga*,⁵⁸⁶) and many others. Such a differentiation of exegetical treatises has been made with regard to scientific works in general, (which are to be studied) in order to increase (the sphere of) knowledge. We do not consider it to be in conflict with the definition and etymology (of exegetical treatises) mentioned above.⁵⁸⁷) since such concern only the special treatises (on the Scripture of Buddhism).

III. The Consideration and Fulfillment of Rules prescribed for Study and Teaching.

(With regard to the subject in question) there are four (principal points, which are to be treated separately,) as follows: —

- A. The characteristic of the Doctrine, that is to be taught.
- B. The characteristic of the methods of teaching, which are to be observed by the preceptor.
- C. The characteristic of the methods of study (prescribed for) the pupils.
- D. The instruction for realizing the aim of the Doctrine by both the teacher and the pupils [25 b].

Characteristic of the Doctrine.

III A. In order to become proficient in (the various) branches of science in general, the study of diverse kinds of scientific treatises is required. It is said in the Vinaya, that heterodox works etc. are likewise to be studied and that the Bodhisattvas especially must receive training in all (the various disciplines). However, those, that proceed on the Sublime Path, must (first of all) be keen upon the study and preaching of Buddha's Doctrine. The characteristic of this Doctrine is rendered by the *Prabhāvatī*⁵⁸⁸) as follows:

That, which perfectly teaches the three Disciplines,
is endowed with the three Seals,
and is virtuous in the beginning, in the middle and at the end —
is known by the wise as the Word of the Buddha.

Accordingly, (this Doctrine) demonstrates the three Disciplines, the training in which is to be (practically) carried out, and the three Seals, which are the distinctive mark, peculiar to the Scripture and philosophical system (of Buddhism). These are as follows: —

All elements of existence are impersonal,⁵⁸⁹)
All phenomena⁵⁹⁰) are transitory,
All elements influenced by defiling agencies⁵⁹¹)
have mere phenomenal existence.

The essence of the Doctrine is characterised as “virtuous in the beginning, in the middle and at the end”. The *Prati-mokṣa-sūtra* says:⁵⁹²) —

Do not commit any sin, in whatsoever it may be,
practise the complement of virtue, and
perfectly subdue your own mind, —
such is the Teaching of Buddha.

It is said in the Sūtras: — The Highest Doctrine is: ⁵⁹³)

Virtuous in the beginning,⁵⁹⁴)
Virtuous in the middle,⁵⁹⁵)
Virtuous at the end,⁵⁹⁶)
Of fine meaning,⁵⁹⁷)
Endowed with fine words,⁵⁹⁸)
Unique,⁵⁹⁹)
Fully accomplished,⁶⁰⁰)
Pure,⁶⁰¹) and
Universally immaculate.⁶⁰²)

As to the words “virtuous in the beginning, in the middle and at the end, Asanga and other authorities regard them as referring to study, investigation, and meditation.⁶⁰³⁾ Others say that the introduction at the beginning of a discourse, the discourse itself in the middle, and the utterances of praise at the close of it are meant here. The teacher Kalyāṇadeva considers that the words in question concern the salutation at the beginning of an exegetical treatise, the main contents of the treatise in the middle and the blessings at the end. According to the interpretation given by the Vyākhyāyukti, [26 a] “the beginning”, “the middle”, and “the end”, (respectively mean the aggregates of morality, profound meditation, and Highest Wisdom⁶⁰⁴⁾ which are the complement of virtue, since they are indestructible.⁶⁰⁵⁾ “Of fine meaning” refers to the complement of the subject-matter, since such is correct and incontrovertible.⁶⁰⁶⁾ “Endowed with fine words” means — possessing the complement of (the means of) verbal expression, since (the subject-matter) is rendered completely intelligible. “Unique”, has the meaning of “having nothing in common with other (Doctrines)”.⁶⁰⁷⁾ “Fully accomplished” (is the Doctrine), since it acts as an antidote against every kind of defilement.⁶⁰⁸⁾ “Pure”, as it is conducive to the liberation of an individual existence (from sin) through deliverance from the passions of this world of carnal desire.⁶⁰⁹⁾ “Universally immaculate”, since it leads to the complete deliverance of the stream (of elements constituting a personality), — by making it free from the dreaming residue of passions, that are peculiar to the other (higher) spheres (of existence).⁶¹⁰⁾

That, which is endowed with all these qualities, is known as the Highest Doctrine (of Buddha).

In short, Buddhism, the Highest Doctrine is 1) the Teaching, that harmonizes with all the three Vehicles,⁶¹¹⁾ which is contained in the Sūtras on the four Truths of the Saint, appears as that, which subdues passion⁶¹²⁾ and is not in conflict with the laws of Causality⁶¹³⁾ and 2) (the Teaching) of the Great Vehicle as it appears in the *Uttaratantra*, the corresponding passage of which we have quoted above.⁶¹⁴⁾

Moreover, we read in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:⁶¹⁵⁾ —

This is the teaching of Virtue, —

since it is the cause of faith, felicity, and wisdom,

of twofold meaning,⁶¹⁹ easy to apprehend,
and speaking of virtuous conduct, the merit of which is of
four kinds: —

(It is) unique, as it is not in common with anything else,
bringing to accomplishment the annihilation of passions in
the three spheres of existence,
pure by nature and free from defilement, — the conduct of
virtue has fourfold merit.

As to the special theory of Mahāyāna, we read as follows: —
Relativity, that is one with Great Commiseration,
upon which the mind profoundly meditates, —
such is the Teaching, that refers to Buddha, the Doctrine
and the Church.

Accordingly, Relativity, the essence of which is Great Com-
miseration⁶²⁰ is here [26 b] spoken of as (the true) Teaching
of Buddha. This Teaching, — the Word of Buddha (proper)
or the special exegetical treatises, — comprises the verbal
part and the meaning. The *Sūtrālamkāra*⁶²¹ says: —

Like a remedy, that smells bitter, but proves to be sweet
if tasted, —

the Doctrine appears in two aspects, viewed from the stand-
point of words and sense.

The complement (of the meaning of the Doctrine) is the
conduct of virtue, which (as has just been said) is characterized
by fourfold merit. As to the complement of the means of
verbal expression, the *Sūtrālamkāra*⁶²² speaks of it as follows:

Indicating and teaching correctly,
harmonizing with the three Vehicles, mild,
intelligible, dignified, conducive to Salvation,
and corresponding (to the Path of a Saint), —
such is the complement of the means of verbal expression
familiar to the Bodhisattvas.

Moreover the *Vivaraṇa-saṃgraha*⁶²³ says: —

The body of a discourse is twofold, namely (its) words and
(their) meaning. Of these two parts, — the words (are to
be viewed as) receptacles, and the meaning, — as that, which
is contained in them. Both parts combined together, form
the subject of study. And in the abridged treatise of Dhar-
mottara⁶²⁴ it is to be read: —

Twofold is the body of a scientific treatise, — (it includes) the words and (their) meaning.

Consequently, the Doctrine, that is to be taught is that, which has been exposed by Buddha, collected by the Compilers, commented by the great scholars,⁶²²⁾ translated by the venerable Lotsavas and Paṇḍits, and supplied with instructions and precepts, delivered by one teacher to the other in regular succession,⁶²³⁾ — the division of the Tantras, or that of the Sūtras, the Word of Buddha proper or the exegetical treatises, the three Codes, — of the Sūtras, the Abhidharma and the Vinaya. Each of these parts is a subject of teaching.

Characteristic of the methods of teaching.

III B. Three (principal points are to be distinguished here) as follows: —

- a. The definition of the teacher, that expounds (the Doctrine).
- b. The means of teaching resorted to.
- c. The methods of teaching (proper).

Definition of the teacher.

III B a. In the various treatises many different characteristics of the (spiritual) teacher are given [27 a]

The *Çramaṇera-kārikā*⁶²¹⁾ says: —

Him that is morally pure, who knows the rules of religious
Discipline,
is merciful to the distressed and (surrounded by) faithful adherents,
him, who is zealous in administering help by means of the
Doctrine and of material objects,
and who teaches at due time, — you are to revere as your
spiritual teacher.

The teacher Nāgārjuna says:⁶²⁵⁾

Know thou in short the definition of the teachers:⁶²⁶⁾
They are well versed in the rules of Discipline, endowed with
Great Commiseration and pure morality,
and with the Highest Wisdom, that removes all defilement.
You must rely upon such teachers,
be full of reverence toward their wisdom.

Çāntideva has:⁶²⁷⁾

(Never forsake) the Teacher, — him who is proficient in
the meaning of the Great Vehicle.

And Candragomin:⁶²⁹

A teacher, that observes the vows, is learned and efficient,
must be chosen (as preceptor).

Moreover, we read in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:⁶³⁰ —

Rely upon the Friend⁶³⁰, that is well disciplined,
self-controlled and perfectly calming (all passions),
endowed with exclusive merits, energetic, and rich in (his
knowledge) of Scripture,
perceiving the Absolute Truth, skilful in speech,
merciful by nature and never weary (to teach).

Here ten qualities are mentioned. (The teacher is): —

- 1) Well disciplined, being endowed with pure morality,
- 2) Self-controlled, since he practises profound meditation,
- 3) Perfectly calming all passions, through being endowed
with Highest Wisdom,
- 4) Of exclusive merits, since his virtues are superior to
those of others,
- 5) Zealous, as he is not indifferent toward the needs of others,
- 6) Rich in (his knowledge of) Scripture, through extensive
study (of the latter).
- 7) Perceiving the Absolute Truth, that is to be cognized,
- 8) A skilful orator,
- 9) Merciful, since he does not look to profit, and
- 10) Never tired to expound the Doctrine.

And again:⁶³¹

The Bodhisattva, the Highest of human beings,
is known to be greatly learned,
perceiving the Absolute Truth, eloquent,
full of compassion and free from lassitude. [27 b.]

Accordingly, (the teacher appears here) as endowed with five
distinctive qualities. (He is): —

- 1) greatly learned, — an advantage as regards the theory,⁶³²
- 2) cognizing the Absolute Truth, — an advantage that concerns
practice,⁶³³
- 3) an eloquent orator,
- 4) merciful, since his mind is not directed toward material
gain,
- 5) free from lassitude in thought and action.

Moreover, four qualities are known, as follows:⁶³⁴

Extensive, clearing doubt, worthy of being heard to, demonstrating the Absolute Truth in two aspects, —
such do we know to be the complement of the teaching (administered by) the Bodhisattvas.

Here (the Bodhisattva is characterized as): —

- 1) Endowed with great knowledge, by having extensively studied,
- 2) Clearing the doubts of the converts, by (his) great wisdom
- 3) Worthy of being accepted as a teacher by being virtuous with regard to the three media (— body, speech, and mind),
- 4) Demonstrating the Absolute Truth, with a view to the (morally) defiling⁶³⁵ and purifying⁶³⁶ elements.

All these qualities are usually the (exclusive) attributes of a Saint and it is therefore not easy to become possessed of (all of) them. Three distinctive features, are however indispensable. These are: —

- a₁) The High Wisdom, that characterizes a learned man,
- b₁) A mind full of love and compassion,
- c₁) Virtuous acts.

The wisdom of a teacher.

III Baa₁. (The teacher must be):

- a₂) Well versed (in the Doctrine) that is to be expounded,
- b₂) Skilful, as regards the way of expressing himself,
- c₂) Experienced, as concerns his behaviour (toward the pupils and knowledge of the natural constitution of the latter).

The teacher's knowledge of the subject to be taught.

III B aa₁a₂. It is well if one knows thoroughly (all the different subjects of study, or otherwise the three Codes of Scripture, (but this is not all). We need (a teacher) who knows exactly what part (of the Doctrine) is to be taught, and who, with regard to words and sense, gives (good) instructions, that are based upon Scripture and Logic. Such (a teacher) is alone able to clear all the doubts of the pupils.

Skill in the means of verbal expression.

III B aa₁b₂. (The skill in the way of expressing oneself consists in using) grammatically correct speech, (observing) the three

rules of verbal connection, — accordance with the sources, proportion to the compass of teaching⁶³⁷) and precision in regard of the contents, — and finally, sweet and agreeable language, through which one is able to give pleasure to others. Moreover we read in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*:⁶³⁸)

- 1.⁶³⁹) Very eloquent through voice and style,
indicating, analysing, and clearing doubt,
communicating repeatedly, for those, that understand
a brief indication,⁶⁴⁰)
and those that need a description in detail,⁶⁴¹) —
- 2.⁶⁴²) The teaching of the Buddhas is pure as regards its three
aspects⁶⁴³) [28 a] and is known to be free from the
following eight defects: —
- 3.⁶⁴⁴) Indolence, unclear speech, inappropriate speech, want
of certainty,
impossibility to clear doubt and to confirm the absence
of such,⁶⁴⁵)
- 4.⁶⁴⁶) Lassitude and concealment of the Truth, — such are
the defects in speech.

The teaching of the Buddhas, since it possesses none
of them, is superior (to all other Doctrines).

(As shows this verse) the teaching must be free from the eight
defects (just mentioned) and, consequently, pure, being viewed
from (its) three aspects. Otherwise, as says the *Vyākhyāyukti*,⁶⁴⁷)
— twenty methods of communicating the Doctrine, which act
as antidotes against eleven defects in speech are to be con-
sidered, — as follows: —

- 1) Teaching at due time. This is an antidote against that de-
fect, which consists in preaching to a person, who by his
immoral conduct is unworthy of being taught. This me-
thod is observed by teaching only after having become con-
vinced, that (the hearer) really wishes to study and is
worthy to receive instruction. My own means of teaching
and studying are defective, as regards this (first method);
they are therefore without real value and do not attain
their aim.⁶⁴⁸)

- 2) Teaching accurately, by admitting no carelessness in speech.
This method is directed against the defect of incompleteness.

The following three methods are antidotes against the
defect of broken, interrupted speech: —

- 3) Teaching in regular order,⁶⁴⁹ — by beginning with the communication of (subjects) which, as regards time, are to be mentioned first, namely charity etc., or of high, sublime matters.⁶⁵⁰
- 4) Teaching in due connection, — with a view to the Sūtra, that is to be explained, and replying to the awkward questions of opponents.
- 5) Teaching, with a regard (for one's hearers) by giving instructions in accordance with (their) questions, instructions in the form of one categorical answer⁶⁵¹) etc.

The methods, which act against the defect of unintelligible speech are (likewise) three in number, as follows: —

- 6) Causing delight to those, that are devoted (to the Doctrine).
- 7) Arousing the desire (to study) in those that first meet (with the Doctrine) and are hostile to it. [28 b.]
- 8) Giving satisfaction to those, that are on the way toward apprehension, but are still full of doubt.

The defect in speech, that consists in disregard (for the Doctrine), has the two following antidotes: —

- 9) Not speaking so as to gratify those, that lead sinful lives, and are therefore unworthy of being pleased.
- 10) Not abusing (others) who through this become depressed.

An antidote against the defect of incorrect speech is —

- 11) Having recourse to Logic in never being in conflict with the modes of right cognition.⁶⁵²)

That defect in speech, which consists in communicating matters of profound meaning to (a pupil) of weak intellectual faculties (unable to understand them) is avoided by —

- 12) Gradual progress — from the preceeding to the following. Then come: —
- 13) Precision, — an antidote against the defect of distraction, — by withholding from excourses on other subjects.
- 14) Dependence on the Doctrine, that is — being in harmony with (the teaching of) virtue. This is an antidote against the defect of (communicating) useless theories.
- 15) Accordance with the circle of adherents whosoever they might be, — an antidote against ill-suited speech.

The remaining five methods act against the defect of teaching, in being (at the same time) possessed of sinful thoughts. As to the latter, such may be of three kinds, namely,

the consideration of oneself to be virtuous and trustworthy, the desire of being honoured and praised, and envy (with regard to the merit of others). The first of these has three antidotes: —

- 16) A mind full of love,
- 17) A mind full of desire to help, and
- 18) A mind full of compassion, — which manifest themselves in the desire (for others) to be happy, dispassionate, and free from suffering; otherwise, with regard to the virtuous, the vicious, and the indifferent, — by (words) full of love etc. respectively, and, in a third way, by wishing (others) to attain Nirvāṇa, to obtain full knowledge of the Path, that leads to it, and to understand completely the meaning of that, which is to be taught.

The antidote against sinful thoughts of the second kind is:

- 19) Not to look to profit, honour and praise [29 a], — in rejecting the desire (of such).

And of the third: —

- 20) Not to be inclined to arrogance and depreciation of others, — that is to abandon the desire of being regarded as trustworthy, and to become free from envy.

Of these twenty methods, each group of five, respectively, shows: how, for whose sake, in what form, and by what kind (of teacher) the Doctrine is to be communicated, or otherwise, the course of teaching, its work, the qualities of the speech, and those of the speaker. To follow these twenty methods and to avoid the (eleven) defects in speech is to be skilful in the way of expressing oneself.

The conduct and character of the teacher and the pupils.

- III Baa_{1c}. (A teacher must be) experienced as concerns his own behaviour, in order to be revered as one, that is virtuous in regard of the three media, — and must likewise perfectly know the natural constitution of (his) pupils, namely, their faculties, character, and inclinations,⁶⁵³) — for only by teaching in harmony with such will he attain his aim. It is said in the *Daṣacakra-kṣitigarbha*:⁶⁵⁴) —

A worldling, with feeble faculties, and indolent,⁶⁵⁵)

Who is not keen upon (the study of) the two Vehicles, —

Will never come to master the teaching⁶⁵⁶) of Mahāyāna,
For he is not worthy of it.

And further on: —

In the same way, if the adherents of the Ārāvaka Vehicle,
unworthy of the Great one,
Come to hear the teaching of the latter, —
They will become confused, adhere to nihilistic views and
fall into evil births.

For this reason you must teach the Doctrine, only after
having examined the faculties of the hearers.

Again: —

It is not proper to preach Hinayānistic Doctrines
To one that is worthy of the Great Vehicle.

And: —

(Speak not of) matters sublime and of profound meaning
to one that adheres to the Small Vehicle.
As show (all these passages), thorough knowledge of the
pupil's behaviour or character is needed.

Love and compassion toward the pupils.

III B a b₁. (The teacher must be) endowed with that quintessence
of great Commiseration, which consists in the desire to secure
Supreme Enlightenment for all living beings, or if not to
such an extent, — at least of Commiseration in teaching
without looking to profit and out of the mere wish, that the
meaning of the subject, which is taught, might be perfectly
understood and be of use (to the hearer). [29 b] By virtue
of this Commiseration, one's teaching will attain its aim. It
is said in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:⁶⁵⁷) —

The powerful ones,⁶⁵⁸) with a joyful heart, ever and anon
give away their lives and property, which are hard to obtain
and of no real value, for the sake of the suffering living
beings, thus practising the highest form of Charity.

How much more will they do so in regard of the High
Doctrine,⁶⁵⁹) which administers help to all that lives, always
and in every way, is easy to obtain, increases the more you
grant of it and never becomes exhausted.

Now, if the teaching has not such a character, a great sin
will be committed, namely that of trading with the Doctrine.
We read in the *Mañjuśrī-vikurvāṇa-parivarta*:⁶⁶⁰) — If the

Doctrine is expounded, but Commiseration with regard to the pupils is wanting, it will be an action of the Evil One, and if a teacher, being himself greatly learned, conceals (parts of) the Doctrine for fear that others should come to know them, this will be likewise an action of the Evil One.

The *Saṃdhinirmocana*⁶⁶¹) says: —

Those that teach the Highest Doctrine out of desire (of gain),
Having got their wishes fulfilled, take again and gain.

These infatuated beings, though they are in possession of
the invaluable jewel of the Doctrine,
Roam about, as if they were beggars.

Correct methods.

III Bac₁. By endurance, that is by not being liable to depression as regards (the long) wearisome time of teaching and the difficulty of the task, by patiently entering upon all the questions of the pupils, and by resisting the challenges of adversaries in being able to answer them duly, the teacher will be of real help to his hearers. It is said likewise, that tolerance with regard to the faults made by the pupils is needed. This may be fulfilled if one is possessed of that supernatural insight through which one comes to know the amount of help that is to be administered to others. If (this insight) is wanting, one must abstain from preaching to those that are not devoted to the Doctrine and to those that wear insignia and the following five (categories of persons, the teaching to whom is prohibited by the Vinaya⁶⁶²) etc. Such persons will be always opposed to a teaching that humiliates them and become full of passion and hatred. Consequently, the preaching and study of the Doctrine, that has such an unfavourable result, cannot be of help for the attainment of felicity and salvation.

From all this we draw the conclusion, that if the Doctrine is communicated by a teacher, that proves perfect (with regard to all that has been said, — [30 a] the latter will be agreeable to the hearers and perfectly attain his aim.

The *Sūtrālamkāra* says:⁶⁶³) —

Accordingly the Bodhisattva, being wise, free from lassitude, full of compassion, greatly renowned, of virtuous behaviour and a good orator, —

shines, by (the lustre of his) teaching amongst all living beings, as if he were the sun.

The means of teaching.

III Bb. In the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*,⁶⁶⁴) fourteen, or from another point of view, six media of teaching are mentioned, as follows: —

How is the explanation (of the Sacred Texts) to be conducted? (Answer): — In the manner, in which the Sūtras have been exposed (by Buddha), namely, by (communicating): — 1) The subject that must be fully apprehended (— the Truth of Phenomenal Existence)⁶⁶⁵) 2) the true character of it (— impermanence)⁶⁶⁶) 3) the factors conducive to full apprehension (— pure morality etc.)⁶⁶⁷) 4) complete apprehension itself — Enlightenment or the right philosophical view,⁶⁶⁸) 5) its final result (— Nirvāṇa),⁶⁶⁹) 6) Divine Wisdom (— an attribute of one that has attained it).⁶⁷⁰)

The fourteen media of teaching are: —

- 1) The medium of abridged explanation,⁶⁷¹)
- 2) The medium of concentration (of teaching) upon one subject,
- 3) The medium of taking recourse to minute details,
- 4) The medium of (communicating the different degrees of perfection, each of which is respectively the foundation of) higher and still higher (virtues),⁶⁷²)
- 5) The medium of exclusion (of all that does not come under the category in question),
- 6) The medium of changing the meaning of (ordinary) words (into termini technici),
- 7) The medium of demonstrating matters worldly and unworldly (in regard of each other).⁶⁷³)
- 8) The medium of indicating the individual (to whom one intends to teach).
- 9) The medium of analysis of the stuff (by quadrilemmas etc.).
- 10) The medium of the six modes.⁶⁷⁴)
- 11) The medium of (enlarging upon) the full apprehension of the Truth etc.⁶⁷⁵)
- 12) The medium of showing the power (of each word taken separately to indicate an idea) and the impotence, (if one word is omitted, of the others to render the contents intelligible).⁶⁷⁶)

- 13) The medium of repeated teaching, and
- 14) The medium of evident proofs.

Some works explain (the subject in question) by indicating the aim, the subject-matter in abridged form, and the meaning of words, — others — by demonstrating the general meaning and the details. A certain teacher of the Chim-pa tribe in his turn distinguishes:

- 1) Demonstration of the meaning,
 - 2) Explanation of (the verbal part of) the text [30 b].
 - 3) Complete ascertainment (as regards both).
- 1) — First one gives a dry, brief account of the subject (treated in) the text, and then (the true meaning is) ascertained through the communication of the sources, the aim of the composition, and of its subject-matter. Through all this the students will get a clear aspect of the meaning of the text.
 - 2) — Having become acquainted with the principal points by overlooking all the contents (of the text), one has to explain the Doctrine, that is made the subject of study, by removing all the doubtful points, and then to enter upon an investigation of the parts spoken of directly or indirectly. In this way the students will be able to understand completely the verbal part of the text.
 - 3) — Although, in such a way, the meaning (of the text studied) will come to be thoroughly apprehended, nevertheless, some objection from the part of an opponent, who has not been refuted, may be met with, as (for instance): — “in that which has been said, there occurs such and such contradiction, tautology, and absence of (due) connection”. Having in view an ignorant opponent, who thinks so, one ought to be ready to give him a due answer, which expells such thoughts, and then, by taking recourse to Scripture and to Logic, — to remove completely every suspicion, as to the opponent’s objection being founded. We read in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:⁶⁷⁷ —

Those that communicate the meaning of the Sūtras,
Must explain it (having in view) the aim, the contents in
abridged form,

The meaning of the words, the connection between the parts,
The objections (which may be met with) and the reply given
to such.

The two last points are to be viewed together, in order that one may know, how to give a good reply. Having first come to know the aim of the Sūtras,⁶⁷⁸) he that is devoted to the study and observation (of the Doctrine) must indicate their aim. As such is to be understood from a brief indication of the contents, one must give such, that is, demonstrate the body of a discourse or an exegetical treatise, — the words and sense, — or, otherwise, the subject-matter condensed. The latter is in its turn apprehended through the knowledge of the (precise) meaning of each word. Therefore, on the basis of the four methods of elucidating the meaning of a word,⁶⁷⁹) one has to explain so as to remove all doubt and after having taken in to consideration all the questions and refutations. Otherwise, one may explain [31 a] the meaning of words by taking recourse to synonyms, homonyms, or to one of the many meanings of a word, by changing ordinary words into termini technici, or by changing the word itself, by omitting, for instance, negative particles etc. Moreover the *Vyākhyāyukti*⁶⁸⁰) says: — The meaning of words may be apprehended in four ways, namely by means of 1) synonyms, 2) definition, 3) etymology, and 4) the varieties (of the character of ideas expressed by such and such word).⁶⁸¹) Synonyms are other names (given to the same object), the definition is (the indication of) the meaning in which the word is used, and the etymology, — that of the reason for using the term (in the sense which is applied to it). Some consider, that the etymology of a word does not explain its meaning, but this is not correct, because, according to Apraṣibha(?), when a word is explained, this can be done in 8 different ways.

The due connection⁶⁸²) is the accordance between the preceeding and the following as concerns the meaning and the order (of the words); by it we know, (that our speech) is not contrary to the order in which one word is to follow the other, in regard of its meaning. The absence of contradiction with regard to Logic and disagreement between the preceeding and the following is to be known from the objections, that are made, and the answers, given in return; therefore, having (always) in view an opponent, who attacks words and sense, one must explain so, as to render the latter completely certain and incontrovertible.

The character of teaching.

III Bc. One must teach, having in view: —

- a₁) The students,
- b₁) The aim,
- c₁) The manner of conducting the teaching.

The character of teaching as concerns the students.

III Bca₁. To students (possessed of) acute, mediocre and weak intellectual faculties, one must, respectively, explain briefly, moderately, and in detail, just as we have three kinds of Sūtras, — the extensive, the intermediate, and the brief. In accordance with the (spiritual) family⁶⁸³) to which the student belongs, one has to teach Mahāyānistic or Hināyānistic Doctrines, and with regard to the different wishes of the pupils — that, which proves most suitable.

It is said in the *Samādhirāja*:⁶⁸⁴) —

- 1.⁶⁸⁵) If they entreat thee to grant the gift of the Doctrine[31b]
Thy first reply must be “I have not studied enough”.
- 2.⁶⁸⁶) „You all are wise and greatly learned, — how dare I speak
In the presence of such illustrious persons”? — so art thou to say.
- 3.⁶⁸⁷) Never speak at once, but only when thou seest, that
(the hearer) is worthy.
But if thou knowest that, teach, even if they do not pray thee to do so.
- 4.⁶⁸⁸) If thou shouldst perceive, amongst thy hearers, many
that are of immoral conduct,⁶⁸⁹)
Do not preach to them abstinence,⁶⁹⁰) but sing the praise of charity.
- 5)⁶⁹¹) If there be (others) with scant desire, but who live in
pure morality, —
Arouse (in thee) thoughts full of love and speak of abstinence.
- 6.⁶⁹²) If those with sinful desires be few, and the virtuous are
great in number, —
Then take thou the part (of the latter) and sing the praise of pure morality.

The character of teaching as regards the aim.

III Bcb₁. One must give a precise definition of the special aim (of the teaching) that is to be attained, and teach so, as to lead to the attainment (of this aim).

The procedure of teaching.

III Bcc₁. (Here we have to distinguish): —

- a₂) The preparations.
- b₂) The teaching itself.
- c₂) The conclusion.

The preparations.

III Bcc_{1a₂}. (The teacher must) make the due arrangements, address a prayer to the Three Jewels, and, having banished the Evil One (by means of the charm especially prescribed for this purpose),⁶⁹³ manifest his great love with regard to all his hearers. It is said in the *Saddharmapundarika*:⁶⁹⁴)

1.⁶⁹⁵) The teacher, when he thinks, that the time is come,
Is to enter the school-house, and, having closed the door,
And taken a review of the Doctrine, in all its parts, —
Is to teach with a mind free from dismay.

2.⁶⁹⁶) The sage, always good-tempered and sitting at ease,
Preaches the Doctrine, after having erected
A spacious seat in a clean and agreeable spot.

3.⁶⁹⁷) He dresses himself in a clean religious robe, well dyed
with exquisite colours [32 a].
Puts on the black mantle and the spacious skirt.

4.⁶⁹⁸) Then, on the seat, — a footstool covered with diverse
garments, he seats himself,
And having well washed his feet, rises up, anoints head
and face,

5.⁶⁹⁹) And there, sitting on the preacher's seat, — to the people
that have assembled and are full of attention, —

He is to deliver diverse sermons, — for monks and for nuns,

6.⁷⁰⁰) For the devotees of the laity, male and female, and
likewise for kings and princes.

The teacher must always be free from envy and teach with
a sweet voice and on diverse subjects.

7.⁷⁰¹) He must reject all indolence and never be subjected to
lassitude,

Become free from uneasiness and meditate upon the power
of Love,

(Which he exercises) with regard to his hearers.

8.⁷⁰²) By day and by night is he to preach the highest of
Doctrines in the form of millions of diverse parables,

To gladden and to gratify the hearers, but never to desire anything for himself (in return).

9.⁷⁰³) Neither of food or beverage, of garments, a couch, a seat, a religious robe,

Nor even of a remedy, if he is ill, dare he think and accept such from his hearers.

10.⁷⁰⁴) Other must be his thoughts: — “may I and all these living beings attain Enlightenment;

To teach the Doctrine in order to help mankind, — this is the sole foundation of my happiness!”

Moreover we read in the *Sāgaramatipariṣcchā*:⁷⁰⁵) — [32 b]

Çame! çamavati! çamitaçatruṃ! añkure! mañkure! mārañiti! karaḍe! keyūre! tejovati! ojasvini viçīṣṭanirmale! malāsane! okhare! khage! grase! grasane! omukhe! parāñmukhe! vammukhe! — all the bonds of the demons are removed, all the antagonists are vanquished, (we are) released from the chains of the Evil One and stamped with the seal of Buddha, and all the devils are annihilated. May all the works of Māra vanish by virtue of the perfect purity of the Immovable One! Such, o Sāgaramati,⁷⁰⁶) are the words, that vanquish the Evil One and remove all defilement. He, that expounds the Doctrine, must duly recite them and then, having occupied the preacher’s seat, let his thoughts full of love (which manifest themselves in the desire) to secure supreme Enlightenment extend over all the circle of hearers. He must think of himself as of a physician, of the Doctrine, — as if it were a remedy, of those, that are to study, — as of patients, and of Buddha, as of the Highest of living beings. Moreover, he has to consider, that the rules of the Doctrine must be established so as to have a long existence. Now, if he teaches the Doctrine, having first uttered the charm (which has been mentioned), — the Evil One and his hosts will not dare to approach him, — in order to divest him from teaching, — within the reach of a hundred miles, and those, who still chance to come near, will not be able to make any disturbance.

And:⁷⁰⁷) — the teacher must be (morally) pure, of virtuous behaviour (outwardly) clean and neatly dressed.

The teaching by itself.

III Bcc₁b₂. The chief foundations of teaching must be six in number, corresponding to the six transcendental virtues,⁷⁰⁸ — as follows: —

- 1) Delivering the words and meaning according to one's own conception (=charity).⁷⁰⁹
- 2) Suppressing the sinful acts of the three media (= morality).⁷¹⁰
- 3) Enduring heat, cold, and other odds (= patience).⁷¹¹
- 4) Perseverance in teaching (= energy).⁷¹²
- 5) Concentration of the mind upon the subject of the latter (= concentration).⁷¹³
- 6) Analysis in regard of the words and sense, as to their contradiction or right connection etc. (= analytic wisdom).⁷¹⁴ [33 a]

The teacher Haribhadra⁷¹⁵ says: — (The harmony with the six transcendental virtues is attained by): —

- 1) Granting the gift of the Doctrine etc. (= charity).
- 2) Becoming free from thoughts, that characterise a Hīnayānist⁷¹⁶ (= morality).
- 3) Enduring harsh words from all those, with whom one chances to meet (= patience).
- 4) Arousing the desire to study (= energy).
- 5) Bringing about the concentration of mind (to a degree), which cannot be attained, if one is a follower of other vehicles (= concentration), and
- 6) Clothing those, that strive for Supreme Enlightenment in the armour of Non-perception (of the reality of separate entities⁷¹⁷) (= Highest Wisdom).

The conclusion of study.

III Bcc₁c₂. After having finished teaching, the preceptor must pray all his hearers to forgive the mistakes, which he may have made, pronounce a blessing that all might practise virtue and attain Supreme Enlightenment, and seal all with the seal of the Buddha.

Characteristic of the methods of study.

III C. (Here we have to distinguish): —

- a) (The character of) the student,

- b) The means of study, taken recourse to;
- c) The manner of studying.

The character of the student.

- III Ca. The students may be of three kinds, namely of: —
- a₁) Acute,
 - b₁) Mediocre, and
 - c₁) Feeble intellectual faculties.

The students of acute faculties.

- III Caa₁. With regard to the first kind we must show: —
- a₂) The defects, that may be met with a student and are to be avoided, and
 - b₂) The definition of a student as he must be.

The various defects.

- III Caa₁a₂. (We know): —
- a₃) Thirteen,
 - b₃) Six, and
 - c₃) Three defects, that are to be avoided.

Thirteen defects.

- III Caa₁a₂a₃. The *Vyākhyāyukti*⁷¹⁸) mentions sixteen methods of study, that act as antidotes against thirteen defects. The latter are as follows: —
- 1) Disturbing the teacher, when he contemplates the subject to be expounded, and indecent behaviour (in general).
 - 2) Showing arrogance, being proud of (one's own) high birth etc.
 - 3) Showing no real desire to study.
 - 4) Becoming oppressed at heart by disagreeing views.
 - 5) Having no regard for the teacher, and
 - 6) Thinking, how to make some objection in order to refute him, — both out of disrespect.
 - 7) Want of reverence in having no consideration for the merits of the Doctrine and of him, that teaches it. [33 b]
 - 8) Showing contempt for the Doctrine and the teacher by considering the former to be unconnected speech and, as regards the latter, by finding fault with him, his morals, behaviour, outward appearance, the way of expressing himself etc.
 - 9) Using abusive language,
 - 10) Looking to profit and honour,

- 11) Not listening duly, being distracted or plunged in apathy and sleepiness,
- 12) Not comprehending duly, by having incorrect views of the meaning and the essence of the Doctrine.
- 13) Not paying the due attention, — one's desire (to study) and efforts being to feeble.

Six defects.

III Caa₁a₂b₃. The *Vyākhyāyukti*⁷¹⁹) says:

Arrogance, want of faith,
Absence of desire (to study),
Distraction, apathy,

And lassitude, such may be the defects⁷²⁰) of the student.

Otherwise⁷²¹) (we distinguish): —

- 1) The defects in one's acts,
- 2) Absence of faith,
- 3) Disrespect,
- 4) Unappropriate thoughts,
- 5) Discord, and
- 6) The defects in apprehending.

As concerns the defects in one's actions, such may be corporeal, — immoral behaviour, oral and corporeal, — not making the due efforts with both body and speech, and mental — want of desire to study.

The defects, that consist in unappropriate thoughts, are, — to seek brawls and to think how to escape a controversy.

The defects (arising from) discord are five in number, — absence of reverence for the Doctrine by not taking it to be the Path, that leads to Salvation, and for the Word of it, considering such to be unconnected speech etc., disregard for the teacher, by finding fault with him, his conduct and the manner of teaching, contempt for (the teacher's) descent, and, last of all, self-deprecation, in thinking oneself unable to understand the meaning of the Doctrine and to act according to the latter.

The defects in apprehending are likewise five: — apprehending wrongly, getting no clear conception of the meaning, [34 a] misunderstanding the words, disregarding the grammatical forms, and getting no full apprehension (of the matter).

Three defects.

III Caa₁a₂c₃. A vessel, in which one intends to gather water, when it rains, may have three defects, which render it unable to exercise its function. It may 1) be turned downward or closed with a lid, the water having no entrance, 2) be dirty, so that the water, though it enters, will become polluted, and 3) may have a hole and through this be unable to retain the water. In the same way the vessel, that does not receive the rain of the Doctrine, when such descends, may be defective in three ways:

- 1) The hearer may not listen at all, being distracted or plunged in apathy, and (the Word of the Doctrine) will not reach him.
- 2) If one does not listen with the due attention (the Words of the Doctrine), though they reach one, are in danger of being perverted.
- 3) If one is forgetful, that which has been heard, will not be retained in memory.

“As an antidote against all this”, says the Lord, “study thoroughly and be attentive”.

Otherwise, we may compare (those, that do not study as it is prescribed) to patients, who do not understand the directions of the physician, to those, that understand them wrongly, and to those, who, though they have understood them, waste the remedy, that is given to them. Again, they are like patients, that do not eat, when they should do so, like those, that eat what is unwholesome, and like those, who, though they have eaten wholesome food, vomit it back again. Therefore, the teacher, that knows the character (of his students) must, if they become distracted, speak so as to frighten them (in showing them the fatal consequences of their behaviour) as follows: —

The age of man, that dures a hundred years,
Is reduced to the half by night's sleep,
And if we sleep by day likewise, —
Even this half will be diminished.

And to such, that are overpowered by sleep, he must, in order to arouse their attention, tell curious and amusing tales, — of the ass and the foal, the lion and the fox, the elder-

man and the woman, the old woman and the thief, of Para-
çurāma etc.⁷²²).

The definition of a student.

III Caa₁b₂. It is said in the *Catuhṣataṣāstra-kārikā*:⁷²³ —

One, that is sincere, desirous (to study) and intelligent,
Is fit to be called a good student.

Accordingly we have to consider: —

- a₂) The intellectual power, through which one is able to under-
stand (the subject studied),
- b₂) The zeal of one, that strives (for knowledge),
- c₂) The due reverence (with regard to the teacher and the
Doctrine).

The student's intelligence.

III Caa₁b₂a₃. (The student) must (fully) understand the subject
studied in order that the latter might (in reality) become an
antidote against passions and lead to the attainment of Nirvāṇa.
Vasubandhu⁷²⁴) says: —

Three factors render leather fit for use, namely, greasing,
tanning, and drying (in the sun). In a like way the spirit
(is rendered fit for entering upon the Path of Salvation)
through study, analysis, and profound meditation. Conse-
quently, in order to bring about such a state of the spirit,
one must be keen upon study etc. By the aid of three ex-
pedients, travellers may easily make their journey by a
rocky lofty mountain-road. These expedients are: —(suffi-
cient) victuals, a (good) carriage, and a (trustworthy) guide.
In the same way those, that travel on the hard, inhospitable
path of this worldly existence, may easily do so, if they are
endowed with the force of charity, morals, and High Wisdom.
These three, in their turn, all of them depend on study.

The desire to study.

III Caa₁b₂b₃. It is said in the Sūtras: — By ten means must
one strive to attain the virtues of the Bodhisattvas. — What
are these ten? — (Answer: —) To seek for the Doctrine with
a sincere mind, free from craft and deceit, — and so on.

Reverence.

III Caa₁b₂c₃. The great commentary (of Haribhadra on the
*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*⁷²⁵) says: — One must study with the best in-

tentions.⁷²⁹) This means, that one must take off the hat, seat oneself on a low seat, become free from the defect of distraction and study the Highest Doctrine with the desire to attain Salvation.

The hearer of mediocre faculties.

- III Cab₁. These distinctive features (of a good student) cannot be found (with all the hearers). Still, if those, that are not possessed of them, come to hear the Doctrine and are able (to a certain extent) to understand its meaning, they will greatly profit [35a.].

The *Vyākhyāyukti*⁷²⁷) says: If those, that have accumulated all the factors (for the attainment of perfection), hear even a little (of the Doctrine), they will reap great merit. For instance, as the Saint Ćāriputra was giving his instructions to the newly ordained monks, a certain Brāhmaṇa, sitting concealed in the neighbourhood, listened to him. Having heard the Saint's words: — "He, that enters the religious order, but still continues to lead an immoral life, will be subjected to suffering of twelve kinds," — the Brāhmaṇa abstained from his inclination toward sinful deeds. Moreover, (we know that) when Sangharakṣita preached the Doctrine, the anchorites who secretly listened to him, reaped the fruit of Arhatship.

The hearer of feeble faculties.

- III Cac₁. (There may be such) that do not understand at all the meaning of that, which they hear. However, if they but listen full of devotion, they likewise attain great merit. It is said:⁷²⁸) Even those, that do not understand the words they hear, must devotedly listen to the word of Buddha. Indeed, if one but only listens full of faith, one becomes possessed of great virtues and gives increase to the element of Highest Wisdom (the germs of which exist in every being). How much more, consequently, will this be with one, who understands that, which he hears. We must only take the story⁷²⁹) of Nanda,⁷³⁰) the cowherd, who (unconsciously) trampled with his stick upon a frog (uttering all the while the name of Buddha. The frog, through hearing such, reaped merit in the following birth). And:⁷³¹) — Dharmananda⁷³²) having been reborn as a sea-monster, shut his jaws, from merely hearing the name of

Buddha, (that was uttered by the mariners passing by, and did not swallow them up with their ship), because in his previous existence he was accustomed to make his salutation to Buddha. Therefore, since those, that have accumulated all the factors (for attaining perfection), greatly augment their virtues, even if they hear but a little of the Doctrine, — one must in any case devotedly listen to the word of Buddha.

The means of study.

III Cb. The *Bodhisattva-pitaka*⁷³³) says: —

The two causes and the two conditions,
By which living beings attain (moral) purification,
Are agreeable speech with regard to others, [35 b]
And, as concerns oneself, the right philosophical point of view.

Accordingly, the external conditions are: — reliance upon the teacher,⁷³⁴) and providing oneself with the due necessities of life. The internal conditions are, — to listen attentively, enter upon an analysis of the subject studied and render it completely clear with the help of the Sūtras and exegetical treatises, and by addressing questions to those, that are competent. Consequently one must bring study to complete achievement, and then exert oneself in profound meditation. We read in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:⁷³⁵) — As limestone is burnt with fire and then slaked by water, so is the stone of the residue⁷³⁶) of passions consumed by the fire of Highest Wisdom and then, slaked by the waters of profound meditation, is completely done away with. This High Wisdom cannot be obtained without having studied the Highest Doctrine, — therefore, listen devotedly to the Word of Buddha.

He, that merely bears the burden of words, without understanding (their) meaning, will never attain his aim, just as the boy, who had a paper with a testament (putting him in possession of) a treasury, fastened it to his neck (and did not know, what its contents was). Therefore, although one may have studied a great deal, still in order to get complete comprehension (of the subject), one must devotedly listen to (the explanation of) the meaning of the Sūtras. The sentinel, who does not look attentively about, but (contents himself) with saying: — I am awake, — is at length killed by robbers. Just in the same way one, that has studied much, but only

pays attention to the words, without analysing (their meaning) will be soon overpowered by his enemies, the passions. As accurate analysis is itself impossible without the thorough knowledge (of the subject studied), one must strive to get a clear aspect of its meaning. We may give another example (to illustrate the failure of those, that pay attention only to the verbal part), namely musicians, who being afraid of robbers, sing in order to remain awake, and are nevertheless killed by the robbers. As a blind man, that holds a lamp, administers help only to others (but not to himself) [36 a], so is one, who has studied and knows the words, but has no clear knowledge of their meaning. Therefore, exclusively for the sake of apprehending this meaning, one must zealously listen to its explanation.

The manner of studying.

III Cc. (We distinguish): —

- a₁) The preparations,
- b₁) The study itself,
- c₁) The conclusion.

The preparations.

III Cca₁. 1) (One must) first of all think, how to realize (the aim of) the Doctrine, as it is said (in the *Jātakas*:⁷³⁷) — The realization, which follows study, must be regarded as most important.

2) (The student's) behaviour must be characterized by devotion, in paying reverence (to the teacher and the Doctrine) by one's acts, speech and thoughts. We read in the *Jātakas*:⁷³⁸) —

Sitting on the lowest of seats, showing the splendour of self-discipline,

Looking with a sight full of joy, as one, that enjoys the nectar of the Word,

(The student), with thoughts full of reverence, concentrated, clear, and free from defilement,

Having made his salutations, — is to listen to the Doctrine as a patient to the instructions of the physician.

3) (One must) meditate upon that bliss, which is caused by the accumulation of (the factors and) conditions (for the attain-

ment of Nirvāṇa). It is said in the *Tathāgata-acintya-guhyā-nirdeśa*:⁷³⁹) —

Seldom does a Buddha appear in this world,
And seldom may birth in a human form be obtained as the
result of previous virtue,
Alas! the study of the Doctrine, and faith are things (like-
wise) hard to obtain,
Even during a hundred aeons.

And the *Lalitavistara*⁷⁴⁰) says: —

Human birth and the appearance of a Buddha (in this world)
is not easy to be met with,

And so are likewise the attainment of faith, avoidance of the
eight unfavourable states of existence,⁷⁴¹) and the
opportunity to study the Doctrine.

At present, — the Buddha has appeared, and the favour-
able state of existence, faith, and the possibility to
study the Doctrine are all of them secured.

Therefore — do away with all distraction.

There may come a time, when, for millions and millions of
aeons, —

It will not be possible to hear (the word of) the Doctrine,
Therefore, since you may obtain it now, give up all
distraction.

Moreover, we read in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:⁷⁴²) —

The Word of Buddha, the opportunity to hear it,
The desire (to study) [36 b], wisdom, and the absence of
impediments —

These four are hard to be obtained.

Therefore listen to the Word of Buddha (when it is possible).

And:⁷⁴³) —

If a living being dies, will he (in his next birth) meet with
the Jewel of the Doctrine or not,

Will he come to study the Doctrine,

And will there be one, that explains it to him, — no one
can tell.

Therefore, at present you must zealously listen to the words
of the Teacher.

Ag'in:⁷⁴⁴) —

If one exists in the phenomenal world,⁷⁴⁵) one is inevitably
reborn,

But this new life usually passes away in vain, for
The Perfect Word (that shows us the right way) is seldom
to be heard here.

It is rare as the flower of the Udumbara.

The study itself.

III Cb₁. (The study itself) must be in harmony with the six transcendental virtues. (One must): —

- 1) Consecrate the three media to the service of the Doctrine (= charity).
- 2) Suppress sinful inclinations and remove all the defects (that hinder one to become) a worthy receptacle of the Doctrine (= morality),
- 3) Endure odds (= patience),
- 4) Be zealous in study (= energy),
- 5) Concentrate the mind upon words and sense (= concentration),
- 6) (As concerns the Climax of Wisdom, distinguish): — The highest degree — the attainment of transcendental knowledge, the intermediate, — apprehension, preservation in memory and analysis, in following the word, and the lowest, — the five immeasurable feelings.

The conclusion.

III Ccc₁. (When the teaching is finished, the student must) pray the teacher to forgive his mistakes, pronounce a blessing, and render his thanks.

The instructions for realizing the aim of the Doctrine.

III D. In order that study and analysis might have an effective result, —

He, that has studied and gives himself up to analysis,
Must live in pure morality and practise profound meditation.
Accordingly, pure morals are needed, in order to act as a support
(for him, that is to realize the aim of the Doctrine). It is said
in the *Samādhirāja*:⁷⁴⁶)

If he, that has become well versed in numerous works on
the Doctrine,

Is proud of his knowledge and does not preserve his morals,
He will not be able to save others by his great learning,
And, morally impure, he is doomed to hell.

(Accordingly) extensive study must always be connected with pure morals and analysis of the meaning and profound meditation. It is said in a passage of Scripture concerning the monks who have got a firm stand in the principles of the Doctrine⁷⁴⁷): — [37 a] By study and analysis only, without the practice of meditation, one is unable to get a firm stand in the Doctrine. Likewise is this impossible, if one merely practises meditation and does not take recourse to study and investigation. But if both parts (study on one side and analysis and meditation on the other) are resorted to and accepted as a foundation, one gets a firm stand in the Doctrine.

Moreover, the *Sūtrālamkāra*⁷⁴⁸) says: —

Therefore, the meditation of the Saints, can never be fruitless,
Therefore the teaching of the Buddhas can never be useless, —
Useless would be meditation, if reality were perceived
through mere study, and

Senseless would be the teaching, if one could practise meditation without having studied.

Therefore, in order to have an antidote against perverse conduct, which is the foundation and the cause of much suffering, we must watch over our morals and make all our efforts, to become purified from sin. The gradual order in which this is to be attained is demonstrated by Ćāntideva,⁷⁴⁹) as follows:

Be patient, strive to obtain study,

Then, betake thyself to the forest,

And, having concentrated thy mind,

Meditate upon the impurity (of all that arouses our passions).

Accordingly, first of all, we must become possessed of endurance (with regard to the odds that may be met with). If such endurance is wanting, the aversion (toward this worldly existence) will never arise and one will never enter upon the study (of the Doctrine that delivers from this existence). And, if one has not studied, one cannot come to know the means for doing away with all the passions, which is concentration of mind. Consequently, we must strive to obtain learning. But, if one is contented with having studied and leads a dissolute life, the concentration of mind can never be brought about, and, as says the *Candrapradīpa*⁷⁵⁰) —

— Addressed with words, that harmonize with the Doctrine,

Those that follow the usage of worldings, show (in return)
wrath, hate, and disbelief [37 b]

And, though they understand the meaning (of the Doctrine),
they have no faith in it.

Therefore one must abstain from making friends with the worldings, and repair to a solitary forest, as we read (in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*:⁷⁵¹) —

In the woods, the beasts, the birds, and the trees do not
utter harsh, abusive words,

O, when shall I come to live among them, with whom it
is easy to make friends⁷⁵²!

Then, one must make all one's efforts to attain concentration of mind, for if one does not become free from distraction, one will never come to practise profound meditation. As the result of this meditation is to be the complete purification from all the passions, one must meditate upon the impurity etc. (of all that arouses them).

Again, if one, who has studied much, does not fulfill (the precepts of the Doctrine), he will commit a great sin. The *Ugraparipṛcchā*⁷⁵³) says: — If one, that is greatly learned, meets with the complement of conditions (for attaining salvation), but, nevertheless, continues to be attached to worldly property etc. and does not purify his mind, he will remain alone and will deceive all living beings, including the gods.

And in the *Ratnakūṭa*⁷⁵⁴) we read: — O Kāçyapa, just as some, that are borne by the waves of the ocean, may (at the same time) die of thirst, in a like way, O Kāçyapa, some Brāhmaṇas and ascetics, having studied many religious works and mastered them completely, are still unable to appease the thirst of desire, hatred and infatuation. Thus, although they are borne by (the waters of) the ocean of the Doctrine, they perish from the thirst, caused by passions and fall into evil births. — Consequently,⁷⁵⁵) since the preaching of the Doctrine with one's lips, without any practical application, as I do it, is worthless, one must regard this practical application, as the most important (part of the matter). It is said in the *Adhyāçaya-saṁcodana-sūtra*:⁷⁵⁶) —

1.⁷⁵⁷) Proud of one's great learning [38 a],

One is full of disregard (toward others),

Indulges in dispute and controversy,

Is forgetful and has no clear understanding.

Such are the defects of him, who takes delight in inane oratory.

- 2.⁷⁵⁸) One is far from having deep thoughts,
One's outward appearance and mind lose their serenity,
As one is (alternatively) subjected to great arrogance and humiliation⁷⁵⁹).

Such are

- 3.⁷⁶⁰) The worldling loses all consideration for the Highest Doctrine,

Is harsh and has no thoughts of love,
And is far from (possessing) concentration of mind and transcendental knowledge.

Such are

- 4.⁷⁶¹) He is always irreverent with regard to the teachers,
And, finding pleasure in obscene tales,
Pays attention to that which is worthless,
And becomes destitute of High Wisdom.

Such are

- 5.⁷⁶²) He is not esteemed by the gods and the spirits,
Nor has he any desire to obtain (such esteem),
And, as to correct knowledge, he possesses none.

Such are

- 6.⁷⁶³) He is always reproved by the wise,
To whom his nature is perfectly clear;
His life passes away in vain.

Such are

- 7.⁷⁶⁴) The worldling laments at the hour of death,
(Saying): "I have not attained any positive result, what am I to do now?"

He suffers greatly by not having partaken of the deeper (sense of life).

Such are

- 8.⁷⁶⁵) He is wavering like grass agitated (by the wind),
Is always full of doubt,
And never may call a firm conviction his own.

Such are

- 9.⁷⁶⁶) Like an actor on the stage,
That speaks of the heroism of others, [38 b]

He has no prowess of his own.

Such are

- 10.⁷⁶⁷) He becomes fraudulent and easily loses hope⁷⁶⁸)
 Again and again he enters upon dispute and controversy,
 And draws far from the Highest Doctrine of the Saint.
 Such are

- 11.⁷⁶⁹) Feeble in strength, one rejoices to praise,
 And, destitute of right knowledge, trembles when abused,
 One's mind is fickle like a monkey.
 Such are

- 12.⁷⁷⁰) As one's mind is not possessed of correct knowledge,
 One commits errors or depends on others,
 And (finally) falls a prey to the passions.
 Such are

13. One's visual sense is deluded, and so is the auditory,
 The olfactory sense errs and so does the gustatory,
 The tactile sense and the intellect are likewise erring.
 Such are

14. One's mind being always in the power of auditory sensation,
 One is intoxicated by (well-sounding) words and acquires no
 true knowledge,
 Thinks incorrectly and enters upon evil paths.
 Such are

Having described (all these defects, the Sūtra continues): —

- 15.⁷⁷¹) Having, for a long time, found pleasure in fine words,
 One does not obtain real satisfaction, for
 It is better to ponder over (the meaning of) one word,
 Through which one may obtain infinite joy.

- 16.⁷⁷²) The bark of the sugar-cane (by itself) has no value, for
 That which gives pleasure, its sweet juice, is contained within.
 If one eats only the bark, one is not able
 To taste the exquisite juice of sugar.

- 17.⁷⁷³) The (mere) words (by themselves) are like the bark,
 And the meaning contained in them, — like the sweet juice.
 Therefore, having ceased to find pleasure in (the mere sound
 of) fine words,

Ponder over the meaning and always be attentive.

All these methods (of studying and preaching the Doctrine),
 Buton with the large mouth [39 a] who has studied much,
 But has neither realized that, which he has learned

Nor accumulated the factors (for attaining salvation), —
has written down.

May he (nevertheless) by (the force of) previous virtues,
After his death, which will soon take place,

Partake of Maitreya's religious feast in the regions of Tuṣita.
Finished the investigation of the methods of study and teaching,
the first chapter of the History of Buddhism, entitled "The Jewellery of Scripture".

Book II. (Part IV). [39 a. 2.]

The History of Buddhism.

The main subject of this fourth subdivision will be the history of Buddhism, — (a description of): —

IV A. The way, in which the Doctrine took its origin in this world in general, and —

IV B. How it appeared in the country of Tibet — particularly.

IV A. The Rise of Buddhism and its Development in India.

When the Bodhisattva brings to accomplishment the accumulation of merit, or, otherwise, when the sphere of his activity (as a Buddha⁷⁷⁴) has become completely pure, and when the roots of virtue in the converts have attained maturity, then the Buddha appears (in his chosen world) and expounds his Doctrine.

(There are many Buddhas, that have already appeared during the different aeons, and many that are still to come, so we have to distinguish): —

- a) The aeons, in which the Buddhas appear — in general,
- b) The rise of Buddhas during the Fortunate Aeon⁷⁷⁵),
- c) The appearance of the Highest of Sages (the Buddha Çākyamuni) in this world of suffering,⁷⁷⁶) — the most particular (subject of our narrative).

The different Aeons.

IV Aa. The different aeons are to be divided into the bright and the dark ones. The former are those, that are marked by the appearance of Buddhas, and the latter, those, during which

no Buddhas arise. In the bright aeon, which is called the Fortunate (that, in which we live), the (number of) Buddhas (that have already come and are still to appear), is 1000 or 1005.⁷⁷⁷) (The Fortunate Aeon) is to be followed by 60 great dark aeons. Then there will come a great bright aeon, named Mahāyaças⁷⁷⁸) and during it 10,000 Buddhas (will arise). Thereafter 10,000 dark aeons will pass away, and will be succeeded by the bright aeon, call the Starlike, with 80,000 Buddhas. 300 dark aeons will then follow, and, after they have passed away, the bright age named Guṇavyūha⁷⁷⁹) will come, during which 84,000 Buddhas are to appear. So says the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*.⁷⁸⁰)

The rise of Buddhas during the Fortunate Aeon.

IV A b. (Here we meet with) two (versions): —

- a₁) The rise of 1005 Buddhas according to the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*⁷⁸¹) [39 b], and
- b₁) That of 1000 Buddhas according to the *Tathāgata-acintya-guhyā-nirdeśa*.⁷⁸²)

The version of the Karuṇāpuṇḍarika.

IV Aba₁. In olden times, when the great aeon named Dhāraṇa⁷⁸³) was lasting in this world, there lived a king, whose name was Araṇemi,⁷⁸⁴) — a universal sovereign,⁷⁸⁵) ruling over all the four continents. (This king) had a thousand sons, Animiṣa⁷⁸⁶) and the rest, and was the Lord Paramount of 84,000 tributary sovereigns. His chief household priest⁷⁸⁷) was the Brāhmaṇa Samudrarenu,⁷⁸⁸) who had 80 sons and 1000 young Brāhmaṇas for his pupils. One of (the eighty) sons, the Brāhmaṇa Samudragarbha,⁷⁸⁹) attained Supreme Enlightenment (and became) a Buddha, known by the name of Ratnagarbha.⁷⁹⁰) The great sovereign Araṇemi worshipped (this Buddha uninterruptedly) for three months and so did each of his 1000 sons, 250 years and 3 months having passed away in this manner.

Then (the Buddha's) father, the Brāhmaṇa Samudrarenu worshipped him for seven years, and after having heard the Doctrine from him, he had a dream.⁷⁹¹) He saw, that the king Araṇemi was eating (the flesh of) many living beings and was (finally) himself devoured by wild beasts, tigers etc.⁷⁹²) He saw likewise some (of the king's) ministers who, mounted on chariots, were intending to travel by a wrong way.⁷⁹³) Having

held these and many other (visions, Samudrarenū) asked the Buddha the meaning (of each of them). The Buddha prophesied, that the king would be greatly attached to his royal power, commit sinful deeds, and through this fall into evil births and (perpetually) abide in the Samsāra, that his ministers would become Ārāyikas and Pratyekabuddhas⁷⁹⁴), and that others would attain Enlightenment. [40 a.] Thereupon, the Brāhmaṇa (went to the king) and said: "O Great Sovereign, it is not easy to become born in human form, meet with the appearance of a Buddha and with the favourable conditions (for entering upon the Path of Salvation). Therefore,⁷⁹⁵) make thy initial vow for the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment". The king, thus addressed, replied: — "I have no desire to attain Enlightenment and to become a Buddha. (I am too much attached to this worldly existence)⁷⁹⁶)" — such was the motive, which he put forth for his refusing to make the initial vow. The Brāhmaṇa summoned him again and again, and the king finally promised to make the vow, if he could obtain a sphere of activity (as a Buddha), that would suit him.⁷⁹⁷) Thereafter, the Buddha Ratnagarbha became absorbed in the meditation called Ādarga-vyūha,⁷⁹⁸) and then, after he had (miraculously) demonstrated the great multitude of worlds of Buddhaic activity, (the Brāhmaṇa Samudrarenū) summoned the king to choose the world, which pleased him most.⁷⁹⁹) The king, having obtained faith, (returned to his city), entered his palace, and, having forbidden the people to disturb him, gave himself up to thoughts, how to secure the world (in which he was to become a Buddha). His example was followed by all his 1000 sons.

In the meanwhile, the Brāhmaṇa Samudrarenū converted a great number of living beings to (the teaching of) Highest Virtue.⁸⁰⁰) After seven years had passed away, the king, invited by the gods, set out with all his attendants, and, having come in the presence of the Buddha Ratnagarbha, he beheld his world of Buddhaic activity and made his initial vow. Then the Buddha uttered a prophecy (by the force of which) the king was to become the Buddha Amitāyus⁸⁰¹) in the regions of Sukhavatī.⁸⁰²) (The king's) eldest son, Animiṣa,⁸⁰³) was, — after Amitāyus' attaining Nirvāṇa and on the very morn, that is to follow the eve, when his Doctrine would cease to exist, — [40b.] to be the Buddha named Samanta-raçmy-abhyudgata-çrikūṭa-

rāja.⁸⁰⁴) After his attaining Nirvāṇa the second son, — (prophe-
sied up to that time to be the Bodhisattva) Mahāsthāma-
prāpta⁸⁰⁵) — was to attain Buddhahood under the name of
Supratīṣṭhita-guṇa-maṇi-kūṭa-rāja.⁸⁰⁶) The third son was to
be (the Bodhisattva) Mañjuçrī, (and subsequently) — the Bud-
dha Samantadarçin⁸⁰⁷) in the region called Çuddha-virajaḥ-
saṁnicaya⁸⁰⁸). The fourth was to be Samantabhadra,⁸⁰⁹) the fifth
— Padmottara⁸¹⁰), the sixth — Dharma-vaçavartīçvara-
rāja,⁸¹¹) the seventh — Prabhāsa-virajaḥ-samucchraya-gandhe-
çvara-rāja⁸¹²) and the eighth — Jñāna-vajra-viṣkambhiteçvara-
ketu.⁸¹³) At the same time 10,000 living beings likewise re-
ceived the prophecy of future Buddhahood. Then came the ninth
son, who was to be the Buddha Akṣobhya,⁸¹⁴) the tenth — Su-
varṇapuṣpa,⁸¹⁵) and the eleventh — Jayasoma.⁸¹⁶) In such a
way all the 1000 princes, the 84,000 tributary sovereigns and
920,000,000 living beings more, the 80 sons of Samudrarenu,
his 1000 pupils and 30,000,000 Brāhmaṇas were foretold to be-
come Buddhas, — (a long series ending with the Buddhas)
Vipaçyin,⁸¹⁷) Çikhin,⁸¹⁸) and Viçvabhuj.⁸¹⁹) Next came 1000
Brāhmaṇas, who recited the Vedas. The first of these having
received the prophecy, such was likewise granted to the second,
Jyotihpāla,⁸²⁰) who was to be Krakucchanda,⁸²¹) the first Bud-
dha of the Fortunate Aeon, to the third, Tamburu, who was to
be Kanakamuni,⁸²²) to the fourth — Viçvagupta — the Buddha
Kāçyapa⁸²³) [41 a] and to the fifth — Vimalavaiçāyana.⁸²⁴)
The latter was to become the future Buddha Maitreya.⁸²⁵) In
the same way all the other (Brāhmaṇa scholars) received the
prophecy of Buddhahood, up to the 999th. Then the Brāh-
maṇa Samudrarenu said to the last of the scholars: — choose
thy sphere of activity and make thy initial vow. The scholar
(whose name was Mahābalavegaadhārin) prayed him to wait a
while, and after the five attendants⁸²⁶) of Samudrarenu had
chosen their spheres of activity, taken their vows, and were
foretold to become Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon, — he went
to the Buddha Ratnagarbha and asked: — O Lord, will there
be many Buddhas (that resemble) the sun (by their lustre) —
in this Fortunate Aeon?⁸²⁷) The Buddha replied: — The Sages
resembling the sun that are to appear, will be 1004 in number.⁸²⁸)
(Mahābalavegaadhārin) then made the following entreaty:⁸²⁹) —
May I live as long as all these 1004 Buddhas resembling the

sun, all of them taken together and may the number of my disciples be as great, as that of all of them, taken together. The Buddha Ratnagarbha) gave his approval, saying: — Well hast thou spoken, — and prophesied that (Mahābalavega-dhārin) would become the Buddha Roca.⁸³⁰⁾

After all this had taken place, the Brāhmaṇa Samudrarenū began to ponder: — The great king and many other living beings have made their initial vow and accepted each their pure world of Buddhaic activity. The time is come for me to make likewise my initial vow.

So thought he, and, full of great commiseration, looked upon the impure world of suffering and the living beings therein harsh and cruel, living in the ten vices, committing the five in-expiable sins⁸³¹⁾ and hard to convert, — and made 500 great vows, that he would lead them to the Path of Salvation. And, his words being full of the power of truth, the Buddha Ratnagarbha approved them, saying: — Well said. — The energy of the Bodhisattvas manifests itself in four ways, and one of them is to make a vow (for the conversion of) a (suffering), impure world. [41 b.] Thou art a Bodhisattva, who resembles a white lotus, whereas the others are but ordinary flowers. — Thus he praised him greatly and prophesied him to be the fourth Buddha of the Fortunate aeon — Çākyaṃuni.⁸³²⁾ Thereupon all the Buddhas in the ten quarters of the sky offered their gifts and all living beings, gods and men, worshipped (the future Buddha.

After that the Buddha Ratnagarbha passed away into Nirvāṇa and a monument harbouring his relics was erected and worshipped for 360,000,000 years. The Brāhmaṇa Samudrarenū entered the religious order and lived in seclusion for twenty thousand years. Such is the account concerning the rise of 1005 Buddhas during the Fortunate aeon.

The version of the Tathāgātācintyaḡuhyanirdeṣa.

IV.Abb₁. In olden times, during the aeon of the Beautiful Light⁸³³⁾ there appeared in the country, called Vibhūṣita (?),⁸³⁴⁾ the Buddha Anantaḡaṇanānāratnavyūharāja (?),⁸³⁵⁾ At that time, in his palace called Viçuddhimatī (?),⁸³⁶⁾ — there dwelt a universal sovereign, Dhṛtarāṣṭra,⁸³⁷⁾ whose power extended over all the four continents and who had 700,000 queens and 1000

sons.⁸³⁸) This king zealously worshipped the Buddha and his congregation of monks for 10,000,000 years and made to each of the monks a present of three slaves.⁸³⁹) At that time the young princes (became full of the desire to attain Enlightenment) and amongst them the following verse became current:⁸⁴⁰) —

Seldom does a Buddha appear in this world,

Birth in human form is hard to be secured,

And as to friends, that have faith and study the Doctrine,

Such may scarcely be met with, even during 100 aeons.

And once, when the king, with his wives and sons was sitting in his palace, built of the finest sandal wood⁸⁴¹), [42 a] he was (miraculously) raised up to the skies and came to sit in the presence of the Buddha, who expounded his doctrine to him⁸⁴²) saying: — O great monarch, thou must never lose faith and constantly abide on sublime paths.⁸⁴³) The king, after having heard him, returned to his palace, and at the time when the moon was in full glance, his two wives Aninditā (?)⁸⁴⁴) and Anupamā (?)⁸⁴⁵) bore him each a son, the former — Dharmacetas (?)⁸⁴⁶) and the latter — Dharmamati.⁸⁴⁷) With these two (new born sons) the king continued to listen to the Doctrine delivered by the Buddha. Once the following thought came to the king: — All these my sons will certainly attain Enlightenment, but I am still eager to know, who of them will first become a Buddha. Accordingly, he wrote down the names of all the young princes and deposited (the billets) in a precious urn, made of the seven kinds of jewels. Seven days the king abided in uninterrupted prayer, and then, in the presence of the queens, the 1000 sons and the two newlyborn infants, a near relative of the king drew out the billets, containing the names of the princes.⁸⁴⁸) The name of Viçuddhamati⁸⁴⁹) was the first to appear and the trembling of the earth and sounds of (celestial) music announced, that he was to become the Buddha Krakucchanda.⁸⁵⁰)

Next came: —

The prince Vijayasena⁸⁵¹) who was to be Kanakamuni.⁸⁵²)

„ „ Çāntendriya (?)⁸⁵³) who was to be Kāçyapa.⁸⁵⁴)

„ „ Sarvārthasiddha⁸⁵⁵) who was to be Çākya-muni.⁸⁵⁶)

„ „ Mekhalin (?)⁸⁵⁷) who was to be Maitreya.⁸⁵⁸)

„ „ Çreṣṭhamati (?)⁸⁵⁹) who was to be Simha.⁸⁶⁰)

- The prince Vidyuddeva (?)⁸⁶¹ who was to be Ketu.⁸⁶²
 „ „ Bhadrarāja (?)⁸⁶³ who was to be Puṣpottama.⁸⁶⁴
 „ „ Prabhācī (?)⁸⁶⁵ who was to be Puṣpa.⁸⁶⁶
 „ „ Vairocanapadma (?)⁸⁶⁷ who was to be Nakṣatra-
 rāja.⁸⁶⁸
 „ „ Vimalaprabha⁸⁶⁹ who was to be Sulocana.⁸⁷⁰
 „ „ Virajas⁸⁷¹ who was to be Subāhu.⁸⁷²
 „ „ Matirāja⁸⁷³ who was to be Prabha.⁸⁷⁴
 „ „ Puṇyavyūharāja (?)⁸⁷⁵ who was to be Jyotīrāma.⁸⁷⁶
 „ „ Digbhūti (?)⁸⁷⁷ who was to be Abhyudgata.⁸⁷⁸
 „ „ Viṣuddhavyūharāja (?)⁸⁷⁹ who was to be Guṇot-
 tama.⁸⁸⁰
 „ „ Ṛṅgupta⁸⁸¹ who was to be Dhanaçī.⁸⁸²
 „ „ Suvibhaktakāya⁸⁸³ (?) who was to be Jñānākara.⁸⁸⁴
 „ „ Ugra⁸⁸⁵ who was to be Ratnākara,⁸⁸⁶ and
 „ „ Ratnakīrti⁸⁸⁷ who was to be Samantaprabhāsa.⁸⁸⁸

(Thus the names appeared one by one) up to Uṣṇīṣālaṃkṛta,⁸⁸⁹ who was to be the Buddha Anantaḡaṇakīrti⁸⁹⁰ and the two youngest sons — the princes Anantabuddhikīrti⁸⁹¹ and Anantamati.⁸⁹²) The elder relatives and brothers said to the latter: — What will there remain for thee to do, after we have converted all the living beings and brought to accomplishment all the Buddhaic achievements? — Thus they scorned him, but he replied in return:⁸⁹³ —

The virtues of the Buddhas are (as infinite) as the skies,
 And as to the number of living beings, such, I think, will
 never be exhausted.

May I, by virtue of pure morality, be able to make my vows
 And ye all (that are present) listen to them.

O kings of virtue, may I live as long,

As will be the lives of all of you (taken together).

And fulfill all the vows, which you all are to observe.

May the congregation of my disciples be as great in number,

As (all your congregations) taken together.

Thus speaking, he, the youngest of the 1000 princes, (secured future Buddhahood) under the name of Rocana⁸⁹⁴ — the Desirous. He was to be called so, because he wished a duration of life and a number of converts equal to that of 999 Buddhas. Thereupon the 1000 princes asked the two infants [43 a], — Dharmacetas and Dharmamati, — of what kind would be their

vows. Dharmacetas, in return, made the following entreaty: — may I become the Bearer of the Sceptre of all of you, act in secret, prevent the exposition of all, that is to remain concealed as regards the Buddhas, and study, believe in and fully apprehend all the exoteric and esoteric doctrines (of the Buddhas.⁸⁹⁵) He was thus destined to become the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, the compiler of Scripture for all the 1000 Buddhas, and in a future aeon, called the Completely Enlightened, in the country named the perfectly pure, — the Buddha Vajravikrāma.⁸⁹⁶)

Dharmamati, in his turn, expressed the wish, that he might exhort all the 1000 Buddhas to teach their Doctrines. He was accordingly to be Brahma, the Crest-bearer.⁸⁹⁷) As to the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, he was to become the Buddha Dīpaṅkara.⁸⁹⁸) Thus 1000 Buddhas (were foretold to appear in the Fortunate Aeon), and those, who maintain their number to be 1002 and (who say) that Vajrapāṇi is the same as Rocana, are fools, that deserve no belief.

Now, for what reason is this aeon called the Fortunate? The *Mahākaruṇāpundarika*⁸⁹⁹) says: — At the time, when this world was destroyed by a flood, 1000 golden lotuses arose from the ocean. They were seen by the gods, who knew them to be an omen, that 1000 Buddhas were to appear. — O, this aeon is a fortunate one, — said the gods, and from there comes the name of our aeon. And in the *Jñānavaiṇyaśāstra*⁹⁰⁰) we read: The name of the Fortunate is given to that aeon, (at the beginning of which) 1000 lotuses were to be seen.

As to the rise of 1000 Buddhas, such takes place in the period of stability,⁹⁰¹) at the time of regress, from the age, when human life lasts 80,000 years, and ending with the age, when it will be only 100 years. [43 b.] (At the time) preceeding this period, there is no opportunity for the Buddhas to appear, since (among living beings) the aversion (to this wordly existence) is not great, and the Doctrine is not required for. After human age becomes reduced to 100 years, the Buddhas likewise cease to appear, because there follows a period of (complete degeneration), characterized by the following five features:⁹⁰²) (diminishment of) lifetime, (deterioration of the character) of living beings, (predominance of) passions, incorrect views, and low spirits. Neither are they to appear at the time

of progress (that is to follow), for all, that is sinful will cease to exist, and, since all things will be in growth, no aversion (toward worldly existence) can take place. It is said accordingly:

They (the Buddhas) appear —

In the period of regress up to the time, when human age is to be 100 years.

Now, all that has just been said, concerns only the Fortunate Aeon, but not all the aeons in general, for the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*⁹⁰³ tells us of the region of Anguṣṭhā — the thumb-sized, — where men live only 10 years and are in size not larger than a thumb. This region, (says the Sūtra), is presided by the Buddha Jyotirāma,⁹⁰⁴ whose size is that of one cubit and seven fingers. We are likewise told of many Buddhas, appearing in the time previous (to the period when human life) lasts 80,000 years. As concerns this our age, (we know that) Krakucchanda appeared when men lived 40,000 years,⁹⁰⁵ Kanakamuni, — when human age dured 30,000 years,⁹⁰⁶ Kāçyapa,⁹⁰⁷ — when it was 20,000, and Çākyamuni, when it was reduced to 100. (The future Buddha), Maitreya, will come, when it will again be 80,000 years.⁹⁰⁸)

The *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*⁹⁰⁹ indicates, with regard to each Buddha, his native country, caste, nimb, father, mother, son, favourite attendant, the two foremost disciples, (to whom the Buddha transfers his) high Wisdom and miraculous powers, the circle of adherents, lifetime, duration of the Doctrine, and, finally, the quantity of the Buddha's relics. If the two foremost disciples are counted separately, there will be altogether 13 subjects. Some authorities count 14, adding (the Buddha's) descent. As to the circle of adherents, such is (with some of the Buddhas) scarce and with others — numerous. The relics are likewise different: — with some they are abundant, and with others they may be contained in a pill. If we take for instance our Teacher, as He Himself told to Uttararāma-rāja (?),⁹¹⁰ — his birthplace [44 a] was Kapilavastu,⁹¹¹ his caste — that of the Kṣatriyas, his descent, — from Gautama, his nimb — a fathom in breadth; his father was called Çud-dhodana, his mother — Māyā, his favourite attendant — Ānanda, his chief disciple, to whom he delivered his teaching of Highest Wisdom—Çāriputra, the foremost of his disciples endowed with miraculous powers — Maudgalyāyana, his con-

gregation at the beginning numbered 1250 monks, his life dured 100 years, the Highest Doctrine is to exist for 500 years, and for the next 500 — (only) a resemblance of it. As to our Teacher's relics — such are known to be abundant.

Now, there may arise an objection as to human age being spoken of as infinite at the time, when the Buddha Rocana is to appear. This will be in conflict with the statement, that before human age, (in its regress), has attained the limits of 80,000 years, no Buddhas are to appear. This is right, but since this infinity of human age is the desire of a Buddha, it is a thing inconceivable to our mind.

Again: — if one thousand Buddhas are to be regarded as a definite number, this will disagree with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, where it is said, that 10,000 ascetics will, during the Fortunate Aeon, attain Supreme Enlightenment. This is also true, but, says the Saint Vimuktasena, although it is admitted that 1000 Buddhas are to arise during this Fortunate Aeon, this statement concerns only the foremost, and it does not mean, that the coming of others is denied. It is said in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-ālokā*,⁹¹²) that the definite number of 1000 Buddhas is given in order to make it known, that such a number is usually admitted as relating to the Fortunate Aeon, but those, that are competent as regards the subject, neither affirm, nor deny the appearance of others.

Again, it is admitted, that, after this world has undergone destruction, those that are to attain Enlightenment, become Buddhas likewise at the time of formation of a new world [44 b] (at such times as), for instance that, when the aeon Mahādhāraṇa began, after the age called Dhāraṇa had passed away. Moreover 1000 or 1005 Buddhas are mentioned with reference to the 12 Buddhaic achievements directly exhibited by them, and as to other works mentioning a greater number, (such statements) concern in general all those, who during this Fortunate Aeon attain Enlightenment. Otherwise, the previous incarnations (of Buddhas) are likewise taken into consideration, such as for instance (that of our Lord, when he was existing as) a teacher and Brāhmaṇa's son (in the times of Buddha Kāçyapa). It will not however be possible to draw from this the (false conclusion, that one Doctrine may have two (and more) teachers, for, at the time, when one Buddha is active, another,

though he may (likewise) have (already) assumed the character of a Buddha, — does not preach his doctrine. Now, may it be said, if it is maintained, that, previous to the four Buddhas, there were none in this Aeon, it will be contrary to the *Kāla-cakratantro*,⁹¹³) where it is said, that in the Fortunate Aeon seven Buddhas, Vipacyin etc., up to Çakyamuni, have already appeared, — and to the usual belief, that the Buddhas, who have passed away, are seven in number. There is no mistake in this, for since (the seven) are Buddhas that have arisen in this world and are now extinct, (the Tantra etc.) view them only from such a standpoint.

(As to the difference of names) we may say, indeed, that in different Sūtras, the names of the Buddhas are not the same, that Ketu is sometimes called Pradyota, and Rocana — Roca or Ruci, but these are mere synonyms and, above all, differently translated. We need not, therefore, have any doubt as concerns this subject.

The Rise of the Buddha Çakyamuni in the world of Endurance (Sahāloka-dhātu).

IV Ac. (Now, first of all, we must see) for what reason this our world is called Sahā-loka-dhātu. The word *Sahā*⁹¹⁴) is a synonym of "endurance", (and this name has been given to the world in which we live) because (the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, that appear therein) do not fall a prey to the three sources of evil, the causes of defilement, but endure (the hardships caused by them) and, morally, resist (to the passions). It is said in the *Karūṇā-puṇḍarīka*:⁹¹⁵) — Why is this world called the World of Endurance? It is called so, because the living beings therein are enduring (hardship caused by) desire, hatred, [45 a] infatuation, and by all the bonds of the passions. In this World of Endurance a great aeon called the Fortunate is to come. Why is it to bear this name? Because during it, amongst living beings, that indulge in lust, hatred, and infatuation, 1000 fully accomplished Buddhas, endowed with great Compassion are to appear. Moreover, our world has its name (of the Word of Endurance), because the Bodhisattvas (that act therein) are endowed with the virtue (of resistance) or because the Buddhas (appearing therein) are likewise characterised by it. It is said in the *Mañjuçrī-buddha-kṣetra-guṇa-vyūha*:⁹¹⁶) — The followers of the Bodhisattva Vehicle have performed acts

of great devotion in regard of the Buddhas of former ages, engendered the roots of virtue, worshipped many hundreds and thousands of Buddhas and were possessed of great endurance, self-discipline, and faith. They were abused, menaced, beaten and wounded by all the living beings, but they patiently endured (all these odds), however harsh they may have been, and did not fall a prey to lust, hatred, and infatuation. O noble youth, this (our world) has got its name from those holy men and is called the World of Endurance. Similarly (this world has derived its name) from the Buddhas, who were endowed with the virtues just mentioned.

As to the rise of our Teacher in this world, we read in the Master Nāgārjuna's Salutation to the Ten Monuments:⁹¹⁷)

I worship the Lord, the (Man —) Lion,

Who, having first made his Creative Effort for the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment,

Has amassed merit during three immeasurable periods of aeons⁹¹⁸)

[45 b] And vanquished the four mischief-doing demons.⁹¹⁹)

Accordingly, we have to distinguish: —

a₁) The Creative Effort.

b₁) The Accumulation of Merit.

c₁) The attainment of Buddhahood, — and take into consideration, with regard to each of these points, respectively, —

a₂) the Hīnayānistic, and

b₂) the Mahāyānistic tradition.

The Initial Vow according to Hīnayāna.

IV Aca₁a₂. In olden times there lived a king named Prasanna-kīrti,⁹²⁰) who made one of his attendants, skilful in the art of taming elephants, — the keeper and tamer of (the royal) elephants. The keeper, after having completed the task of taming one of the elephants, made it known to the king and the latter ordered him to bring the animal to him. When the elephant was brought, the king mounted, intending to go for a ride, but the beast, having smelt the scent of a female elephant, which aroused its passions, ran headlong through woods and valleys and there was no possibility to stop it. The king, terrified, asked the keeper what to do and the keeper told him to snatch the branches of a tree. The king did so, fell down, and fainted.

After the keeper had made him recover from his swoon, the king, enraged said, that he, the keeper, since he had boasted with taming the elephant, when this was not, really, the case, was to be punished with prison. But the keeper said: — I have tamed the animal's body, but it was impossible for me, to do the same with its mind. — What proof canst thou give, that thou hast tamed its body, — asked the king in return. — In a week, after the elephant has come back, — replied the keeper, — you shall see. After seven days had passed, the elephant returned, and the keeper, having made an iron hammer red-hot, placed it before the beast, saying: — Eat, eat! [46 a] The beast, notwithstanding (the terrible pain) began to eat. This (the keeper) showed to the king and said: — I have not been able to subdue the elephant's mind. The king believed, (and having from this example come to the insight, that he must subdue his own mind), made his Initial Vow and uttered the following entreaty: —

May I, by virtue of my charity, be reborn in the Çākya Clan,
 Attain (the state of a) Buddha, that will harmonise with my
 (future) merits, family, and descent,
 And convey great peace, deliverance from fear and salvation,
 To all living beings, including Brahma, who are stricken with
 distress.

The Accumulation of Merit according to Hinayāna.

IV Ach_{1a}_g. From that time and up to (the age of) the Buddha Rāṣṭrapāla⁹²¹) (our Master) worshipped 75 000 Buddhas and accumulated merit during immeasurable aeons thus bringing to accomplishment the first period, as it is said in Scripture: —

From the time of Buddha Çākya⁹²²)

And up to the age of Rāṣṭrapāla,

I have worshipped 75,000 Buddhas.

Then, beginning with the Buddha Sādhukara (?)⁹²³) and up to Indradhvaja,⁹²⁴) our Master worshipped 76,000 Buddhas more, thus completing the second period, as follows: —

I have worshipped the full number of 76,000 Buddhas,

Beginning with Sādhukara and up to the Sage Indradhvaja. Thereafter, from the time of Dipaṁkara and up to Kāçyapa He worshipped 77,000 other Buddhas and terminated the third period, as it is said in Scripture: —

From the age of Dīpaṃkara
And up to the Buddha Kāçyapa

I have worshipped the full number of 77,000 Buddhas.

And the *Abhidharmakoça*²²⁵) says [46 b], that the first period of aeons ends with the Buddha Ratnaçikhin, the second — with Dīpaṃkara, and the third — with Vipāçyin, as follows: —

Vipāçyin, Dīpaṃkara, and Ratnaçikhin,

Appeared (each of them) at the end of each of the three periods of aeons.

And the first (of the Buddhas who received the homage of our Teacher) is Çākyaṃuni.

Thereupon, during 100 great aeons, (the Master) brought to accomplishment all the factors for attaining the sublime character of a Bodhisattva and (from that time, uninterruptedly) abided as such. Then, during the remaining 100 aeons He 1) circumambulated the Buddha Nakṣatrarāja for seven days, all the while chanting a verse and by this energy accumulated the merit, (usually) attained in the period of nine great aeons, and 2) up to the time, when the other 91 aeons had passed away and He was born in the age of the Buddha Kāçyapa as a teacher and Brāhmaṇa's son, — brought to accomplishment all the factors (for attaining Buddhahood). Finally he was born as Çvetaketu and after that came to perform the 12 achievements of a Buddha, as we know in detail from Scripture, and, particularly, from the Abhinīṣkramaṇa-sūtra. As to the special tradition (of the Hinayāna, such is as follows: —

The Teacher and the solitary Pratyekabuddha²²⁶)

Have, on the basis of the Highest degree of mystic absorption,
Attained (all the virtues) up to Enlightenment.

Accordingly, (Buddha), by accumulating merit, equal to that, attained by ordinary worldlings during three immeasurable periods of aeons, has, in the evening, vanquished the four demons. Then, at midnight, having taken recourse to the four stages of mystic meditation, he acquired (all the virtues), up to (those attained on) the Path of Training.²²⁷) And, finally, in the morning, from daybreak till sunrise, he has in one moment brought to accomplishment all the six transcendental virtues, as follows: —

(Buddha), guided by mercy toward all (living beings),

Has, by His gifts, completed (the transcendental virtue of) charity,
 By freeing himself from the members (of the causal nexus) connected with passions —
 (The virtues of) unflinching patience and pure morality,
 By praising Nakṣatrarāja — the virtue of energy,
 And, immediately after [47 a] — those of Trance and Highest Wisdom.

The Attainment of Buddhahood according to Hinayāna.

IV Acc_{1a}₂. Thus he attained the six transcendental virtues, became a Buddha, possessed of the spiritual⁹²⁶) and physical⁹²⁸) body (characterizing such), revealed his Doctrine to (His disciples) — Ājñātakauṇḍinya etc. up to Bhadrīka and then passed away into final Nirvāṇa.

As regards the Mahāyānistic tradition concerning Buddha, we distinguish: —

IV Aca_{1b}₂. The Creative Effort for Enlightenment.

IV Acb_{1b}₂. The Accumulation of Merit during three immeasurable periods of aeons.

IV Acc_{1b}₂. The victory over the four demons and the attainment of Buddhahood.

The Creative Effort according to Mahāyāna.

IV Aca_{1b}₂. (Here we have to consider) five points: —

- a₂) The character of the Creative Effort,
- b₂) Its cause,
- c₂) Its merit;
- d₂) Its varieties, and
- e₂) The different traditions concerning Buddha's first Creative Effort.

The character of the Creative Effort.

IV Aca_{1b}_{2a}₃. We read in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:⁹³⁰) —

Great by its energy, great by its achievements,
 Great by its aim, and great by its result,
 Is the thought of the Bodhisattvas, —

A manifestation of their spirit, directed toward the double aim (of human activity).

Thus the Creative Effort may be defined as "a manifestation of the spirit (of the Bodhisattva), which, endowed with due

associates, expedients, and active energy, has for its result the fulfillment of one's own aim and that of others, and is founded upon altruism and the desire of Enlightenment".

And the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* says:⁹³¹ —

The Creative Effort is a desire of Supreme Enlightenment in pursuit of the welfare of others.

It is exposed briefly and in detail, in harmony with the Sūtras.

(Ratnākaraṇṭhi) in his Commentary *Çuddhimatī*⁹³² has: The Creative Effort is to be defined as a desire of Supreme Enlightenment, based upon altruism.

The Causes of the Creative Effort.

IV Aca₁b₂b₃. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* mentions four causes, four conditions, and four forces, through which the Creative Effort is produced. And in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*⁹³³ we read: —

The Creative Effort, that is originated by foreign influence —

By the grace of a teacher, by the efficiency of the cause
(— adherence to the Mahāyānist family)⁹³⁴

By the agency of the roots (of virtue, that are caused to thrive),⁹³⁵ —

Through study and the practice of virtue, — manifests itself in a powerful or feeble form. [47 b.]

— Such are the causes of the Creative Effort relating to Empirical Reality. As to the factors, that refer to Absolute Reality, we read as follows:⁹³⁶ —

If the Supreme Buddha has been duly worshipped,

And the Accumulation of virtue and wisdom fully accomplished,

Then it (the Creative Effort) is regarded as relating to the Absolute Reality,

Since it produces unflinching, true knowledge as regards all elements of existence.

And in short we have:⁹³⁷ —

The seed of Great Commiseration having first been aroused to life,

By the efficiency of the (Mahāyānist spiritual) family,

The Creative Effort for Enlightenment, —

As a result of the Complement of sublime thoughts and, deeds — is made.

The Result (Merit) of the Creative Effort.

IV Aca₁b₂c₃. The direct result (of the Creative Effort) is a miracle, the intermediate is the attainment (of that supernatural power) of the mind, (through which one, as if possessed of) a wish-fulfilling gem, (may cause) all the desired objects to come down like rain, and the final is Buddhahood, and the like, all of which is inconceivable to our mind.

The *Viradattapariṣcchā*⁹³⁸) says: —

If all the merits of making the Creative Effort
Could assume a visible form,
They would fill all the regions of the sky
And even extend beyond them.

The Varieties of the Creative Effort.

IV Aca₁b₂d₃. From the stand point of its essential character the Creative Effort is to be viewed as 1) the Vow⁹³⁹) and 2) the action according to it.⁹⁴⁰) If regarded from the point of its more rough or more subtle character, it may be 1) conventional (produced by foreign agency)⁹⁴¹) and 2) absolute.

As concerns the different stages of Enlightenment, the Creative Effort manifests itself in four ways, (as says the *Sūtrālamkāra*)⁹⁴²) —

The Creative Effort is, on the different stages, characterized
By faith, the purest and best intentions, maturity, and the
absence of all obscurations.

Further on, as regards its associates and that, with which it may be compared, the Creative Effort is considered to have twenty-two forms, as we read (in the *Abhisamayālamkāra*):⁹⁴³)

It is like the earth, like gold, the moon, or fire etc., (and in the *Sūtrālamkāra*):⁹⁴⁴) —

The Creative Effort is regarded as resembling the earth etc. The *Nirṇaya-saṅgraha*⁹⁴⁵) mentions in its turn ten varieties, as follows: —

The Creative Effort is of ten kinds: —

- 1) Conventional,
- 2) Absolute, [48 a]
- 3) Uncertain,
- 4) Sure,
- 5) Not perfectly pure,
- 6) Perfectly pure,

- 7) Feeble, ~~etc.~~
- 8) Powerful,
- 9) With incomplete result, and
- 10) With complete result.

The *Conventional* Creative Effort is that, characterizing all the Bodhisattvas, who are not able to act (by themselves) surely and infallibly.

The *Absolute* is made by those, that act correctly and without mistakes and by the Çrāvakas, that have devoted themselves to Supreme Enlightenment.

The Creative Effort may be regarded as *uncertain*, when it is made by those, who do not belong to the (Mahāyānistic) family and by such members of it, who may relapse (into sin).

It is *sure*, if made by such, who are known by characteristics reverse to those just mentioned.

It is *not completely pure*, when made (out of desire of) imitating others, from fear of worldly power, rapine, judgement, of (being drowned in) a river (and similar calamities), or, — out of self-conceit, without consideration and accurate analysis, — for the sake of (prolonging one's) life, obtaining gain and renown, and in order to be praised and spoken of. The Creative Effort, made out of such and similar motives, cannot be regarded as completely pure. (On the contrary), it is *perfectly pure*, when it may be recognised by its motives being the reverse of (those mentioned).

The Creative Effort is *feeble* if the Bodhisattvas, after having made it, fall a prey to desire, hatred, and infatuation, and overpowered by (these three sources of evil) [48 b] are unable to act correctly and commit errors.

The Creative Effort, the consequences of which are reverse to these, is, on the contrary, to be considered as *powerful*.

The *result* of the Creative Effort is *incomplete* with those, who are on the (different) stages of Bodhisattva perfection, beginning with the Stage of Faith⁹⁴⁶ and up to the tenth Stage.⁹⁴⁷

The *full result* is attained after (the Bodhisattva's) having become a Buddha, as the Lord, Himself, says: — After I had finished the practice of asceticism,⁹⁴⁸ I attained Enlightenment, according to my sublime vows.

The different traditions as to Buddha's Creative Effort.

IV.Aca₁b₂e₃. In the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarika*⁹⁴⁹) it is said, that the first Creative Effort was made by the Brāhmaṇa Samudrareṇu. In the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*⁹⁵⁰) we read: —

In former times, when I was in an inferior state of existence,
I, having sacrificed to the Buddha Čākyamuni,
First made my Creative Effort for Enlightenment.

The tradition of the *Anukampā-pratīkaraṇa-sūtra*(?)⁹⁵¹) is as follows: —

Our Teacher, in the time of his previous existence, was once, through the influence of former deeds, reborn in the infernal region of Red-hot Iron, as an athlete, who had to draw a heavy vehicle. As his companions, feeble in strength, were constantly beaten by the ward, that surveyed them, (Buddha) became full of great commiseration and made his Creative Effort for Enlightenment (in order to help all the suffering living beings). After that he said to the keeper: — Be thou a little more merciful (toward these unfortunate beings). — The keeper, enraged, struck him with his trident, and (Buddha) dying, was delivered from infernal existence, as the drawer of a fiery vehicle and became purged from the guilt of sin (previously committed by him) during eight aeons.

According to the *Traiskandhaka*,⁹⁵²) the Teacher, whilst he was abiding in the form of Abhinanda,⁹⁵³) the son of a merchant, made his first Creative Effort in the presence of [49 a] the Buddha Mahāsundara (?)⁹⁵⁴)

And still another tradition says, that the Teacher, when he was existing as a potter's son, named Ābhākara (?)⁹⁵⁵) presented the great Buddha Čākyamuni with a vase of porcelain, five chowries, a pair of boots and a parasol, and made the following entreaty: —

O Buddha, may I become just like thee

By corporeal resemblance and by (the number of) disciples,

By duration of life, native country,

And by the high name, thou bearest.

Thus spoke He and made His Vow.

The Accumulation of Merit according to Mahāyāna.

IV.Acb₁b₂) (Here we distinguish): —

a₃) The character of the Accumulation of Merit,

- b₃) The period of time, during which it is brought about,
 c₃) The way in which it was completed (by Buddha).

The Character of the Accumulation.

- IV Acb₁b₂a₃. (The Accumulation of Merit) is to be viewed from the following eight points: —
- a₄) Essence,
 - b₄) Connection with the six Transcendental Virtues,
 - c₄) Etymology (of the word *sambhāra*)—its appellation in Sanscrit,
 - d₄) Action,
 - e₄) Modes,
 - f₄) Result,
 - g₄) Sphere of activity,
 - h₄) The different subjects with which (the Accumulation) may be identified.

Essence (definition) of the Accumulation.

- IV Acb₁b₂a₃a₄. We read in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*:⁹⁵⁶ —
 The Accumulation of Merit of the Bodhisattvas
 Consisting of virtue and Transcendental Wisdom is incomparable.
 The first (virtue) leads to bliss during this worldly life,
 And the second (Transcendental Wisdom) conveys an existence free from defilement.
 Accordingly we may define the Accumulation as: — “Virtue influenced⁹⁵⁷ and uninfluenced⁹⁵⁸ (by passions), which is the cause of a blissful existence⁹⁵⁹ (in the Saṃsāra) and of the super-bliss⁹⁶⁰ (of Salvation).

The Connection of the Accumulation with the six Transcendental Virtues.

- IV Acb₁b₂a₃b₄. It is said):⁹⁶¹ —
 (Charity and Morals form the Accumulation of Virtue,
 And High Knowledge, — that of Transcendental Wisdom.
 The other three (Patience, Energy and Concentration) represent the Accumulation of both,
 And the first five, moreover, that of Transcendental Wisdom likewise.

Etymology (!) of „sambhāra.“

- IV Acb₁b₂a₃c₄. (The *Sūtrālaṅkāra*⁹⁶²) says: —
 An amassing, again and again, of virtue,

(Practised) uninterruptedly and leading to concentration of mind

(Such is *sambhāra*, the Accumulation of Merit of the Bodhisattva

Accordingly, in the word *sambhāra*, which is the Sanscrit name for Accumulation, — (*sa* means) *saṁtānena* (or *saṁtatyā*) — uninterruptedly, (*bhā* stands for) *bhāvanā* — concentration, and (*ra* for) *āhāra*⁹⁶³) — (amassing) again and again. Consequently, (the Accumulation of Merit) is called *sambhāra*, since it is a repeated (practice of virtue), that goes on uninterruptedly [49 b] and leads to concentration of mind.

The Function of the Accumulation.

IV Acb₁b₂a₃d₄. (The *Sūtrālamkāra*⁹⁶⁴) says):

The Accumulation of Merit of the Powerful Ones
Leads to the fulfillment of all their projects.

The Modes of the Accumulation.

IV Acb₁b₂a₃e₄. (We read further on): — ⁹⁶⁵)

The Accumulation of Merit is made by the Powerful Ones,
For the sake of entering (upon the stages of Enlightenment),
(Rising up) to the state of non-differentiation,⁹⁶⁶)
Attaining impassibility,⁹⁶⁷) receiving the consecration⁹⁶⁸) (for
Buddhahood),

And (ultimately), for reaching the final goal.

Thus, the Accumulation of Merit appears in diverse forms, in harmony with the different stages of the Bodhisattva, viz. the (preliminary) Stage of Faith,⁹⁷⁰) the first six stages, the seventh⁹⁷¹) stage, the eighth⁹⁷²), the ninth⁹⁷³) and the tenth. (The different degrees in accumulating merit on each of these stages) respectively lead to: — the entrance upon the (ten main) stages (of the Bodhisattva), (the full monistic conception and) cessation of all differentiation, — on the seventh stage, complete impassibility — on the eighth, the consecration for Buddhahood, on the tenth, and the attainment of the final result (Nirvāṇa), — when one is already a Buddha.

The Result of the Accumulation.

IV.Acb₁b₂a₃f₄. It is said in the *Ratnāvalī*.⁹⁷⁴)

The physical form⁹⁷⁵) of the Buddha
Is a result of the Accumulation of Virtue,

And, as to his 'spiritual body,⁹⁷⁶ o King⁹⁷⁷
 Such, to speak briefly, is a product
 Of the Accumulation of Transcendental Wisdom.
 And in the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*⁹⁷⁸ (the master Nāgārjuna) says: —
 May I attain the two sublime (forms)
 Which are a result of virtue and Transcendental Wisdom.
 Accordingly, (the result), viewed from the standpoint of the
 principal cause, may, plainly, be characterized as follows: —
 It is the (attainment of) the two forms (of a Buddha), as the
 consequence of the two kinds of Accumulation.

The Spheres of the Accumulation.

IV Acb₁b₂a₃g₄. The sphere of activity of the Accumulation of
 Virtue is Empirical Reality or the world as it seems, and that
 of the Accumulation of Transcendental Wisdom, — Absolute
 Reality or the world as it is (sub specie aeternitatis).

The Accumulation of Merit from different points of view.

- IV Acb₁b₂a₃h₄. We distinguish here twelve forms: —
- 1) According to the Mahāyānist theory (the Accumulation
 of Merit manifests itself as): — the means (of attaining Bodhi-
 sattva perfection and Buddhahood), and high, analytic wis-
 dom. The latter puts an end to the conception of plurality,^{978a})
 and the former brings together all the roots of virtue. It is said
 in the *Gayāçirṣa-sūtra*:^{978b}) — The means is knowledge as
 regards the amassing (of the roots of virtue), and Highest
 Wisdom, — discriminative knowledge, (containing an analysis
 of existence). Of these two, Highest Wisdom⁹⁷⁹) [50 a] is
 founded upon Relativity and represents the full notion (of it).
 As to the means, — such is the fulfillment of all the projects
 of living beings out of commiseration, as it is said:⁹⁸⁰)
 (The attainment of Enlightenment is, with some, based upon)
 Relativity, endowed with the essence of great Commiseration.
 - 2) All the virtuous qualities are comprised in the six Transcen-
 dental Virtues, through the practice of which the Teaching
 of Buddha is fully realized, (as we read in the *Sūtrā-
 laṅkāra*):⁹⁸¹)
 All the pure qualities are to be viewed as
 Distracted, concentrated and mixed,
 They are (respectively) comprised in each pair of Transcen-
 dental Virtues.⁹⁸²)

And:⁹⁸³) —

Absence of inclination to objects of worldly enjoyment

Strict observation (of the rules of Discipline)

Absence of lassitude in regard of two points,⁹⁸⁴)

And meditation, free from distracted thoughts, —

This is the whole of the Great Vehicle taken in short.

The Great Vehicle is thus demonstrated as contained in the six Transcendental Virtues.

Now, may it be asked, do not the six Transcendental Virtues likewise exist with the Ārāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas? No.

— We read in the Commentary on the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*:⁹⁸⁵)

With the solitary Pratyekabuddhas⁹⁸⁶)

The six Transcendental Virtues do not exist even by name,

Only (the Buddha) our Lord

Abides on the summit of these virtues.

But, may it be said, in the Ārāvaka Code we have the six Virtues and all that relates to the conduct of a Bodhisattva clearly demonstrated. (To this we answer): — They are only briefly indicated, and as to their full analysis, such is nowhere to be found (in Hīnayānistic Scripture).⁹⁸⁷) *The Ratnāvalī*⁹⁸⁸) says: —

The vows, that characterise the Bodhisattvas

And (the precepts) for devoting oneself to the practice (of their virtues)

Are not treated in the Ārāvaka Vehicle.

How is it then possible (for an adherent of it) to become a Bodhisattva?

And the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*:⁹⁸⁹) —

The Teaching of the Ārāvakas,

Being incomplete, contradictory,

Affording no sure means and unable to give the due instructions,

Is not that, which may be called the Doctrine of the Great Vehicle.

- 3) The Accumulation of Merit has various degrees, corresponding to the stages (of Bodhisattva perfection). We read in the *Ratnāvalī*:⁹⁹⁰) —

Just as the Vehicle of the Ārāvakas,

Mentions eight stages (of perfection attained by) its saints,

In the same way the Great Vehicle [50 b]

Has ten stages (of Enlightenment) for the Bodhisattvas.
And the *Triṣaraṇa-saptati*⁹⁹¹) says: —

Just as the Complete Wisdom of a Hinayānist saint⁹⁹²)
Is preceded by seven (preliminary) stages,
In the same way the Divine Wisdom of the fully accomplished
Buddha

Has ten stages, that go before it.

The stages of Ārāvaka perfection are accordingly as follows:⁹⁹³

The stage of Pure Vision,⁹⁹⁴)

„ „ „ (entering the Ārāvaka) family,⁹⁹⁵)

„ „ „ Entering the Stream,⁹⁹⁶)

„ „ „ Illumination,⁹⁹⁷)

„ „ „ Refinement,⁹⁹⁸)

„ „ „ Deliverance from Passions,⁹⁹⁹)

„ „ „ Full Exposition (of the Truth),¹⁰⁰⁰)

„ „ „ a Pratyekabuddha.¹⁰⁰¹)

Similarly, the Great Vehicle has its ten stages, that of Joy¹⁰⁰²)
and the rest, which are in coordination with the ten Transcendental Virtues respectively.¹⁰⁰³) These are the principal stages,
but by entering those, that are subservient to them, (the Bodhisattva) when he is still a worldling, likewise becomes purified,
as it is said: —

These (the ten) are the chief stages,

But the ordinary man, that abides on the stage of devotion etc.
Here we have, accordingly, the stage of devotion,¹⁰⁰⁴) (attained)
on the Path of Accumulating Merit.¹⁰⁰⁵) And further on: —

He, that attains the (chief) stages,

Must (first abide in) that of Faith.¹⁰⁰⁶)

According to this passage, the stage of Faith lasts till the end
of the Path of Training.¹⁰⁰⁷)

Moreover, the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*¹⁰⁰⁸) mentions seven other
stages, namely: —

The stage of (entering) the Family,¹⁰⁰⁹)

„ „ „ Faith,¹⁰¹⁰)

„ „ „ Purest and Best Intentions,¹⁰¹¹)

„ „ „ Assurance,¹⁰¹²)

„ „ „ Activity,¹⁰¹³)

„ „ „ Sure Action,¹⁰¹⁴) and

„ „ „ Attainment of the Final Result.¹⁰¹⁵)

4) (The Accumulation of Merit) viewed from the standpoint of the four methods of propaganda¹⁰¹⁶) is characterized by the *Sūtrālamkāra*¹⁰¹⁷) as follows: —

(Of the four methods of propaganda)

Charity is equal (to the Transcendental Virtue of that name).
And as to fine, pleasant speech, favourable acts and common interest, —

Such are to be viewed as the teaching (of the Transcendental Virtues),

Incitation (of others to practise such),

And the conformity of one's own acts.

Accordingly, the four methods of propaganda are: — Charity,¹⁰¹⁸) that harmonizes with the corresponding Transcendental Virtue, sweet and pleasant speech,¹⁰¹⁹) by means of which (the teaching of) the six Transcendental Virtues is communicated to others, fulfillment of the projects (of others)¹⁰²⁰) by inducing them to practise the said Virtues and common interest,¹⁰²¹) — by being oneself devoted to this practice.

5) The Accumulation of Merit regarded from the point of the four methods of action, is [51 a] as says the *Sūtrālamkāra*:¹⁰²²) —

The activity of the Powerful Ones (manifests itself) according to the Sūtras, in four ways: —

With regard to the living beings, that are devoted to the Great Vehicle,

To those, who found their belief in the Small One,

And, in behalf of the adherents of both Vehicles,

For the sake of Discipline and to arouse the energy (of the converts).

Thus, for those, who are followers of the Great Vehicle (the Bodhisattvas) act on the basis of the Transcendental Virtues,¹⁰²³) (their actions being characterized by the essence of these ten virtues); in regard of the adherents to the Small Vehicle, (their activity is founded upon) the characteristic features of Enlightenment,¹⁰²⁴) 37 in number. With reference to those, who found their belief in both the Vehicles, in order to arouse, forcibly, the zeal of such persons, (the Bodhisattvas) have, in their action, (recourse to) supernatural perception,¹⁰²⁵) of which there are six forms.

And in order to lead to spiritual maturity the converts,

that adhere to all the three Vehicles, (they) act so as to bring all living beings to this maturity by the aid of innumerable expedients. Such are the four ways of action, according to the *Ratnacūḍa-sūtra*.¹⁰²⁶) And the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*¹⁰²⁷) says: — All the activity of the Bodhisattvas is to be regarded as comprised in the four methods of action.

6) As to the coordination of accumulated merit with the 80 imperishable things¹⁰²⁸) we read in the *Çuddhimati*:¹⁰²⁹) — The Creative Effort, sublime thoughts and deeds, the best intentions,

The six Transcendental Virtues, the (four) immeasurable feelings,

The (five) forms of supernatural perception, the four methods of propaganda,

The (four) methods of correct discrimination, the points of reliance, and the two accumulations,

The characteristics of Enlightenment, concentration etc.

The power of memory, and so on,

The (four main) aphorisms, the uniform concentration of the Bodhisattvas,

And their skill in expedients.

Thus we have: —

The Creative Effort, (1)

(Sublime) thoughts,¹⁰³⁰) (2)

Activity,¹⁰³¹) (3)

The best intentions,¹⁰³²) (4)

The six Transcendental Virtues, (5—10)

The four Immeasurable Feelings,¹⁰³³) (11—14)

Five forms of supernatural perception,¹⁰³⁴) (15—19)

The four methods of propaganda, (20—25)

The four methods of correct discrimination,¹⁰³⁵) (24—27)

Reliance upon the elements of existence and not upon the personality¹⁰³⁶) (28)

„ „ „ meaning and not upon the words,¹⁰³⁷) (29)

„ „ „ direct meaning and not upon the conventional,¹⁰³⁸) (30)

„ „ „ Transcendental Wisdom and not upon ordinary human knowledge,¹⁰³⁹) (31)

The two Accumulations (32, 33)

**The thirty-seven characteristics of Enlightenment,¹⁰⁴⁰⁾
(34—70)**

Concentration¹⁰⁴¹⁾ and Transcendental Knowledge,¹⁰⁴²⁾ (71, 72)

Power of memory¹⁰⁴³⁾ and readiness of wit¹⁰⁴⁴⁾ (73, 74)

The four aphorisms of the Doctrine: —

All active¹⁰⁴⁵⁾ elements are impermanent, (75)

All elements influenced (by defiling agencies)¹⁰⁴⁶⁾ have
mere phenomenal existence, (76)

All elements (whatsoever) are impersonal,¹⁰⁴⁷⁾ (77)

Every form of Nirvāṇa is Quiescence, (78)

The uniform concentration (of the Bodhisattvas),¹⁰⁴⁸⁾ (79)

(Their) skill in expedients.¹⁰⁴⁹⁾ (80)

These 80 subjects are mentioned in the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśa-sūtra*,¹⁰⁵⁰⁾ and the *Munimatālaṅkāra*¹⁰⁵¹⁾ says, that all the Mahāyānist Path is contained in them.

7) As to the varieties of the Accumulation of Merit, viewed from the standpoint of the 22 forms of the Creative Effort, we read in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*:¹⁰⁵²⁾ —

The Creative Effort has 22 forms,

Since it may be like the earth, like gold, the moon, or fire,

Like a treasury, a jewel-mine, or like the ocean,

Like a diamond, a mountain, a remedy, a teacher,

Like the wish-fulfilling gem, like the sun, or like a song,

Like a king, a jewellery, a great road,

A Vehicle, a fountain, a pleasant sound, a river, and a cloud.

As to the subjects, meant by these examples, the Saint Vimuktasena and the teacher Haribhadra¹⁰⁵³⁾ consider them to be the associates, connected with the Creative Effort, namely zeal,¹⁰⁵⁴⁾ sublime thoughts, activity, the ten Transcendental Virtues (respectively), the two Accumulations of Merit, the 37 characteristic features of Enlightenment, Commiseration, Transcendental Knowledge, power of memory, readiness of wit, the triumph of the Doctrine,¹⁰⁵⁵⁾ the uniform concentration of the Bodhisattvas, and the Cosmical Body of Buddha.

(Vasubandhu's) Commentary on the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*,¹⁰⁵⁶⁾ the *Çuddhimati*, and the *Munimatālaṅkāra* enumerate, instead, all the 80 imperishable subjects, the 6 Transcendental Virtues etc., in accordance with each (of the examples), and place them in the due successive order. These 22 forms of the Creative Effort [52 ၁], comprise, according to the opinion of the

teachers Haribhadra and Abhayākara-gupta, — the Mahāyānistic Path and its result.¹⁰⁵⁷) Others, in their turn, consider, that they include (only) the Paths of Discipline.

8) (The Accumulation of Merit) has likewise various forms corresponding to the four methods of intuition, which are as follows: —

The thorough knowledge of all the forms of the 3 Kinds of Wisdom and of their respective objects,¹⁰⁵⁸)

The Culmination of the Process of Illumination,¹⁰⁵⁹)

The Progressive Process of Illumination,¹⁰⁶⁰) and

The Final, Momentary Intuition¹⁰⁶¹).

It is said accordingly: — The cause (of perfection) is endowed with the essence of the four methods of intuition.

Otherwise the various forms of the Accumulation harmonise with the four Actions,¹⁰⁶²) that of the Outfit,¹⁰⁶³) Access,¹⁰⁶⁴) Accumulation (proper),¹⁰⁶⁵) and Issue.¹⁰⁶⁶)

9) In harmony with the teaching, that is common to all the Vehicles, the Accumulation of Merit differs in regard of the four Paths which are:

The Path of Accumulating Merit (proper,¹⁰⁶⁷)

„ „ „ Training,¹⁰⁶⁸) (2)

„ „ „ Illumination,¹⁰⁶⁹) (3)

„ „ „ Concentration¹⁰⁷⁰). (4)

As to the Final Path¹⁰⁷¹) such, being identical with the result, is not taken into consideration. (The first) two (— the Paths of) Accumulation and Training represent the practice (of virtue), which is founded upon faith in the Absolute Truth, but not upon direct perception of the latter; they are, therefore, (only) preliminary stages of the Path. On the contrary, the Path of Illumination and that of Transcendental Concentration are characterized by the full intuition of the Truth, which is directly perceived (by the Saint). Consequently, the first two, being still influenced (by passions)¹⁰⁷²) and based upon the knowledge of Empirical Reality,¹⁰⁷³) are but subservient degrees and not the Truth of the Path proper. Now, (if this is so), how is it then said in the *Nirṇaya-saṃgraha*:¹⁰⁷⁴) — Of what kind is the Truth of the Path? (Answer): — That, which represents the Path of Accumulating Merit, that, which is called the Path of Training, and that, which we know as the Path of complete Purification.¹⁰⁷⁵) All these, taken together,

form the Truth of the Path. And in the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*¹⁰⁷⁶) we read, that all the five subdivisions of the Path represent the Truth of that name. There is no mistake in this, for (the first two Paths) are viewed as subservient to the Path (proper), or as the stages, that aid (in its realization). It is said in the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-bhāṣya*:¹⁰⁷⁷) —

(In speaking of) “The fivefold Path”, (the author of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*) has in view the five different stages of the Path. These are the Truth of the Path proper and the subservient degrees. [52 b.] The Paths of Accumulation and Training are thus regarded as preliminary. Moreover, the *Nirṇayasamgraha*¹⁰⁷⁸) says: —

There are such elements, which, in spite of their relation to this world are such, which put an end to the thirst for repeated births, being antidotes against it, and to the Path for passing out of this world. Why are these elements, nevertheless, counted amongst those relating to the Truth of the Origin¹⁰⁷⁹) (of phenomenal existence)? (Answer): — (The elements spoken of) are, indeed, by their nature, antidotes against the thirst for repeated births. Still, since they are connected with ‘the actions, however virtuous, of body, speech, and mind, which three are all subjected to rebirth, the said elements must be regarded as relating to the Truth of the Origin. (Some authorities say), that the Paths of Accumulation and Training are, as regards their essential character, uninfluenced (by passions)¹⁰⁸⁰) and, therefore, belong to the Path (proper). This is not right, for it is said in the *Nirṇayasamgraha*:¹⁰⁸¹) — By means of analytic wisdom, which is a result of study and investigation, (the Bodhisattva) exerts himself in the (four) acts of intense mindfulness.¹⁰⁸²) This kind of knowledge relates to the Empirical Reality, and, notwithstanding its virtuous character, is influenced by passions. On the basis (of this knowledge, the Bodhisattva) practises meditation through which he becomes prepared for the (four) degrees conducive to Illumination¹⁰⁸³) and is keen upon the acts of intense mindfulness, connected with this form of meditation. This is likewise Empirical Knowledge, virtuous, but still influenced by passions. Then, on the basis of the said knowledge, (the Bodhisattva) manifests his energy in regard of the four acts of mindfulness, connected with the four degrees conducive to

Illumination, through which he is prepared for the Path of Illumination. However, this form of knowledge too is empirical, and, in spite of its virtuous quality, influenced (by passions). Finally, having such a basis (for further activity the Bodhisattva) attains the "Highest Virtues of the worldly being",¹⁰⁸⁴ which (degree) is included in the Unobstructed Path,¹⁰⁸⁵ leading directly to the Path of Illumination (and the direct perception of the Truth). But even this (wisdom of the Bodhisattva) is based upon Empirical Reality, and its virtues still bear the stain of passion.

- 10) The Accumulation of Merit may be likewise viewed from the standpoint of the three Disciplines, which are:

Moral Discipline,¹⁰⁸⁶

Mental Discipline,¹⁰⁸⁷ and

The Training in Highest Wisdom.¹⁰⁸⁸ [53 a]

We read in the *Sūtrāḷāmkāra*:¹⁰⁸⁹ —

The (Teaching of the) six Transcendental Virtues has been preached by the Buddhas

In regard of the three Disciplines.

The first (of these Disciplines)¹⁰⁹⁰ corresponds to the (first) three (Transcendental Virtues),¹⁰⁹¹

The last two (Transcendental Virtues)¹⁰⁹² are connected with two (of the Disciplines,¹⁰⁹³)

And one (Transcendental Virtue)¹⁰⁹⁴ relates to all the three Disciplines.¹⁰⁹⁵

- 11) (We may further on distinguish) the three forms of virtue¹⁰⁹⁶ namely that of Charity, Morals, and High Wisdom. The first of these is identical with the Transcendental Virtue of Charity, the second with that of Morals and the third includes Patience, Energy, Concentration, and the Climax of Wisdom.
- 12) (Finally we may view the Accumulation of Merit as) the seven subdivisions of the Path of the Bodhisattva¹⁰⁹⁷ or as the thirty-seven characteristic features of Enlightenment in their successive order. In such a way it is possible to explain the whole of Buddha's Teaching.

The time of Accumulation.

IV Acb₁b₂b₃. Scripture gives us many different versions as regards this subject. It speaks of three, seven, ten, and thirty-three immeasurable periods of aeons. Some of the discourses have,

100.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁵⁾
 1.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁶⁾ .
 10.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁶⁾
 100.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁶⁾
 1.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁷⁾
 10.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁸⁾
 100.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁴⁹⁾
 1.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000,¹¹⁵⁰⁾.

After this number eight members more of the decimal system are mentioned.¹¹⁵²⁾

It is said, further on, in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*:¹¹⁵³⁾ —

There are two methods of counting the immeasurable periods of aeons. (According to the first of these methods), the periods derive their name from the years, months, and moments, which, as regards each aeon, are immeasurable. Otherwise (one may explain the term) “immeasurable period“ as — „extending beyond every imaginable number.“ Those who are of the opinion, that many “immeasurable” periods are required for the attainment of Buddhahood, admit the first system. On the contrary, those, who hold three immeasurable periods to be sufficient, consider the second (system to be the right one). Indeed, it will be in harmony with the Sūtras, where it is said: — Extending beyond the number of aeons, equal to that of the sands of the Ganges. In the Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*¹¹⁵⁴⁾ we read: — The mentioning of three immeasurable periods is conventional.¹¹⁵⁵⁾

From the standpoint of (the Sūtras of) direct meaning,¹¹⁵⁶⁾ the number is in reality thirty-three, as it is said: — Indeed, the first period begins with the (primary) stage of Accumulation and ends with the first stage of Enlightenment.¹¹⁵⁷⁾ The second commences with the Immaculate¹¹⁵⁸⁾ stage and lasts till the seventh.¹¹⁵⁹⁾ Otherwise, the three immeasurable periods last [54 a] from the stage called the Immovable¹¹⁶⁰⁾ and up to the attainment of Buddhahood. Thus, may it be said, if it is stated, that Buddhahood may be attained in three immeasurable periods, it will be in conflict with the Sūtras of direct meaning.¹¹⁶¹⁾ (To this we answer: — This is quite right). Indeed, (the time of Accumulating Merit is generally divided into) three equal portions, and this is the reason, that three immeasurable periods are (frequently) spoken of in Scripture. This, however, is by no means the true state of things, and

consequently it is quite right, that the version of the Sūtras of conventional meaning proves to be contradictory. Indeed it has been said by Vasubandhu himself: —

The first period of aeons passes away the while (the Bodhisattva) brings to termination the (preliminary) stage of Accumulating Merit. Thereafter the Stage of Faith is brought to completion and in the meantime the second period of aeons elapses. Finally (the Bodhisattva) enters upon the ten main stages, (rising higher and higher) from the Stage of Joy and up to the final stage (of Bodhisattva perfection), — that of the Clouds of the Truth.¹¹⁶² Each of these stages is brought to accomplishment during three immeasurable periods and after they are all terminated, the stage of Buddhahood, — that of the All-pervading Light is reached. Consequently, the state of a Buddha is attained after thirty-three immeasurable periods of aeons.

As to the tradition of the *Lalitavistara*¹¹⁶³ such is as follows: (Buddha) has brought to maturity all the roots of virtue during seven immeasurable aeons. This tradition, consequently, considers seven periods to be the time required for the attainment of Buddhahood).

According to Vinitadeva's *Nikāya-bhedopadarçana-saṃgraha*¹¹⁶⁴ some of the Hinayānist sects admit, in their turn, ten periods. We have thus a great many different traditions and interpretations (as regards the time of accumulating merit). It has, moreover, been said by Maitreya:¹¹⁶⁵ —

This is regarded as the first stage,
(Attained) after immeasurable aeons.¹¹⁶⁶

And: ¹¹⁶⁷ —

The end of the Path of Concentration,

Is attained after the termination of two immeasurable periods. According (to these two verses) three periods are likewise admitted. Now, these immeasurable periods of accumulating merit [54 b] do not begin immediately after (the Bodhisattva's Initial Vow. It is said in the *Ratnameghasūtra*:¹¹⁶⁸) — O noble youth, the state of a Buddha is completely attained (only) after many immeasurable aeons. O noble youth, the Buddha is unaccessible to measure, thought and investigation. — The Bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin¹¹⁶⁹ asked: — O Lord, is it not possible (for us) to become Buddhas after three im-

measurable periods? — The Lord replied: — O noble youth, how canst thou ask (such a question)? The attainment of the sphere of a Buddha by a Bodhisattva is a thing inconceivable to the mind, and it is not possible to reach this goal within the time of three immeasurable aeons. The periods (of Accumulation) commence, when the Bodhisattva has come to (the conception of) the unity of the universe. From that time the aeons are to be counted and not from (the Bodhisattva's Initial Vow).

And in the *Mahāyānasamgraha*¹¹⁷⁰) we read: —

Endowed with the power of good (qualities) and with that
of his solemn oaths,

And, with a firm mind, venturing on Sublime Paths,
The Bodhisattva begins (his Accumulation of Merit)

For three immeasurable periods of aeons.

The *Mahāyāna-samgraha-upanibandhana*¹¹⁷¹) comments (this verse) as follows: — The good qualities mean the same as virtue, and (the Bodhisattva) being possessed of the power of virtue is spoken of as “endowed with the power of good qualities”. He is likewise regarded as possessing the power of (his) solemn oaths (and of prayer), since this power makes itself manifest in him. The first of these powers is concluded from the Bodhisattva's being inaccessible to harm from the part of hostile agencies, and the second — by his invariably meeting with a teacher,¹¹⁷²) (who guides him in precepts). The firmness of (the Bodhisattva's) mind (shows itself) by his never giving up the thoughts directed toward Enlightenment, in spite of the attempts of bad friends to divert him. “Venturing on Sublime Paths” means, [55 a] that (the Bodhisattva) in this life¹¹⁷³) and in the future states of existence gives increase to all the virtuous qualities and never becomes destitute of any of them. Consequently, when he becomes possessed of the force of the roots of virtue and with that of his vows, obtains a firm mind, which it is impossible to divert, and is no more contented with slight, insignificant merits, — from that time the Bodhisattva begins (the Accumulation of Merit) for three immeasurable periods of aeons.

Some authorities say, that the immeasurable periods begin from the Path of Training, since it is said in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*:¹¹⁷⁴) —

to heart my best intentions and deign to place thy feet on this deer-skin. And, as the Buddha descended, Megha, delighted, prepared for him a seat, covered with a lion's skin of the colour of gold, and said: O Dīpaṃkara, thou all-seeing, if thou shalt not place thy feet on this and grant me thy prophecy, my body shall wither away on the spot. The teacher thus earnestly requested, sat down and spoke: O brethren, ye art not to tread upon the head of this youth, for he is (to become) the object of reverence for all living beings including the gods. In times to come is he to be Çākyaṃuni!

Thus he prophesied, and Megha, full of the highest delight, suddenly grew to the height of seven Tala-trees and, having practised 100,000 forms of meditation, attained the eighth stage, as it is said: —

Having presented the Buddha Dīpaṃkara with five lotus-flowers,

And made for him a seat out of a lion's skin,
I came to master the Teaching of Relativity,¹¹⁸⁷) [56 b]
And was foretold to be the foremost of the Çākyas.

Moreover, in Scripture, we read: —

At the time, when I received the prophecy of the Buddha
Dīpaṃkara,

I attained the eighth stage (of a Bodhisattva)

And became possessed of the ten powers.

A certain teacher of the Chim-pa tribe says: —

The end of the three immeasurable periods coincides with the appearance of the Buddha Nakṣatrarāja. At that time Buddha had brought to accomplishment the Accumulation of Merit, but not completely, in all its forms. Therefore, (even) during this aeon, up to the time, when (human age in its regress had attained the limits of) twenty thousand years, and he was reborn as a teacher and Brāhmaṇa's son in the city of Neri-Idan (?), he continued to accumulate merit. During the whole of this (immeasurable) period of time, the Teacher worshipped an infinite number of Buddhas and studied their Doctrines, as it is said in the *Candra-pradīpa*:¹¹⁸⁸) —

I have worshipped hundreds of millions of Buddhas,
And even more, — (a number infinite), — like that of the
sands of the Ganges,

And all these highest of living beings I have adored,
Sitting here on the Vulture's Peak.¹¹⁸⁹⁾

The Attainment of Buddhahood according to Mahāyāna.

IV Acc₁b₂. (This paragraph deals with) the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment (by Buddha).

We have here to distinguish:

- a₁) The essential character of Buddhahood,
- b₁) The special narrative of the achievements performed by the Teacher,
- c₁) The investigation of the essence of the (three) different forms of the Doctrine.¹¹⁹⁰⁾

The Essence of Buddhahood.

IV Acc₁b₃a₃. The state of a Buddha is (in the diverse canonical works) differently characterized: —

1) (Some) take in consideration three distinctive features: (the Buddha's) Body as the substratum, (His) Transcendental Wisdom as the quality of this substratum, and the acts (of the Buddha).

2) (Others) view five subjects, namely (the Buddha's) Body, Word, Mind, qualities and actions.¹¹⁹¹⁾

3) (Still others) admit three characteristics: the removal (of the obscurations), the perception (of the Truth) and the (Buddha's) activity.

4) (And finally) there are authorities who characterize Buddhahood by two or three complements. As to the *Buddha-bhūmi-sūtra*¹¹⁹²⁾ — the version rendered by it considers the state of a Buddha to have five distinctive attributes. These five are as follows: —

- 1) The perfectly pure Absolute,¹¹⁹³⁾
- 2) The (quiescent) Transcendental Wisdom resembling a mirror,¹¹⁹⁴⁾
- 3) The Altruistic [57 a] Transcendental Wisdom¹¹⁹⁵⁾ (characterized by equal treatment of oneself and others),
- 4) The Discriminative Transcendental Wisdom,¹¹⁹⁶⁾
- 5) The (active) Transcendental Wisdom pursuing the welfare of living beings.¹¹⁹⁷⁾

Moreover, (the state of a Buddha) is viewed from the standpoint of His three or four¹¹⁹⁸⁾ Bodies.

Here we have to distinguish five points: —

- a.) The essential character of the three Bodies,
- b.) The etymology (of their Sanscrit names — *dharma-kāya*, *sambhoga-kāya* and *nirmāṇa-kāya*),
- c.) The definite number of the Bodies (as corresponding to to the aim of each),
- d.) By what sort of intellect each of these Bodies is perceived,
- e.) Varieties (of the Bodies).

The Essence of the three Bodies.

IV Acc₁b₂a₃a₄. It is said in the *Sūtrālamkāra*:¹¹⁹⁰⁾ —

The Essential Cosmical Body, the Body of Bliss, and the Apparitional,

Such are the different forms of the Buddhas, — their immaculate Absolute Essence.

The varieties of the Bodies of the Buddhas are:

The Essential Body, the Body of Bliss,

And another form is the Apparitional,

The first form being the substratum of the other two.

Thus we have first of all the Essential Body, which is otherwise called the Fundamental or the Cosmical. (This form represents the (monistic) Absolute in its perfectly pure nature and the (quiescent) Transcendental Wisdom, that resembles a mirror.

The Body of Bliss includes two other forms of Divine Wisdom, — the Altruistic, abiding in the Altruistic Nirvāṇa,¹²⁰⁰⁾ which is a result of the contemplation of equality in regard of oneself and other living beings, — and the Discriminative Transcendental Wisdom, perceiving everything cognisable without hindrance. The Apparitional Body is the Wisdom, acting in behalf of others, which conveys the fulfillment of all the projects of living beings by manifesting itself in various (miraculous) transformations.

The *Sūtrālamkāra*¹²⁰¹⁾ says: —

The immeasurable transformations of the Buddhas are regarded as their Apparitional Body;

The complement of the double aim is thus founded upon two of the Bodies.¹²⁰²⁾

Etymology of „dharma-kāya“, „sambhoga-kāya“ and „nirmāṇa-kāya“.

IV Acc₁b₂a₃b₄. The Sanscrit name for the Cosmical Body is *dharma-kāya*. The word *kāya* is derived from the verbal root

ci, — to collect, accumulate. (The Cosmical Body) is thus regarded as the accumulation, the aggregate of (all) the elements, uninfluenced (by defiling agencies).¹²⁰³) The *Satya-dvaya-vibhanga*¹²⁰⁴) accordingly says: —

The Cosmical Body is thus called,
Being the aggregate of all the elements,
The substratum of all the unthinkable virtues,
And the essence of all things, the nature of which agrees
with Logic.

The Cosmical Body is thus viewed from the standpoint of its being all-pervading,¹²⁰⁵) [57 b], a receptacle of virtues, and demonstrable, as the essence (of all things).

The name for the Body of Bliss is *sambhoga-kāya*. The word *sambhoga* means “bliss, enjoyment”, and this appellation has been given to this Body, since it represents (an existence characterized by) the full enjoyment of the Truth of the Great Vehicle,¹²⁰⁶) as it is said: —

Perfectly enjoying the Truth.

Or: —

Since it takes delight in the Truth.

And: —

As it represents the complete enjoyment of the Truth. The Apparitional Body is called *nirmāṇa-kāya*. It is Apparitional, since it necessarily changes, has no stable existence, and constantly assumes new forms, as says the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*:¹²⁰⁷) —

By means of innumerable transformations, inconceivable
to the mind,

(The Wisdom of the Buddha) brings about the fulfillment
of all the projects of living beings.

The definite number of the Bodies in correspondence with their aim. —

IV Acc₁b₂a₃c₄. (We read in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*):¹²⁰⁸) —

(All) the forms of the Buddhas are contained in the three
Bodies,

Which represent the substratum, the fulfillment of one's
own aim,

And that of others (respectively).

Thus we have the Body of Bliss as (the complement of) one's

own aim, the Apparitional, — as (that of) the welfare of others, and the Cosmical, — as the substratum of the former two.

The different kinds of Intellect, perceiving the Bodies.

IV Acc_{1a}d₃. The Cosmical Body in its complete form is accessible to the knowledge of the Buddha alone.¹²⁰⁹) Those, who have attained the eighth or the first stage, are capable of intuiting its refractions. And (the Bodhisattvas), who abide on the Stage of Faith, have but a general notion of it. As to the Body of Bliss, — there are two opinions, as to whose element it might be: — that, which considers it to be perceived exclusively by the Bodhisattvas, that have attained the tenth stage, and that, which admits it to the sphere of all, who have reached the main stages.

The first opinion is expressed in the *Ratnāvalī*¹²¹⁰) (in the passage, that ends with the verse:

The Lord of the region of unthinkable Divine Wisdom,
Is the Great Supreme God,¹²¹¹) —

and by the Mādhyamika Dharmamitra,¹²¹²) who likewise says, that the Body of Bliss (proper) is perceived by those, who have attained the tenth stage.

As to the second version, we read in the *Triṣaṇṇa-saptati*:¹²¹³)

Emerged from the immeasurable Accumulation of Virtue,
The sons of the Buddhas,¹²¹⁴) abiding on the ten stages,
Behold that Body, which [58 a] completely enjoys the Truth
of the Doctrine.

This Body becomes thus the element of such Bodhisattvas. As concerns the Apparitional Body, — its highest form, when needed, manifests itself after the Degree of Heat¹²¹⁵) but, in general, the manifestations of the Body begin with the great Path of Accumulation, as says the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*:¹²¹⁶) —

The Buddha, whom it is not easy to behold, may thus be seen.
And: —

It is possible to see him even before.

As to (the manifestations of the Apparitional Body) in the form of) incarnations etc. (we read in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*:¹²¹⁷) —

If all the factors (of perfection in the converts) are brought
to maturity,

Wherever and whenever His help is needed,
At that place and time He manifests Himself.

To those, that are not converted, as well as to the converts, that are unworthy,¹²¹⁹ the Buddha does not appear.

The *Sūtrālamkāra* says:¹²¹⁹ —

As in a broken water-pot

The reflection of the moon cannot be seen,

In the same way to those, that are evil,

The Buddha does not manifest Himself.

Varieties of the Bodies.

IV Acc₁b₂a₃e₄. In regard of the varieties of the Bodies, we first of all take into consideration the Cosmical Body. The *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* says: — The Cosmical Body is that, which represents the Absolute Truth and the unerring Transcendental Wisdom. — The Cosmical Body may thus be viewed as the substratum and the essence of all the elements, as the Absolute and the Divine Transcendental Wisdom, and as either active¹²²⁰ or immutable¹²²¹). As concerns the Body of Bliss, we quote the opinion of the Mādhyamika Dharmamitra:¹²²² — The great Body of Bliss (proper) is perceived only by (the Bodhisattva) who has attained the tenth stage, but that, which, being (in reality) a special form of the Apparitional Body, seen already by the Bodhisattva, who has reached the first stage, — is likewise known as the Body of Bliss. The first of the varieties has five definite characteristics, which are as follows: — 1) The definite place, — is (the region) Akaniṣṭha.¹²²³ It is said in the Madhyama-āgama-pariccheda(?)¹²²⁴ that Akaniṣṭha forms a part of the Pure Spheres.¹²²⁵ And in the *Lankāvatāra*¹²²⁶ we read: —

In the delightful region Akaniṣṭha,

Shining with diverse jewels [58 b]

In the highest of the Pure Spheres,

The Supreme Buddha has come to full Enlightenment,

And as to the incarnate forms, —

Such attain Buddhahood here (in this world).

And in the Tantras: —

If the Pure Spheres are abandoned etc.

The teacher Kamalaçila says: — Akaniṣṭha is (the realm of) the gods. One part of it is the residence of the gods of the Pure Spheres and there only the Saints have their dwelling. Above them there is a region, called the Abode of the Great Supreme God,¹²²⁷ where the Bodhisattvas that are on the

tenth stage, have their last birth. The incarnations of such Bodhisattvas (at the same time), manifest themselves here in this world. So is it said in Scripture. — The Mādhyamika Dharmamitra¹²²⁸) considers the abode of the Body of Bliss to be the region Adhāra-garbha-puṣpa-alaṃkṛta(?)¹²²⁹). He says: — 1.000.000.000 worlds of four continents¹²³⁰) form the three chiliocosms.¹²³¹) The latter, taken 1.000.000.000 times are equal to one Prasara-anusaṃdhi(?)¹²³²). 1.000.000.000 such aggregates of worlds form one Prasara-tantu(?)¹²³³). This one, being in its turn taken 1.000.000.000 times constitutes one Madhya-prasara-tantu(?)¹²³⁴) (Finally), the latter, multiplied by 1.000.000.000 is that, which is called the Puṣpa-ādhāra-garbha-alaṃkāra-vyūha(?), the sphere of Vairocana,¹²³⁵) on the palm of whose hand, in a minute particle of it, may be placed the Great Frozen Lake. This Vairocana is viewed as the Body of Bliss.

2) The definite Essence. (The Body of Bliss) is endowed with the (32) characteristic marks (of a Buddha)¹²³⁶) and with the (80) secondary features.¹²³⁷)

3) The definite circle of adherents is formed by the Bodhisattvas, who have attained the tenth stage.

4) The definite character of enjoyment is: — Taking delight in the Truth of the Great Vehicle.¹²³⁷)

5) The definite time is: — Eternity.

As regards the Apparitional Body, we read in the Sūtrālaṃkāra:¹²³⁸) —

By constantly showing acts of great dexterity,

Birth (in an individual form), the attainment of Enlightenment, and that of Nirvāṇa, —

This Apparitional Body proves a sure means of final deliverance.

Thus (we see the Apparitional Body) in four aspects. First of all it manifests itself as Viçvakarman¹²³⁹) or a Gandharva [59 a], then it appears in the form of birds and the like, further on — as a (human) incarnation (like that of) Čākyamuni, and, finally, as passing away into Nirvāṇa. Dharmamitra, in his turn, speaks of two forms, — that, which has and which has not attained complete maturity.

(From all that has been said, we see), that the numerous Bodhisattvas, who have attained the state of a Buddha, can

neither be regarded as (coalesced into) one single substance, nor may they, on the other hand, be viewed as a plurality of forms. — The ideas of unity and plurality cannot be applied (to Buddhahood). This is expressed by the *Sūtrālamkāra*¹²⁴⁰) as follows: —

With the Buddhas, in the aspect of the Absolute,

There is neither unity nor plurality, —

Since (from one point of view) they are bodiless like space,

And (from the other) still adhere to their previous bodily forms.

And:¹²⁴¹) —

(From the standpoint of) the Absolute Essence,

Buddhahood is not a unity,

For (the Bodhisattvas that have come to Enlightenment)

Belong to different families,

(The Accumulation of Merit) of each of them cannot be rendered fruitless,

Their moral feats are summarized and the course of moral progress is beginningless.

Neither is it a plurality, the Cosmical Body being an undifferentiated whole.

The Acts of the Buddha.

IV Acc₁b₂b₃. Although the acts of the Buddha are so numerous as to be inconceivable to our mind, still, having in view those, who demand a definite number, and, moreover, in order to examine more closely the principal achievements of the Buddha, the learned (usually) mention twelve acts. Kamalaçila says: — It is necessary to remove the impediments in regard of the thoughts, that concern the Buddha's Body and his twelve acts. And the *Mādhyamika Dharmamitra*¹²⁴²): — by means of (the narrative of) the twelve acts of the Buddha, beginning with his descent from Tuṣita,¹²⁴³) the converts are brought to maturity.

The *Ratnāvalī*¹²⁴⁴) speaks of the Buddha's acts as follows: —

(The Buddhas), guided by mercy, manifest (their achievements),

The coming (into this world), birth, enjoyment of life,

Departure from home, practise of asceticism,

The proceeding toward Enlightenment,

The victory over the Evil One and his hosts,

The exposition of the Doctrine,

The descent from the abode of the gods,

And, in a like way, the passing away into Nirvāṇa.

According to this and similar passages, the Buddha's descent from the realm of the gods is regarded as one of his achievements. When he was residing in the city of India called Keçavati¹²⁴⁵) the Lord [59 b] rose up to the realm of the gods in order to convert His mother, (who was reborn there). Thencefrom he descended, by means of a staircase of lapis-lazuli, and this His return is known as "the descent from the abode of the gods".

In the *Upāyakauçalya* and other Sūtras¹²⁴⁶) the fact of (Buddha's) fixing the time of the decline of His Doctrine is likewise considered to be one of His acts. (Buddha said) that the Doctrine would cease to exist, when there would be no need in it. He made this in order to prevent the arising of guilt, connected with the (forcible) rejection of the Doctrine. The *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottamā*¹²⁴⁷) says: —

The Buddhas do not pass away,

And their Doctrines do not cease to exist,

But, in the process of converting living beings,

They, (from time to time), show the passing away into Nirvāṇa and the like.¹²⁴⁷)

Some count the descent from the Tuṣita heavens among the acts of the Buddha, but others object to this, saying, that, since it is said in the Commentary on the *Sūtrālamkāra*:¹²⁴⁸) —

Showing the dwelling in the region of Tuṣita, —

In the Commentary on the *Abhisamayālamkāra*:¹²⁴⁹) —

By manifesting oneself as residing in the abode of Tuṣita, — and the *Uttaratantra*:¹²⁵⁰) — He became born etc., —

the Buddha's residing in Tuṣita is regarded as previous to His twelve acts. This, however, disagrees with the great Commentary on the *Saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra*,¹²⁵¹) where it is said: — (The Buddha) in His Apparitional form exhibits, simultaneously, in all the regions of the world, His twelve acts, to begin with the first — His descent from Tuṣita, and up to the last — the Great Nirvāṇa. Now, there may arise the question, as to which of the said acts being peculiar to the Buddha, and which — to the Bodhisattva. It is said in the *Pitṛ-putra-samāgama-sūtra*,¹²⁵²) that the Highest of Sages, has, an im-

measurable period of aeons before, attained Enlightenment in the world called Indraketu, and that now He (constantly) manifests Himself in the form of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, pursuing the welfare of living beings. [60 a] It is said as follows:

O Lord, in eight milliards of forms,
Thou hast manifested thyself as a Buddha,
Nevertheless, not satisfied with this,
Thou hast again directed Thy mind toward Enlightenment;
For skilful in the way of exercising Thy power,
By bringing to purification thousands of Buddhaic worlds,
Thou, o Buddha, art searched for by all living beings.
And at present, having made Thy first Initial Vow,
Here and there Thou doest appear.
And even now, Thou, o Greatest of Leaders,
Showest Thyself in innumerable hosts of Buddhas.

And in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*¹²⁵³) we read: —

For hundreds and thousands of aeons,
The duration of which cannot be measured,
I have attained Supreme Enlightenment (again and again)
And have constantly preached the Doctrine.

From all this we see, that (the Teacher) has attained Buddhahood long before (His manifesting the twelve acts), which, consequently, are all to be equally viewed (as those of the Buddha). However, there are other points of view, as regards this subject, which are to be found with the different schools. Of these the Hīnayānist tradition has been mentioned by me before. According to the versions of (especially) Mahāyānistic character, the Buddhas, having attained Enlightenment in the regions of Akaniṣṭha, exhibit, subsequently, their twelve acts here, in the world of gross bodies. It is said in the *Lankāvatāra*:¹²⁵⁴)

In the world of gross bodies and in the immaterial sphere,
The Buddhas cannot attain Enlightenment,
Only in Akaniṣṭha, the sphere of pure matter,
Free from passions, thou canst become a Buddha.

In the *Ghanavyūha-sūtra*:¹²⁵⁵) —

All the Buddhas (attain Enlightenment) in Akaniṣṭha,
And those, who have not become Buddhas (there),
Cannot exhibit the twelve acts in the world of gross bodies.

The *Uttaratantra*¹²⁵⁶) says: —

The Wisdom of the Universe, having mercifully looked down
upon all living beings,
Has, without changing His Cosmical Essence,
Manifested Himself in the form of diverse incarnations. [60b]
He assumed the birth (in an individual form),
Descended from the region of Tuṣita,
Entered His mother's womb, became born,
Showed His skill in arts and sports,
Led a merry life amongst women,
Then, departed (from home), practised asceticism,
Came to Bodhimaṇḍa, vanquished the Evil One and his hosts,
Attained Supreme Enlightenment,
Turned the Wheel of the Doctrine,
And passed away into Nirvāṇa.
These acts He demonstrated in the impure spheres,
As long as He was abiding in this world.

(The twelve acts) are, consequently, ascribed to the Apparitional Body. It is said, moreover, in the *Vyākhyāyukti*:¹²⁵⁷) —
From the time of His existence as a teacher and Brāhmaṇa's son, Buddha manifested Himself only in one of His Apparitional forms. How that? (Guṇamati)¹²⁵⁸) comments this passage as follows: — The Lord, in the times of the Buddha Kāc̣yapa, manifested himself in one of His Apparitional forms, as Brahmācārin, a teacher and Brāhmaṇa's son. Thereafter He was reborn as Çvetaketu in the Tuṣita heavens, and then became Sarvārthasiddha, the son of Çuddhodana. He dwelt in a royal palace, from which He (ultimately) departed, went to Ārāḍakalāma¹²⁵⁹) and other (heretical teachers) in search of the Path for Attaining Enlightenment. After that He gradually attained the state of a Buddha, preached His Doctrine, and then, gradually passed away into Nirvāṇa. During all this time He showed only one of His Apparitional forms.

Vaḡiçvarakīrti says: —

Victorious be He, who, having perceived the Absolute Truth
in Akaniṣṭha,
Has assumed the form of Çvetaketu, to act in behalf of the
denizens of Tuṣita,
And after that, for the sake of the living beings of this world,

Has manifested Himself as the Highest of the Çākṃyas,
Has vanquished the Lord of Death and showed His miracu-
lous feats.

Thus, according to this and many other similar traditions, the Teacher, having accomplished the Accumulation of Merit [61 a], attained the tenth stage and the uttermost limits of phenomenal existence, became a Buddha in Akaniṣṭha and after that demonstrated in the world of gross bodies His twelve acts, which are, consequently, all of them, to be viewed as solely those of the Buddha.

Çākṃyamiṭra and others, who hold the doctrine of the Guhyasamāja, say, that the Teacher, when He was practising asceticism, left His worldly frame on the banks of the Nairanjanā river, and, in His spiritual form, rose up to the Akaniṣṭha heavens, where He became a Buddha in the form of the Body of Bliss. Thereupon the spirit again descended into the Body wearied by penance, and after that, the other acts, the arrival at Bodhimāṇḍa etc. were performed. Consequently, to speak with the said authorities, the acts preceding the practice of asceticism are to be regarded as those of the Bodhisattva, and those, performed subsequently, — as the acts of the Buddha. The great translator, the Incarnation (of Aśiṣa) — Ratnabhadra, in his Refutation of the incorrect spells, shares the same opinion. The Mādhyamika Dharmamiṭra in his turn says, that the Buddha, having attained Enlightenment in Akaniṣṭha, exercises his activity there, and that the Buddha in such a form, and He, who has demonstrated the twelve acts in the world of gross bodies exclusively, are to be regarded as two (separate manifestations).

The tradition in common with all the Vehicles is rendered, by the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*^[289] as follows: — Who is He, the Buddha, inconceivable to our mind? (Answer) It is the individual, who, from the time of His residing in the Tuṣita heavens and, up to that of the great Nīrvāṇa, has demonstrated in the world of gross bodies all the acts of the Bodhisattva and those of the Buddha.

The *Abhidharma-samuccaya-bhāṣya*^[290] gives the following explanation: — In saying "all the acts of the Bodhisattva", the author of the main work means those exhibited in the period, beginning with the Teacher's abiding in Tuṣita and

up to His victory over the Evil One. "The acts of the Buddha" are those, that begin with the attainment of Enlightenment and end with the final Rest. [61 b] Such is the direct meaning of the words.

As concerns this narrative of ours, (the order of the Buddha's acts, given by it) is founded upon the verses of the *Uttaratantra*. After the Brāhmaṇa's son had died, the Teacher was reborn in Tuṣita as Çvetaketu and preached His Doctrine to the gods. At that time, by the force of His own virtues, and that of the blessing of (all) the Buddhas, He came to hear, from the sounds of celestial music, the following words:¹²⁶²) —

O Thou, treasury of boundless virtues,
 Displaying the light of High Wisdom, knowledge, memory
 and understanding,
 And endowed with matchless powers, —
 Remember Thou the prophecy of Dipamkara.
 Although,¹²⁶³) Highest of living beings,
 This abode of Tuṣita shines with the splendour of Thy virtues,
 Still, as Thou hast a mind full of great mercy,
 Let the rain of it descend (on earth) from the miraculous
 banner of Commiseration.
 The time is come, be Thou not indifferent,
 And, as Thou art merciful, grant Thy ear to this prayer.

Notes.

1 These translations are in need of revision, since there are considerable mistakes in which both translations always agree.

2 Bod-Chos-ḥbyuñ.

1 Tib. *bdun-ldan* = Sanscr. *Saptāçva*, *Saptāçva-vāhana*, — «possessed of seven» — the seven horses of the sun's chariot.

2 tib. *thugs-bskyed* = (*bodhi*-) *citta-utpāda*; definition cf. below 47 a. 5. Cf. also Bodhicaryāvatāra I 15. 16.

3 tib. *dge-tshogs* = *kuçala-saṃbhāra* — "Accumulation of Merit", consists of *bsod-nams-kyi-tshogs* = *puṇya-saṃbhāra* "Accumulation of Virtue" and *ye-çes-kyi-tshogs* = *jñāna-saṃbhāra* — "Accumulation of Transcendental Wisdom"; cf. below 49 a. 3 ff.

4 Tib. *sku-gsum* "The Three Bodies (of Buddha)" — *saṃbhoga-kāya* — the Body of Bliss — Buddha in the heaven Akanisṭha (cf. below 57 a. 4, 58 a. 6—b. 5), *nirmāṇa-kāya* — the Incarnate Form (in the person of Çākyamuni

etc. cf. 57 a. 45, — b. 2, 3), and *dharma-kāya* — the Cosmical Body, representing the Universe sub specie aeternitatis. On the *dharma-kāya* and its identification with the Absolute cf. below 57 a. 3, 58 a. 4. Cf. also "Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" p. 33.

5 tib. *gzun-ḥdsin-gos-bral-ba* = *grāhya-grāhaka-rahita*. This passage refers to Buddha viewed as the Absolute. Cf. Vasubandhu's Commentary on Sūtrālamkāra VI. 7. — "*dharma-dhātōḥ pratyakṣato gamane dvaya-lakṣaṇena viyukto grāhya-grāhaka-lakṣaṇene' yañ darṣana-mārga-avasthā*". Cf. also Aṣṭa-sahasrikāpiṇḍārtha Tg. MDO. XIV 333 a. 7. The Sanscrit text of this verse, preserved in Haribhadra's Abhisamayālamkāraṭīkā (MS. Minaev 23 b. 4.) is als follows: *Prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayam, sa Tathāgataḥ* — The Climax of Wisdom is the unique (undifferentiated) Divine Wisdom. This is the Buddha. A more theistic conception of Buddhahood is to be found in the Uttaratantra (Tib. Rgyud-bla-ma) of Maitreya-Asanga, where the Buddha is spoken of as eternal (*ḥdus-ma-byas* = *asaṃskṛta*, — which term is explained as *thog -ma -dbus-mthaḥ-med-pa*—having neither beginning, middle nor end), — and endowed with Wisdom, Love, and Power (*mkhyen-dan-brtse-dan-nus-pa-ldan* = *jñāna-kṛpā-sūmarthyavān*) (Tg. MDO. XLIV 55 a. 3-7).

6 Tib. *bya-lam* "the path of birds".

7 Tib. *chu-ḥdsin* = *jaladhara* "the bearer of water".

8 Tib. *ñon-moñs-kyi-sgrib-pa* = *kleṣa-āvaraṇa* — the Obscuration of Passion and *ṣes-byaḥi-sgrib-pa* = *jñeya-āvaraṇa* — the Obscuration of Ignorance.

9 An allusion to the *Apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*. On the latter as the form of existence peculiar to the *sambhoga-kāya* and Buddha in this form regarded as the Supreme God, cf. below 57 a. 4 and 57 b. 4.

10 Tib. *rañ-byuñ* = *Svayambhū*. The xyl. has "*rab-byuñ*".

11 Tib. *abyin-dgra* = *Yajñāri* "The enemy of sacrifices".

12 Tib. *gtsug-na-zla-ba* = *Candraçekhara* — "with the moon in his diadem". 13 tib. *log-ḥdren* = *Vinayaka*.

14 Tib. *skem-byed*.

15 Tib. *mig-stoñ* = *Sahasrākṣa* — "endowed with 1000 eyes".

16 Tib. *ḥtsho-byed* = *Jīva*.

17 Tib. *ston-par khas-ḥche che-bar mñon-rlom* etc. "*khas-ḥche che-bar*" is a form of alliteration corresponding, in Indian poetics, to the Chekānuprāsa; cf. *Alamkārasarvasva*.

18 tib. *srid-gsum* = *tribhuvana* — the human world, the realm of the gods and the infernal regions, or = *kham-gsum*. Cf. below p. 17, note 131.

19 tib. *ḥdren-byed ñams-byed*. *ḥdren-byed* is a literal translation of the Sanscrit *netra* or *nayana* — "the eye".

20 Gautama.

21 tib. *rig-byed-gzun-ḥdsin*.

22 tib. *nam-mkhaḥi-gos-can* cf. Nyāyabindu B. B. 62, 19, 63, 10, 93, 1.

23 The *Çrāvakas*, *Pratyekabuddhas* and *Bodhisattvas* are respectively compared to the bees that are satisfied by merely beholding the flower, those that enjoy its odour, and those striving to obtain from it honey — the true essence of Buddha's teaching.

24 Tib. *ñer-ñi* = *upaśama* "Pacification", "Quiescence".

25 Tib. *chos-rnams-sdud-mdzad*. These are: —

a) Of Hīnayānistic Scripture: —

Ānanda — the Compiler of the Sūtras cf. below 92 b. 2—93 b. 3.

Upāli — the Compiler of the Vinaya cf. below 93 b. 4—94 a. 2.

Mahākācyapa — the Compiler of the Abhidharma cf. below 94 a. 2—3.

b) Of the Mahāyāna: —

the Bodhisattva Mañjuṣrī — Compiler of the Abhidharma,

„ „ Maitreya — „ Vinaya,

„ „ Vajrapāṇi — „ Sūtras cf. below, 101 a. 4.

26 Tib. *rtag-chad smra-baḥi-lia-ba* — *ṣāṣvata-vāda* and *uccheda-vāda*.

27 Tib. *dkar-phyogs-lha-rnams* “the gods of the light (white) quarter”, according to the Tibetan tradition “those that rejoice in virtuous deeds”. They are opposed to *nag-phyogs-kyi-lha-rnams* — “the divinities of the dark quarter, those that rejoice in deeds of sin.

28 cf. M. V. § 125.

29 Tib. *ñag-gi-yul-las ḥdas* “passed beyond the sphere of words”.

30 The celebrated Teachers of Buddhism in India — Nāgārjuna, Āryasāṅga, Āryadeva etc. The prophecy, as rendered by the Lankāvatāra and Mañjuṣrīmūlatantra cf. below — with regard to Nāgārjuna — 105 b. 3—6, and to Asaṅga 105 b. 6—106 a. 3.

In this verse there are 12 varieties of Chekānuprāsa:

(a) *rgyal-ba mchog-gis mchog-tu* “by the Highest of Buddhas as great” (*mchog-gis* — “by the Highest”; *mchog-tu* — “as great”).

(b) *luñ-bstan-bstan-pa* — “...foretold, of the Doctrine...” (*luñ-bstan* “foretold”; *bstan-pa* “the Doctrine”);

(c) *dar-mdzad mdzad-pa dri-med* — “...the Propagators, the stainless work...” (*dar-mdzad* — “the Propagators”; *mdzad-pa dri-med* — “the stainless work”);

(d) *mñah; mñah-bdag* — “...apprehending, of the Lord...” (*mñah* mastering, apprehending”; *mñah-bdag* — the Lord”);

(e) *dam-paḥi dam-paḥi-chos* — “... the Great One, the Highest Truth...” (*dam-paḥi* — “of the Great One”; *dam-paḥi-chos* = *sad-dharma* — “the Highest Truth...” lit. — “Doctrine”);

(f) *kun kun-tu bzun-phyir* — “...all of it completely possessing...” (*kun* — “all”; *kun-tu* — “completely”);

(g) *theg-pa-gsum-gyi-tshul tshul-bñin* “...of the three Vehicles the systems duly...” (*tshul* — “system”; *tshul-bñin* — “duly”);

(h) *rab-ston ston-paḥi* — “...well expounded; the Teacher’s...” (*rab-ston* — “well expounded”; *ston-pa* — “the Teacher”);

(i) *gsuñ-rab rab-tu* etc. — “...Word perfectly etc....” (*gsuñ-rab* — “Word (Scripture);” *rab-tu* — “perfectly”);

(k) *mñah-baḥi-thugs; thugs-rjes* — “...with powerful mind, mercifully...” (*mñah-baḥi-thugs* — “powerful mind”; *thugs-rjes* — “out of mercy”);

(l—m) *dgoñs-ḥgrel ḥgrel-bcad bcad-pa* — “...primary and secondary comments uttered...” (*dgoñs-ḥgrel* = Sanscr. *vr̥tti* — “primary commentary”; *ḥgrel-bcad* = Sanscr. *ṭippaṇi* — “secondary Comment”; *bcad-pa* — “uttered, spoke”).

31 The Hīnayāna is sometimes regarded as consisting of two independent parts: — the Vehicle of the Ārāvakas and that of the Pratyekabuddhas.

32 cf. note 2 l—m.

33 The fundamental Scripture of Buddhism (*pravacana*), the Tibetan translation of which is the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*.

34 The division of Āstras — tib. *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

35 Tib. *bslab-pa-gsum*. (a) *tshul-khrims-kyi-bslab-pa* = *adhiṣṭhāna-śikṣā* — the Discipline of Morals.

(b) *sems-kyi-bslab-pa* = *adhicitta-śikṣā* — the Discipline of the Mind, otherwise termed *tiñ-ñe-hḍsin-gyi-bslab-pa* = *adhisamādhi-śikṣā* — the Discipline of Meditation.

(c) *sew-roḥ-kyi-bslab-pa* = *adhiprajñā-śikṣā* — the Discipline of high (analytic) Wisdom.

36 Tib. *bedu-ba-bḥi* = *catvāri saṃgraha-vastūni*: —

(a) *mḥo-ba-sbyin-pa* = *dāna* — charity.

(b) *ñān-par-smra-ba* = *priya-vādita* — fine, polite speech.

(c) *don-spyod-pa* = *artha-caryā* — favourable acts.

(d) *don-mthun-pa* = *samāna-arthaṭā* — common interest, cf. below 50 b. 5 and M. V. § 35.

38 Tib. *byin-zas* = *haviṛbhuj* or *hutaṣana* — “the devourer of oblations”.

39 Tib. *brda-sprod-tshig* — grammatically correct words.

40 Xyl. corrupt. Read *gsuñ-gnas* for *gsur-gnas*.

41 Tib. *dam-paḥi-chos* = *saddharma*. For definition cf. below.

42 Tib. *rdzu-ḥphrul-gyi-rkañ-pa-bḥi* = *ṛddhipāda* cf. M. V. § 40.

43 Tib. *chu-srin-rgyal-mshan-can* = *Makaradhvaḥja* — “the Owner of the Crocodile Ensign.”

44 Tib. *smiñ-grol-gyi-ñiñ* — “the field of Conversion and Salvation”.

45 cf. above p. 6 note 36.

46 Tib. *chos-kyi-ḥkhor-lo-bakor-ba* = *dharma-cakra-pravartana* — “Turning the Wheel of the Doctrine”.

Three divisions of Scripture are known, with regard to time and contents: —

(a) Early Scripture (tib. *bkaḥ-dan-po*) — the Hīnayāna.

(b) Intermediate (tib. *bkaḥ-bar-ba*) — the Mādhyamika Doctrine and the Prajñā-pāramitā.

(c) Latest (tib. *bkaḥ-ḥka-ma*) — the Yogācāra Doctrine. cf. below 76 b. 6—80 a. 3.

47 cf. below 97 b. 3—4, 104 b. 4—6.

48 Tib. *Byaṇ-chub-sems-dpaḥi-sde-snod*. Kangyur DKON. III. 160 b.5., quoted in the Vyākhyāyukti 136 b. 3—4.

49 Tib. *Rnam-bḥad-rigs-pa*, The work of Vasubandhu, one of his Prakaraṇas; tib. translation — Tangyur MDO LVIII 136 b. 4—137 a. 8 (condensed).

50 cf. p. 6 note 35. 51 *ibid.* 52 *ibid.*

53 Tib. *kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* = *samkleṣa*.

54 Tib. *las-kyi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* = *karma-samkleṣa*.

55 Tib. *ñon-moñs-paḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* = *jāti-samkleṣa*.

56 Tib. *ḥkye-baḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* = *jāti-samkleṣa*. Guṇamati in his Vyākhyāyuktīkā (Tg. MDO. LX. 16 b. 5—8) enlarges upon this subject as follows: — *ñon-moñs-paḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* *dan las-kyi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-*

pa dan skye-baḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-ste; ñon-moñs-pa-ñid kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-yin-pas ñon-moñs-paḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-ste. las dan skye-baḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-gñis kyañ de-bñin-no. de-la yan-lag gsum-po ma-rig-pa dan sred-pa dan len-pa-dag-ni ñon-moñs-paḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-yin-no. ḥdu-byed dan srid-pa dan yan-lag-gñis-ni las-kyi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-yin-ṭe. rnam-par-ces-pa-la-sogs-pa yan-lag lhag-ma-rnams-ni skye-baḥi-kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-yin-no. Accordingly, the members 1, 8, and 9 of the formula of Evolution (i. e. *avidyā*, *trṣṇā* and *upādāna*) form “the defilement of passion” (*kleṣa-saṃkleṣa*), — the members 2, 10 (*saṃskāra* and *bhava*) — the defilement of former deeds, and the remaining seven (*viññāna*, *nāma-rūpa*, *ṣaḍ-āyatana*, *sparṣa*, *vedanā*, *jāti*, and *jarā-maraṇa*) — the “defilement of birth” (*jāti-saṃkleṣa*).

57 Tib. *dbaṅ-poḥi-sgo bsrus-pas* — “by guarding the doors of the senses”.

58 Tangyur MDO LVIII 135 b. 6—7.

59 Tib. *thos-pa yon-su-byañ-bar ḥgyur-ba* — “Complete purification of the matters studied”.

60 Prajñāpāramitā. Xyl. corrupt. Read according to Tg. *ces-rab-kyi-don* etc. for *ces-rab-kyis*.

61 This and the following is condensed from the Vyākhyāyukti. Ibid. 135 b. 7—136 a. 8.

62 cf. “Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna” p. 17. Correct *bden-pa-rtogs-pa* for *bden-par-rtogs-pa*.

63 Tib. *thos-pa-las-byuñ-baḥi-ces-rab* = *ṣrutimayī prajñā*. cf. M. V. § 65.

64 Tib. *bsam-pa-las-byuñ-baḥi-ces-rab* = *cintamayī prajñā*. Ibid.

65 Tib. *bsgom-pa-las-byuñ-baḥi-ces-rab* = *bhāvanāmāyī prajñā*. Ibid. This passage is likewise condensed from the Vyākhyāyukti. (Tg. MDO. LVIII 136 a. 8—b. 3).

66 Tangyur MDO LVIII. 142 a. 3—5.

67 Tg. *yon-tan-lña* for *phan-yon-rnam-pa-lña*.

68 Tib. *ḥphags-paḥi-ces-rab-kyi-mig sbyon-bar-byed-pa* — “Purification of the vision of Highest Wisdom, the attribute of a Saint”. This *ḥphags-paḥi-ces-rab* is synonymous with *ḥjig-rtan-las-ḥdas-paḥi-ces-rab* = *lokottarā prajñā* and with *yogipratyakṣa*. Cf. “Conception of Buddhist Nirvana” p. 16—20.

69 Tg. LVIII. 141 a. 4—8.

70 Tib. *byañ-chub-kyi-phyogs* = *bodhi-pakṣa*. These are (thirty seven in number): —

dran-pa-ñe-bar-gñag-pa-bñi = *catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*.

yañ-dag-par-spoñ-pa-bñi = *catvāri prahāṇāni*.

rdsu-ḥphrul-gyi-rkañ-pa-bñi = *catvāra ṛddhi-pādāḥ*.

dbaṅ-po-lña = *pañca indriyāṇi*.

stobs-lña = *pañca balāni*.

byañ-chub-yan-lag-bdun = *sapta bodhy-angāni*.

ḥphags-paḥi-lam-yan-lag-brgyad = *ārya-aṣṭāṅga-mārga*.

71 Tg. MDO. LVIII. 141 a. 8—b. 3.

72 Tib. *rgyud-smin-pa-rnams-la*. Tg. has *rgyu-smin-pa*.

73 Tg. 141 b. 3—7.

74 cf. Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha v. 33 (*soya-kṛidā-nirata-yuvati* etc.).

75 Correct, according to Tg. (141 b. 5) *yañ-ḥbyuñ-baḥi-sred-pa* for ... *srid-pa*.

- 76 Tib. *bsam-gtan* = *dhyāna* (of four kinds cf. M. V. § 67).
 77 Tib. *mñon-par-ces-pa* = *abhijñā* cf. M. V. § 14.
 78 Tib. *ishad-med-pa* = *apramāṇa* ibid. § 69.
 79 Tib. *rnam-par-ithar-ba* = *vimokṣa* ibid. § 70.
 80 Tib. *hjiḡ-ishogs* = *saṅkāya*, defined as *zag-beas-kyi-phuñ-po-lña* — *sāsravāḥ pañca skandhāḥ* — the five groups of elements influenced by passions.
 81 Tib. *gsuñs dhāraṇī*.
 82 Tib. Byams-pa-señ-ge-sgrahi-mdo. Kg. DKON V. 82 a. 4—5. The Kg. has: *mi gañ-gis-ni Gangāhi bye-sñed-kyi hjiḡ-rten-khams-mchog rin-chen gañ-byas-te dgañ-mchog-sems-kyis* etc.
 83 Tib. *sañs-rgyas-ñiñ* = *buddha-kṣetra*.
 84 Kg. DKON. V. 82 a. 1—2. —
 Stoñ-chen-khams-ni rin-chen gser-dag-gis
 bkañ-ste gañ-la sbyin-pa byed-pa-ni
 tshig-bñihi tshigs-su-bead-pa-gcig brjod-pas
 ji-ltar phan-hdogs de-ltar hgyur-ma-yin.
 85 Tib. *Señ-ges-žus-paḥi-mdo*. Kg. DKON. VI. 27 b. 4. Quoted in the *Çikṣā-samuccaya* BB. 53. 8 — *jāti-smarā dharmā-dānāt*.
 86 Tib. *Kluḥi-rgyal-po rgya-mtshos žus-paḥi-mdo*. Kg. MDO. XIV, 125 a. 4.
 87 Tib. *Rin-chen-phren-ba*. The Work of Nāgārjuna Tg. MDO. XCIV, 143 a. 2. The Tg. has: *chos-gzuñ-don-dag dran-pa* for *gzuñ-gi-don-dag dran-pa*.
 88 Tib. *Lhag-paḥi-bsam-pa-ṣkañ-baḥi-mdo*. Quoted in the *Çikṣā-samuccaya* B. B. 351. 1—8: — *pañcāḥkām Ārya-adhyāṣaya-saṃcodana-sūtre vimṣatir ime Maitreya anuṣaṃsā nirāṃsa-dāne yo lābhā-saṅkāram apratikāṅkṣan dharmā-dānaṃ dadāti (dadāmi?)*. *Katame vimṣatih yaduta smṛtimāṃṣ ca bhavati matimāṃṣ ca bhavati buddhimāṃṣ ca bhavati gaṇimāṃṣ ca bhavati dhṛtimāṃṣ ca bhavati prajñāṃṣ ca bhavati lokottarāṃ ca prajñāṃ anuvidhyati alpa-rūgo bhavati alpa-dveṣo alpa-mohaḥ*. *Māraḥ ca asya avatāraṃ na labhate buddhair bha-gavadbhiḥ samanvāhriyate amanuṣyāḥ cai' naṃ rakṣanti devāḥ ca asya ojaḥ kāye prakṣipanti amitrāḥ (sic) ca asya avatāraṃ na labhante mitrāṇi ca asya abhedyāni bhavanti ādeya-racanaḥ ca bhavati vaiṣṭaradyāṃṣ ca (sic) pratilabhate saumanasya-bahulaḥ ca bhavati vidvāḥ-praṣastaḥ ca anuṣmaraṇīyaṃ ca asya tad dharmā-dānaṃ bhavati ime Maitreya vimṣatir anuṣaṃsā iti*.
 89 Tib. *blo* = *buddhi*. 90 Tib. *blo-gros* = *mati*.
 91 Tib. *hjiḡ-rten-las-hdas-paḥi-ces-rab* = *lokottarā prajñā* is the same as *hphags-paḥi-ces-rab* cf. above p. 10 note 68.
 92 Tib. *glags* = *avatāra*. 93 Tib. *mi-ma-yin-pa* = *amanuṣya*.
 94 Tib. *mdaṇis* = *ojas*. 95 Tib. *mi-hjiḡs-pa* = *vaiṣṭaradya* cf. M. V. § 8.
 96 Tib. *Bslab-btus*, B. B. p. 350. 24 — *dharmā-dānaṃ nirāṃsaṃ puṇya-vṛddhi-nimittaṃ bhavati* and *Kārikā XXVI* — *sarvavasthāsu sattvārtho dharmā-dānaṃ nirāṃsaṃ bodhi-cittaṃ ca puṇyasya vṛddhi-ketuḥ samāsataḥ*.
 97 *Çrāvaka-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra*, *tathāgata-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra* — M. V. § 61.
 98 Tg. MDO. LVIII 141 a. 1—2. 99 Tib. *mñon-pa-kun-las-btus-pa*. The Work of Āryasāṅga. Ibid. LVI, 123 b. 5.
 100 Correct *hdsin-pa dan kha-ton-byed-pa dan bṣad-pa-ni...* for
kha-ton-byed-pa dan bṣad-pas.
 101 Tib. *lun m-m-hbyed* Kangyur HDIII VI—IX

- 102 Tib. *phuñ-po* = *skandha*. 103 Tib. *khams* = *dhātu*.
 104 Tib. *skye-mched* = *āyatana*.
 105 Tib. *sten-ciñ-hbrul-par-lhyun-ba* = *pratītya-samutpāda*.
 106 Jātakamālā (ed. Kern, Harvard Series 1891) p. 214. 14—215. 2 (Sutasoma-jātaka).
 107 *dīpaḥ ṣṛutaṁ maha-tamaḥ-pramāthi caurādya-ahāryaṁ paramaṁ dhanam ca saṁmoha-ṣatru-vyathanāya ṣastraṁ nayopadeṣṭā paramaḥ ca mantri* (verse 32).
 108 Māra.
 109 *param nidhānaṁ yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ ca* (end of verse 33) correct *grags dan dpal-gyi-gter* for *grags dan dpal dan gter*.
 110 *satsaṁgame prābhṛta-ṣibharasya sabhāsu vidvaj-jana-rañjanasya, para-pravāda-dyuti-bhāskarasya (viṣeṣahetuḥ) ...* (pada 1, 2, 3 of verse 34).
 111 *vinīta-dīpta-pratibhōjvalasya prasahya kīrti-pratibodhanasya, vāk-sauṣṭhavasya' pi viṣeṣahetuḥ yogāt prasannārthagatiḥ ṣṛutaḥ* (verse 37).
 112 *artha* is here in the sense of *bhūtaḥ sadbhūto' rthaḥ* cf. Nyāyabindu B. B. p. 11. 18. ff. (on yogipratyakṣa).
 113 In tib. *bsgoms* (= *bhāvanā*) stands for *yoga* of the original. Prof. J. Speyer's translation of this passage is quite wrong.
 114 *Ṣṛutvā ca vairodhika-doṣa-muktaṁ trivarga-mārgaṁ samupācṛayante Ṣṛutānusāra-pratipatti-sārīs taranty akrecheṇa ca janma-durgam.* (verse 38).
 115 Tib. *ḥkhor-gsum* = *trivarga* i. e. *dharma, artha, kāma* — religion, wealth and love.
 116 Tg. MDO. LXIII. 27 a. 8—b. 1.
 117 Tib. De-bzin-gcegs-paḥi-gsañ-ba-bstan-pa. Kg. DKON. I. 130 b. 7—131 a. 1.
 118 Tib. Blo-gros-rgya-mtshos-žus-paḥi-mdo. Kg. MDO. XIV, 51 b. 1 (1st and 2nd verse) and 52 a. 1. (3d verse) quoted in the *Çikṣāsamuccaya* p. 43—44.
 119 *Parigṛhīto bhavati* (sic) *jinebhir devebhi nāgebhi ca kiṁnarebhiḥ* (sic) *puṇyena jñānena parigṛhītaḥ saddharmadhāritva* (sic) *tathāgatānām.* p. 43. 6—9.
 120 Omitted in the *Çikṣāsamuccaya*.
 121 *Çakro 'tha Brahmā tatha* (sic) *lokapālo manuṣya-rājā bhuvi cakravartī sukhena saukhyena ca bodhi* (sic) *budhyate saddharmadhāritva tathāgatānām.*
 122 Sic according to the passage in the *Prajñāpāramitā* quoted below. To speak with the Lamas, not merely a *theḡ-chen-gyi-grub-mithaḥ-smra-ba* (expounder of Mahāyānistic teachings) is meant here, but a Bodhisattva, one who belongs himself to the family of the High Vehicle — a *theḡ-chen-gyi gañ-zag*.
 123 Here the first four subdivisions of the Path — the *saṁbhāra* —, *prayoga* —, *darśana* —, and *bhāvanā-mārga* are meant.
 124 The *mi-slob-lam* = *aṣṭikṣa-mārga*.
 125 *Çikṣāsamuccaya* B. B. 351. 13—352. 1 ... *ye trisāhasa-mahā-saḥsre lokadhātau sattvās te sarve arhattvaṁ prāpnuyus teṣāṁ ca arhatāṁ yad dānamayaṁ puṇya-kriyā-vastu ṣīlamayaṁ puṇya-kriyā-vastu bhāvanāmayaṁ*

puṇya-kriyā-vastu tat kiṃ mahāyasa Ananda api tu sa bahu (sic) *puṇyaskandhaḥ āha bahu bhagavan bahu sugata bhagavān āha...* (351. 18.) ... *ato'py Ananda bahutaram puṇyaskandham prasavati yo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo' parasya bodhisattvasya prajñāpāramitū-pratisaṃyuktam dharmaṃ deçayati antaṣṭa eka-divasam api.*

126 *dānamayaṃ puṇya-kriyā-vastu, çilamayaṃ puṇya-kriyā-vastu, bhāva-nāmayaṃ puṇya-kriyā-vastu* cf. M. V. § 93.

127 Çikṣāsamuccaya 352. 2—4. ... *idam Ananda tasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya dharma-dānaṃ sarva-çrāvaka-yānikānām api sarva-pratyeka-buddha-yānikānām ca pudgalānām kuçala-mūlam abhivhavati.*

128 Lit. the Vehicles of the Çrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas.

129 Tg. MDO. XLIV 73 a. 4—b. 1. 130 Tg. corrupt *ñid-re.*

131 Tib. *srid-gsum = khams-gsum* : —

a) *hdod-paḥi-khams = kāma-dhātu* — the sphere of gross bodies,

b) *gsugs-kyi-khams = rūpa-dhātu* — the sphere of ethereal bodies, and

c) *gsugs-med-kyi-khams = arūpa-dhātu* — the sphere of immaterial bodies.

132 Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa p. 12—13 and Index 6 s. v. Yoga II.

133 Tib. *Mdo-sde-rgyan* XII 21—23. (Ed. Prof. S. Lévi.)

134 *yo granthato' rkhato vā gāthū-dvaya-dhāraṇe prayujyeta sa hi daça-vidham anuçaṃsaṃ labhate sattrottamo dhīmān.*

135 *kṛtsnām ca dhātu-puṣṭim prāmodyaṃ co' ttamaṃ maraṇa-kāle janma ca yathābhikāmaṃ jūti-smaratūṃ ca sarvatra.*

136 cf. above p. 13 and note 97. Vasubandhu, commenting this line, says: *kṛtsna-dhātu-puṣṭiḥ sarva-mahāyāna-adhiṣṭhānāya dhātu-puṣṭis tad āvaraṇa-vigamāt sarvatra mahāyāne' dhimukti-lābhataḥ* — Full increase of the elements (of virtue) means increase of all the elements, that cause one's perpetual abiding in the Mahāyāna, for, all the obscurations having been (through this) removed, adherence to the family of the High Vehicle at all times is secured.

Prof. S. Lévi translates: L'alimentation des Plans intégrale c'est l'alimentation des Plans pour dominer intégralement le Grand Véhicule, car, ces obstructions une fois quittées, on arrive à la croyance dans l'intégralité du Grand Véhicule. (?)

137 *buddhaiṣ ca samavadhānaṃ tebhyaḥ çravaṇaṃ tathā' grayānasya adhimuktiṃ saha buddhyā dvaya-mukhatām āçu bodhiṃ ca.*

138 Tib. *sañs-rgyas-rnams-dañ-phrad-pa = buddha-samavadhāna.*

139 *samādhi-mukhatā dhāraṇi-mukhatā ca* — the medium of deep meditation and that of memory.

140 Tg. MDO LVIII 34 a. 1—2. 141 Correct *thos-na* for *thos-nas.*

142 Ibid. 40 b. 2—3.

143a Cf. Abidharmakoça-bhāṣya B. B. 6. 2—3. — *don-dam-paḥi-chos mya-ñan las-hdas-pa.* Cf. also Rosenberg Problems p. 87 "dharma par excellence".

143b Lit. an object of mental faculty (*yid-kyi-yul = mano-viṣaya*).

144 This and the following is condensed from the Vyākhyāyukti (Tg. MDO. LVIII 40 b. 3—41 a. 2).

145 Tib. *hdus-byas = saṃskṛta.* 146 Tib. *hdus-ma-byas = asaṃskṛta.*

147 Tib. *çes-bya = jñeya.*

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148 Tib. *yañ-dag-paḥi-lta-ba* = *samyag-dṛṣṭi*, the first of the eight subdivisions of a Saint's Path (*ārya-aṣṭāṅga-mārga* cf. MV. § 44.)

149 The Vyākhyāyukti (40 b. 5.) says: *de-ni-yid-kho-naḥi-yul-yin-ñin yul-kho-na-yin-gyi rten-ni ma-yin-no* — it (*dharma* as a non-sensuous element) is an object of the intellectual faculty only, and only the object, but not that which forms the support (of mental faculty). And Guṇamati (Vyākhyāyuktiṭikā, Tangyur MDO. LX 14 b. 2—24.) comments: — *de-ni yid-kho-naḥi yul yin-ñin ñes-bya-ba-ni mig-la-sogs-pa-nas lus-kyi-dbañ-po-la-thug-pa-rnams-kyi ma-yin-pa-ste. de-ltar-na gsugs-la-sogs-pa bsal-ba-yin-no. mig-gi-rnam-par-ces-pa-la-sogs-pa-dag-kyan de-ltar thal-bar-hgyur-na mi-run-bas yul-kho-na-yin-gyi rten-ni ma-yin-no ñes-bya-ba-ñdi smos-te. mig-gi rnam-par-ces-pa-la-sogs-pa-ni yid-kyi-rten-yañ yin-pas-so*: — the words “an object of intellectual faculty only” mean that it is not one corresponding to any of the sensuous faculties, to begin with the visual and ending with the tactile. Accordingly, (such elements as those of) Matter etc. are excluded. In such a case (the different kinds of) consciousness — the visual etc., — could be likewise meant (here). This would be a mistake; therefore, (the Author) says: “only the objects of mental faculty but not its supports”, for visual consciousness and the other (five) are the supports of mental faculty. Cf. Central Conception of Buddhism p. 8. 6—12.

150 Tib. *ḥbyuñ-hgyur* = *bhavana*. The Vyākhyāyukti (40 b. 8) says with regard to this meaning of *dharma*: *ḥbyuñ-bar-hgyur-ba-la-ni ḥcu-byed-kyi-rdzas-rnams-ni deḥi-chos-so* — the attribute (quality) of things that are subjected to the influence of (active, originating) forces. In both the Xyl. and the Tangyur text of the Vyākhyāyukti we have *lus-ñdi-ni-rgas-paḥi* (or: *rga-baḥi*) *chos yin-no*. This is evidently a mistake made by the Lotsavas in translating from the original which must have been *jarā-dharma' yañ kāyaḥ* — a *bahuvrīhi* which they mistook for a *tatpuruṣa*. Guṇamati's Commentary (Tg. MDO. LX 14 b. 5) has correctly — *rga-baḥi-chos-can*.

151 Cf. M. V. § 269. 152 Tib. *rañ-gi-miṣhan-ñid* = *svalakṣaṇa*.

153 Tib. *gsugs-su-run-ba* = *rūpaṇā*, has the same meaning as *sapratigha-tva* cf. Central Conception of Buddhism p. 11.

154 Tg. MDO. LVIII 32 a. 4.

155 Tib. Ched-du-brjod-paḥi-tshoms. Tg. MDO. LXXI. 7 b. 5. The Tg. has *bde-ba thob* for *bde-bar ñal*.

156 Cf. M. V. § 82.

157 Tib. *gsugs-med-kyi-tiñ-ñe-ñdzin*. Is the same as *samāpatti* cf. M. V. § 68.

158 Tib. *nañ-paḥi-skyabs* lit: the interior (i. e. Buddhist) refuge. Cf. M. V. § 267 2.

159 Tib. *hkhor-dañ-beas-pa* together with (its) retinue.

160 Tib. *rañ-bñin-med-pa* = *niḥsvabhāvatā*.

161 Tib. *sñiñ-rje-chen-po* = *mahākaraṇā* cf. below p. (Xyl. 26 a. 6—b. 1.): *ston-ñid-sñiñ-rjeḥi-sñiñ-po-can* = *karuṇā-garbhā cūnyatā* — Great Commiseration — the Essence of Relativity. cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa p. 83

162 *srid-ñir-luñ-ba. srid-pa* = *bhava* is the phenomenal world. *ñi-(ba)* = *śama* “Quiescence” means here the Hinayanistic Nirvāṇa. The idea of altruism and love in connection with the Doctrine of the Mahāyāna is expressed in the Abhisamayālamkāra I. 10 as follows: — *prajñayā na bhava sthānaṃ kṛpayā*

na çame sthitiḥ — by being possessed of High Wisdom, one does not remain in the phenomenal world, and being full of love, one does not abide in the (egoistic) peace.

163 Tib. *gzi-mkhun-pa* = *sāmānādhikarāṇya*.

164 *rtogs-paḥi-chos* = *adhigama-dharma*.

165 *luñ-gi-chos* = *āgama-dharma*. The quotation is from the Abhidharma-kośa: Tg. MDO. LXIII. 27 a. 8.

166 Tg. MDO. XLIV. 55 b. 1.

167 Tib. *hrog-pa* = *nirodha*.

168 The following passage is repeated twice: — a) as the definition, made by Buston himself, and b) as a quotation from the Abhidharmasamuccaya Tg. MDO. LVI 108 a. 1—2. The Absolute is here termed *de-bñin-ñid* = *tathatā*.

169 Tib. *slob-paḥi-(spaṅs-pa)*. 170 *mi-slob-paḥi* = *spaṅs-pa*.

171 Tib. *lhag-med-kyi-myañ-ñdas* = *anupadhi-çeṣa-nirvāṇa*.

172 Tg. MDO. XLIV 55 b. 1.

173 Tib. *mithoñ-lam* = *darçana-mārga*.

174 Tib. *sgom-lam* = *bhāvanā-mārga*.

175 Tib. *mi-slob-lam* = *açaiḥṣa-mārga*.

176 Tib. *tshegs-lam* = *sambhāra-mārga*.

177 Tib. *sbyor-lam* = *prayoga-mārga*.

178 Tib. *hkhor* — retinue, followers (*parivāra*).

179 Tib. *bag-chags* = *rāsanā*. 180 Tib. *spros-pa* = *prapañca*.

181 Tib. *chos-kyi-dbyiñs* = *dharma-dhātu*.

182 cf. below p. 31—33.

183 Tib. *chos-ñid* = *dharma-tā*.

184 Tg. MDO. XLIV, 43 b.

185 Tib. *rgyu-mthun-(paḥi-hbras-bu)* = *niṣyanda-phala*. Haribhadra's Abhisamayālaṃkāṛalokā (MS. Minaev 29 a. 13—29 b. 2.) has: *tathāgata-dharma-deçanāyā* *evo' pacāra-nirdiṣṭa-puruṣa-kāra-svabhāvāyā eṣa sadṛṣaḥ syando niṣyandas tad-anurūpaṃ phalaṃ yat sūtrādi...* (*āgama-dharmaḥ*).

186 Xyl. *Sunyaçrī*.

187 Of the Çrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas.

188 Tib. *gsuñ-ba-bdag-med* = *grāhya-nairātmya*, the same as *dharma-nairātmya*.

189 Tib. *myañ-ñdas* (= *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. Kg. MDO. VIII, IX, X).

190 This and the following is condensed from the Pratītyasamutpāda-ā-di-vibhanga-nirdeça-ñikā of Guṇamati. Tg. MDO XXXVI, 75 b. 4—7 b. 7

191 Cf. MV. § 112.

192 Xyl. corrupt.: *yod-pa-ma-yin-pa*; correct — *yon-po-ma-yin-pa*.

193 Tib. *dran-pa-ñe-bar-gñag-pa* = *smṛty-upasthāna*. Cf. above p. 10 note 70.

194 The defilement (*sgrib-pa*) spoken of here is the same as *kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* (= *saṃkleṣa*) on page 9 note 56.

195 Tib. *khams-gsum* cf. above p. 7 note 31.

196 Tib. *bdag-rkyen* = *adhipati-pratyaya*.

197 Tg. MDO. XLIV 74 a. 1. 198 Ibid. LVIII 137 b. 1. ff.

199 Sic according to Tg. — *yañ-dag-par-bslañ-pa-ñid-kyis*. Xyl. — *ycñ-dag-par-blañ-pa-ñid-kyis*.

200 Tib. *dbañ-du-mdzad-pa-ñid-kyis*.

201 *rab-tu-ldan-pa-ñid-kyis*. Tg. has *rab-tu-bstan-pa*.

202 Read according to Tg. — *bar-chad-ma-byas-par bar-chad-med-par yan-dag-par* etc. Xyl. has — *bar-chad ma-byas-par yan-dag-par* etc.

203 According to Vyākhyāyukti (Tg. 133 b. 7) a) *hbrug-sgra-liar-sab-pa* — deep as thunder, b) *sñan-ñin-ñjebs-la-rna-bar-sñan-pa* — charming and agreeable to the ear, c) *yid-du-ñon-ñin-dgañ-bar byed-pa* — pleasing and causing delight, d) *rnam-par-gsal-ñin-rnam-par-rig-par-bya-ba* — perfectly clear and intelligible, e) *mñan-ños-ñin-mi-mthun-pa-med-pa* — worthy of being heard to and free from contradiction.

204 The Tg. text of the Vyākhyāyukti and Guṇamati's Commentary (Tg MDO LX 171 b. 7—8) have both... *ji-sñed-pa-la-thug-par-go-bar-mdsad*. Xyl. — *ji-sñed-pa-la-go-bar-mdsad*.

205 *çāvatavāda* and *ucchedavāda* — Eternalism and Nihilism. Guṇamati's Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā says (172 a. 1—2) — *ñdi-ltar-rtag-pa-dañ-chad-pa-la-sogs-paḥi-mithaḥ spañs-paḥi hphags-paḥi lam gsuñs-pas-so* — “as it speaks of the Path of a Saint, through which the extremities of Eternalism and Nihilism come to be rejected”.

206 The following passage occurs in the Vyākhyāyukti (Tg. MDO. LVIII 138 a. 1—139 b. 6.) and in Vasubandhu's Commentary on Sūtrālaṃkāra XII. 9, where we have the original sanscrit text. Both these works refer to the Tathāgata-guhyā-nirdeça (Guhyaka-adhipati-nirdeça according to Vasubandhu) — *punar aparaṃ Çāntamate Tathāgatasya śaṣṭy-ākāra-upetā vāñ niṣcarati* “moreover, o Çāntamati, the Word of Buddha appears in sixty aspects”. Cf. also MV § 20.

207 *snigdā sattva-dhātu-kuçalamūla-upastambhikatvāt*. The Xyl. has *dge-baḥi-rtsa-ba ñe-bar-ston-par-mdsad* etc. Correct according to Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā (Tg. MDO LX 171 a. 2 and the Sanscrit — *(upastambhikatvāt)* — *dge-baḥi-rtsa-ba rton-par-mdsad*.

208 *Mṛdukū drṣṭa eva dharme sukha-saṃsparçatvāt*.

209 *Manojñā svārthatvāt*. 210 *Manoramā suvyañjanatvāt*.

211 *Çuddhā niruttara-lokottara-prāṭha-labdhatvāt*.

212 *Vimalā sarva-kleṣa-anuçaya-vāsanā-visaṃyuktatvāt*.

213 *Prabhāṣvarā pratīta-pada-vyañjanatvāt*.

214 *Valguḥ sarva-tīrthya-kumati-drṣṭi-vighāta-bala-guṇa-yuktatvāt*. Guṇamati (Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā 172. 4) says: *stobs-kyi-yan-lag- (yon-tan?)-dañ-ldan-paḥi-phyir ñes-paḥi-tshig-gi-tshul-gyis sñan-ciñ-ñjebs-paḥo*. He evidently regards the word *valgu* (or *balgu*) as consisting of two parts *val* (or *bal* = *bala* = *stobs*) and *gu* (*guṇa* = *yon-tan*) (!!!).

215 *Çravaṇīyā pratipatter nairyañikatvāt*. Guṇamati: *thar-ba thob-par-byed-pa-yin*.

216 *Anelā sarva-para-pravādhīr anāchedyatvāt*. With regard to “*anela*” cf. the translation of the Sūtrālaṃkāra by Prof. S. Lévi p. 143, note 2, and M. V. § 20.

217 *Kalā rañjikatvāt*. 218 *Vinūṭā rūgādī-pratipakṣatvāt*.

219 *Akarkaṣā çikṣā-prajñapti-sukha-upāyatvāt*.

220 *Apariṣṭā tad-vyatikrama-sampan-niḥsaraṇa-upadeçakatvāt*. Guṇamati (Tg. MDO LX 172 a 7) says: *so-sor-bçags-pa-la-sogs-paḥi thabs-dag-gis ñes-par-ñbyuñ* etc. “shows (a means of) salvation through confession” etc.

221 *Suviniṭā yāna-traya-naya-upadeçakatvāt*.

222 *Karṇasukhā vīkṣepa-pratipakṣatvāt.*

223 *Kāya-prahlādana-karī samādhy-āvāhakatvāt.*

224 *Citta-audbilya-karī vipaśyanā-āmodya-āvāha-phalakatvāt.*

225 *Hṛdaya-saṁtuṣṭikarī saṁcāya-cchedikatvāt.*

226 *Pṛīti-sukha-janani mūhyā-anīcīta-apakarṣikatvāt.*

227 *Nihparidāhā pratipattāḥ apratisarātṭvāt.*

228 *Ājñeyā saṁpanna-śrutamaya-jñāna-āśrayatvāt.*

229 *Vijñeyā saṁpanna-cintāmaya-jñāna-āśrayatvāt.*

230 *Viśvāśā' nācārya-muṣṭi-dharma-vihātṭvāt.*

231 *Premaṇiyā' nuprāpta-svakārihānāṁ prema-kāratvāt.* Guṇamati says; *raṅ-gi-don-rjes-su-thob-pa-rnams zes-bya-ba-ni dgra-bcom-pa-rnams-so.*

232 *Abhinandanīyā' nanuprāpta-svakārthānāṁ sprhaṇīyatvāt.*

233 *Ājñāpanīyā acintya-dharma-samyagdeṣikatvāt.* The part. pot. "ājñāpanīyā" appears here in the active sense, as shows the Tib. version according to the Tg. (Vyākhyāyukti and ṭikā) — *kun-ces-par-byed-pa* and Guṇamati's interpretation *ḥdis kun-ces-par-byed-pas-na kun-ces-par-byed-paḥo* (= *ājñāpyate anayā ity ājñāpanīyā*) (Tg. MDG. LX 172. b. 2). Concerning the "matters that belong to the transcendental sphere" (*acintya-dharma*), Guṇamati says (Tg. 172 b. 3—6) — *bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-paḥi-chos de-dag-kyan ji-skad-du bcom-ldan-ḥdas-kyis dge-slon-dag bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-paḥi gnas bži-po ḥdi-dag sems-na myos-par-yan ḥgyur rmoḥs-par-yan ḥgyur-ro. bži gañ-dag ce-na bdag-la-sems-pa dan sems-can-rnams-kyi las dan rnam-par-smin-pa-la sems-pa dan ḥjig-rten-las-sems-pa dan saṅs-rgyas-par-nyes-kyi saṅs-rgyas-kyi-yul-yin-no mdo-sdehi-dum-bu gñis-pa-las-bži-po ḥdi-dag zis-bya-ba-las brtsams-nas sems-can-rnams-kyi las dan rnam-par-smin-pa dan bsam-gtan-pa-rnams-kyi bsam-gtan-gyi-yul dan rdsu-ḥphrul-dan-ldan-pa-rnams-kyi rdsu-ḥphrul-gyi-yul-lo zes gsuṅs-pa yin-no* — "The matters that belong to the transcendental sphere have been spoken of by the Lord, as follows: — O brethren, if the four topics belonging to the Transcendental Sphere are investigated, mental insanity and (many) errors will be the result. Now, of what kind are these four points? They are as follows: — thoughts, concerning the soul, those with regard to the deeds of living beings and their consequence, consideration, as to what lies beyond the limits of this world and the Sphere of Enlightenment which is that of the Buddhas. In another fragment of a Sūtra (we have), after "those four" etc. and "the deeds of living beings and their consequence", (the following): — "the sphere of mystic absorption (perceived by) such that practise it and the sphere of miraculous agency of those that are endowed with miraculous powers." —

234 *Vijñāpanīyā acintya-dharma-samyagdeṣikatvāt.*

235 *Yuktā pramāṇa-ariruddhatvāt.*

236 *Sahitā yathārha-rineya-deṣikatvāt.*

237 *Punarukta-doṣa-jahā arandhyatvāt.*

238 *Simha-svara-vegā sarva-tīrthya-saṁtrāsakatvāt.*

239 *Nāga-svara-ṣaḍdā udāratvāt.*

240 *Meṣa-svara-gheṣā gambhīratvāt.*

241 *Nāgendra-ruṭā ādeyatvāt.*

242 *Kinnara-saṁgītiḥesā madhuratvāt.* All the Tibetan translations (that of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-āloka quoted by Bu-ston and that of the

Vyākhyāyukti and of Vasubandhu's Comment have *dri-sa* = *gandharva*. Cf. Meghadūta Pūrvamegha 56.

243 *Kalavinka-svara-ruta-ravitā tikṣṇa-bhangaratvāt*. The reading *tikṣṇa* is correct (Tib. *rno-ba* — sharp. Cf. translation by Prof. S. Lévi p. 144, n. 5.) The Tib. texts of the Vyākhyāyukti and *ṭikā* have both *rgyun-mi-chad-pa*. This is evidently a mistake made by the Lotsavas who read “*abhikṣṇa*” (the letter *bha* in the *lañcā* character being very much like *ta*).

244 *Brahma-svara-ruta-ravitā dūraṅgamatvāt*.

245 *Jivañjivaka-svara-ruta-ravitā sarva-siddhi-pūrvamāṅgama-mangalatvāt*.

246 Tib. *sgra*. 247 Tib. *dbyaṅs*. 248 Tib. *grags-pa*.

249 *Devendra-madhura-nirghoṣā anatikramaṇīyatvāt*.

250 *Dundubhi-svarā sarva-māra-pratyarthika-vijaya-pūrvamāṅgamatvāt*.

251 *Anunnatā stuty-asamkṣiptatvāt*.

252 *Anavanatā nindā-asamkṣiptatvāt*.

253 *Sarva-ṣabda-anupraviṣṭā sarva-vyākaraṇa-sarva-ākāra-lakṣaṇa-anupra-viṣṭatvāt*.

254 *Apaṣabda-vigatā smṛti-saṁpramoṣe tad-anīṣṭānatvāt*.

255 *Avikalā vineya-kṛtya-sarva-kāla-pratyupasthitatvāt*.

256 *Alīnā lābha-saikāra-anīṣṭatvāt*.

257 *Adīnā sāvadya-apagatatvāt*.

258 *Pramuditā akheditvāt*.

259 *Prasṛtā sarva-vidyā-sthāna-kauṣalya-anugatvāt*.

260 *Akṣilā sattvānām tat-sakala-artha-saṁpādatvāt*. Vyākhyāyukti and *ṭikā* have both *chub-pa* for *tha-ba-med-pa* cf. below.

261 *Sarītā prabandha-anupacchinnatvāt*.

262 *Lalitā vicitra-ākāra-pratyupasthānatvāt*. Vyākḥ. — *ṭikā* — *ḥbel-ba* for *brjid-pa* cf. below. Xyl. corrupt — *brjod-pa*.

263 *Sarva-svara-pūraṇī eka-svara-naika-ṣabda-vijñapti-pratyupasthāpanatvāt*.

264 *Sarva-sattva-indrya-saṁtoṣiṇī eka-aneka-artha-vijñapti-pratyupasthānatvāt*.

265 *Aninditā yathā-pratijñatvāt*.

266 *Acañcalā āgamīta-kāla-prayuktatvāt*.

267 *Acapalā atveramāṇa-vihitatvāt*.

268 *Sarva-parṣad-anuravitā dūrāntika-parṣat-tulya-śravenatvāt*.

269 *Sarva-ākāravara-upetā sarva-laukika-artha-dṛṣṭānta-dharma-pariṇāmīkatvāt*.

270 The work of Vimuktasena. Tib. *ñi-khri-snañ-ba*. Full title, according to Tg. — *Ārya-pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika-prajñāpāramitopadeṣaṣṭa-Abhisamayālaṁkāra-vṛtti*. Tib. — *Hphags-pa ṣes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa Stoñ-phrag-ñi-ču-lña-paḥi man-nag-gi bstan-bcos mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi-rgyan-gyi ḥgrel-pa* (Tg. MDO I. 96 a. 4—97 b. 3.)

271 Tib. *Sa-sde-lña* — Tg. MDO. XLIX (The work of Āryasāṅga).

272 Tib. *Hbum-ṭig*, the work of Daṁṣṭrāsena, Tg. MDO XIV.

273 *Sūtrālaṁkāra XII 9 b*. — *ṣaṣṭyaṅgī sā'cintyā ghoṣa'nantas tu suga-lānām*.

274 Cf. above p. 26 note 206. The interpolation occurs Kg.DKON. I 133 b. 5.

275 *chos-kyi-kḥcher-lo* = *dharma-cakra* “the Wheel of the Doctrine”.

276 The Hīnayāna. 277 The Mādhyamika Doctrine.

278 The Yogācāra system.

279 Tib. Dgoñs-pa-ñes-hgrel. Kangyur MDO V. 24 b. 5—25 a. 4.

280 Tib. kun-rdzob = *saṃvrti*. 281 Tib. don-dam-pa = *paramārtha*.

282 Tib. Blo-gros-mi-zad-pa-bstan-pa. Kangyur DKON XVI. Cf. a similar passage of the Akṣayamatīsūtra quoted in the Mādhyamika-vṛtti B. B. p. 43. 4 and its translation by Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky in "Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" p. 127.

283 Tib. *yan-lag* = *anga*. These are not separate works, but merely varieties of style.

284 Tib. Shñin-poñi-mchog. The work of Ratnākaraçānti. Tg. MDO. X.

285 Tib. *mdo-sde*.

286 Tib. *dbyañs-kyis-bśñad-pa*.

287 Tib. *luñ-du-bstan-pa*.

288 Tib. *tshigs-su-bcad-pa*.

289 Tib. *ched-du-brjod-pa*.

290 Tib. *gleñ-gñi*.

291 Tib. *rtogs-pa-brjod-pa*.

292 Tib. *de-lta-bu-byuñ-ba*.

293 Tib. *skyes-pa-rabs*.

294 Tib. *ñin-tu-rgyas-pa*.

295 Tib. *rmad-du-byuñ-ba*(hi-chos).

296 Tib. *gtan-la-phab-par-*

bstan-pa.

297 Tib. *smos-pañi-tshul-gyis*.

298 Tg. MDO. LVI. 120 a. 2—5.

299 Tib. *chos-ñid* = *dharmaṭā* = *çūnyatā* = Relativity.

300 That of trance (*samādhi*).

301 Tib. *ñbel-boñi-gtam-gyis* *gtan-la-ñbebs-pa* = *saṃkathya-viniçcaya*.

302 Guṇamati (Tg. LX 123 a 5—6) gives the following example: *dge-slon-dag gsum-po ñdi-dag-ni tshor-ba-dag-yin-te. gsum-po-dag gañ-dag ces-na bde-ba dan sdug-bśñal dan bde-ba-yañ-ma-yin sdug-bśñal-yañ-ma-yin-paño* — "O brethren these three are feelings" (The Sūtra). "What are these three? (may it be asked. The answer will be as follows): — (Feeling) agreeable, disagreeable, and that which is neutral (the "Geya").

303 Chapters VI (Vyākaraṇa-parivarta B. B. p. 144—155) and VIII (Pañca-bhikṣuçata-vyākaraṇa-parivarta p. 199—214).

304 *pañca*.

305 Lit. "originated from causes". (*rgyu-las-byuñ*); from the Mahāyānist point of view everything originated by causes is by itself unreal, causality being taken in the sense of Relativity cf. Mādhyamika-vṛtti Chapter I, translated by Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky ("Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa", appendix).

306 "The Buddhist Creed" —

Ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā

Hetum teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat

Teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha

Evamvādī mahā-çramanañ.

307 Acc. to Tib. tradition: — *khhor-ba bden-par-ñdsin-pañi-blo ma-skyes-na sañs-rgyas-yin*.

308 Tg. MDO LVIII. 97 a. 4. 309 Tib. *Nor-can*.

310 Tib. *thams-cad-sgrol*. Cf. Jātakamālā ed. Kern p. 51—67.

311 Lit. "Endowed with the code (*Piṭaka*) of the Bodhisattvas". The Vyākhyāyukti (Tg. MDO. LVIII 97 a. 8) says: *ñin-tu-rgyas-pañi-sde-ni theg-pa-chen-po-yin-te. luñ-phog gañ-gis byañ-chub-soms-dpañ-rnams pha-rol-tu-*

phyin-pa-bcu-dag-gis sa-bcu-dag-tu hgrub-pa-na stobs-bcuhi rten sañs-rgyas-ñid thob-paḥo. "The Vaipulya class is (to speak otherwise) the Mahāyāna. It is that part of Scripture, by means of which the Bodhisattvas, having attained the (ten) stages of Enlightenment (*bhūmi*) through the ten transcendental virtues (*pāramitā*), attain the state of a Buddha, the substratum of the ten forces."

312 Cf. Vyākhyāyukti (98 a. 4.) *rnam-par-hjoms-pa* "completely vanquishing".

313 Ibid. 314 Cf. below.

315 This analysis of the 12 classes is an extract from the Abhidharma-samuccaya Tg. MDO LVI. 120 a. 2—b. 5. It corresponds to that of the Sārot-tamā (Tg. MDO. X 2 b. 3—3 a. 1).

316 Tib. *sde-snod* = *piṭaka*.

317 Tib. *ñan-ihos-kyi-sde-snod* = *śrāvaka-piṭaka* = Hinayāna.

318 Tib. *ḥdul-baḥi-sde-snod* = *vinaya-piṭaka*.

319 Lit. "the retinue" (*hkhor*). 320 Tib. *mñon-paḥi-sde-snod*.

321 Tg. MDO. LVI, 121 a. 1—5.

322 *Samgrahaṭaḥ sarva-jñeya-artha-saṃgrahād vedīṭavyam* (Vasubandhu on Sūtrālamkāra XI. 1).

323 *Kāraṇair navabhir iṣṭam* (Ibid. and verse). The following is an extract from the Abhidharma-samuccaya (Tg. MDO. LVI. 121 a. 1—5).

324 Tib. *ñe-baḥi-ñon-moñs-pa the-tshom*. Gunamati (Tg. MDO. LX 18 a, 8) gives a classification of the different kinds of defilement that have their origin in doubt, as follows: — *log-par-lta-ba dañ mi-rigs-par-chags-pa dañ brnab-sems* (= *abhidhyā*) *dañ gnod-sems* (= *vyāpāda*) *dañ rmugs-pa* (= *atyāna*) *dañ gnid* (= *middha*) *dañ rgod-pa* (= *auddhatya*) *dañ hgyod-pa* (= *kaukrtya*) false points of view, attachment to that which is wrong, covetousness, ill-will, depression, drowsiness, and indolence. Vasubandhu's Commentary on Sūtrālamkāra XI. 1. has: — *yo yatrā' rthe saṃcayitas tan-niṣcayārtham deṣanāt* — "because it has been preached in order to convince such, that have doubt as regards the meaning (of the Doctrine)."

325 Tib. *ḥdod-pa-bsod-ñoms-kyi-mthaḥ* = *kāma-sukhallika-anuyoga-anta... anta-dvaya-anuyoga-pratipakṣeṇa vinayaḥ sāvadya-paribhoga-pratiṣedhataḥ kāma-sukhallika-anuyoga-antasya* (Vasubandhu on Sūtrālamkāra XI. 1.)

326 Tib. *ñal-ñin-dub-paḥi-mthaḥ* = *ātma-klamatha-anuyoga-anta... anava-dya-paribhoga-anujñānata ātma-klamatha-anuyoga-antasya (pratipakṣeṇa)* (Ibid.).

327 *rañ-gi-lta-ba-mchog-tu-ḥdzin-pa* = *svayamdr̥ṣṭi-parāmarṣa*. "*svayam-dr̥ṣṭi*" is the same as "*saikāya-dr̥ṣṭi*" (Tib. *hjig-tshogs-kyi-lta-ba*) cf. Gunamati (Tg. MDO. LX 91 a. 6: *rañ-gi-lta-ba-mchog-tu-ḥdzin-pa ñes-bya-ba-ni rañ-gi-lta-ba ste hjig-tshogs-kyi-lta-ba-rnams-las gañ-vañ-ruñ-ba-ñig*).

328 *ḥikṣā-traya-deṣanā sūtreṇa* (Vasubandhu on Sūtrālamkāra XI. 1.)

329 *adhiḥiḥā-adhicitta-saṃpādanatā vinayena ḥilavato' vipratīṣārādī-krameṇa samādhī-lābhāt* (Ibid.).

330 *adhiprajñā-saṃpādanatā' bhidharṇeṇā' viparīta-artha-pravicayāt* (Ibid.).

331 *dharma-artha-deṣanā sūtreṇa*. (Ibid.).

332 *dharma-artha-niṣpattir vinayena kleṣa-vinaya-saṃyuktasya tayoḥ prativedhāt* (Vasubandhu on Sūtrālamkāra XI. 1.)

333 *dharma-artha-saṃkathya-viniṣcaya-kauṣalyam abhidharṇeṇa* (Ibid.).

334 *ḥrutena citta-vāsanataḥ* (Ibid.).

335 *śintayā bodhanataḥ* (ibid.).

336 *bhāvanayā śamathena śamanataḥ* (ibid.).

337 *vipaśyanayā prativēdhatāḥ* (ibid.).

338 XI. 1. *piṣaka-trayaṁ dvayaṁ vā kāraṇair navabhir iṣṭaṁ vāsana-bodhana-śamana-prativēdhais tad vimocayati.*

339 Cf. below p. 38.

340 XI. 2. *Sūtrābhidharmavinayauṣ caturvidhārikā matāḥ samāśena teṣāṁ jñānād dhimān sarvākārañjātām eti.*

341 *teṣāṁ jñānād bodhisattvaḥ sarva-jñātāṁ prāpnoti* (Vasubandhu on Sūtrāl. XI. 2.)

342 *Çrāvakas tu ekasyā api gāthāyā artham ājñāya āsava-kṣayaṁ prāpnoti* (ibid.).

343 Tib. *Lam-phran-brian.*

344 Tib. *mgo-smos-pa.* Corresponds (acc. to Sūtrāl. XII 10, quoted below) — to *udghaṭana.*

345 Tib. *gnas = ācārya.* Vasubandhu (on Sūtrāl. XI 3.) says: *iatra ācārya yatra deṣe deṣitāṁ yena yasmai ca.*

346 Tib. *rgyal-poḥi-khab.*

347 Vasubandhu (ibid.) gives another interpretation of *lakṣaṇa* and *dharmalakṣaṇaṁ saṁvṛti-satya-lakṣaṇaṁ paramūriha-satya-lakṣaṇaṁ ca. dharmamāḥ skandha-āyatana-dhātū-āhāra-pratītyasamutpādādayaḥ; artho' nusaṁdhiḥ.*

348 XI. 3. a. *ācāryato lakṣaṇato dharmād arthāc ca sūcanās sūtram.*

349 Vasubandhu's interpretation is different: *nirvāṇa-abhimukho dharmo' bhidharmaḥ satya-bodhipakṣa-rimokṣamukhādi-deśanāt: —* the Abhidharma is the teaching directed toward (the attainment of) Nirvāṇa, as it demonstrates the truths, the attributes of Enlightenment, (the eight degrees of) liberation (from materiality) and the other expedients (Comm. on Sūtrāl. XI. 3).

350 Tib. *mishan-ñid-pa.* 351 *skandha.* 352 *dhātu.*

353 *āyatana.* 354 Tib. *rdzas-yod.* 355 Tib. *biags-yod.*

356 Tib. *gñuñ-lugs.*

357 *abhidharati ity abhidharmaḥ para-pravāda-abhidhavanād vivūda-adhikaraṇādibhiḥ* (Vasub. on Sūtrāl. XI. 3).

358 *abhiḡamyate sūtrārtha etene'ty abhidharmaḥ* (ibid.).

359 XI. 3. 6. *Abhimukhato 'thābhikṣṇyād abhidhava-gatīo' bhidharmaḥ ca.*

360 As shows the following passage, the so-called "etymology" of Vinaya is as follows: — *vipatyādinām viniṣṭayādinām vā naya iti vi + naya prṭo-darādītāt.* (Panini VI. 3. 109.11)

361 Acc. to Sūtrālaṁkāra XI. 4. and Commentary — *āpatti.*

362 *samutthānam āpatinām ajñānāt pramādāt kleṣa-prācūryād anādarāc ca —* the origin of fall — ignorance, negligence, enormity of passions, and disrespect. (Vasubandhu on Sūtrāl. XI. 4.)

363 *pudgalato yam āgamyā cīkṣā prajñāpyate* (ibid.).

364 XI. 4. *Āpatter utthānād vyutthānān niḥśreṣṭe ca vinayotsaṁ, pudgalataḥ prajñaptāḥ pravibhāga-viniṣṭayāc cat'va.*

365 XI. 1. cf. above.

366 *hīnayāna-agrayāna-bhedena dvayaṁ bhavati çrāvaka-piṣakaṁ bodhisattva-piṣakaṁ ca* (Vasub. on Sūtrāl. XI. 1).

367 Tib. *dman-pa-la-mos-pa* = *hinādhimukta*. Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa p. 36, note 2.

368 The work of Āryāsanga. (Tib. Theg-bsdus) Tg. MDO. LVI 3 a. 4—5.

369 This and the following is an extract from the Vyākhyāyukti (Tg. MDO. LVIII. 97 b. 6—98 a. 2) in an abridged form.

370 The *Čatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.

371 The Vyākhyāyukti has: *lhag-paḥi-bsam-pa-dag-paḥi-sa-la sems-can thams-cad-la bdag dañ gžan-du mñam-pa-ñid-kyi bsam-pa thob-paḥi-phyir-ro* — since the equal treatment of oneself and all other living beings is attained in the stage called *Čuddha-adhyāçayika*. Guṇamati (Tg. MDO. LX 125 a. 6) says *lhag-paḥi bsam-pa-dag-paḥi sa ni sa dañ-po yin no* — the *Čuddha-adhyāçayika* stage is the first stage (of a Bodhisattva = *pramuditā*).

372 XIX 59, 60. 373 Tib. *mtshan-ñid-kyi-theḡ-pa*.

374 The six transcendental virtues (*pāramitā*).

375 Tib. *śnags-kyi-theḡ-pa* = *mantra-yāna* = Tantra.

376 Tib. Mdo. sde-gdams-ñag-hbogs-paḥi-rgyal-po (?).

377 Tib. *rdo-rje-theḡ-pa* = *vojra-yāna*.

378 Tib. Tshul-gsum-gyi-sgron-me Tg. RGYUD. LXXII 17. b. 5—6.

379 Omniscience. The Tg. has: *don-gcig-ñid-na* for: *don-gcig-na-ñan*.

380 Tg.: *snags-kyi-bstan-bcos* "the Treatises on Mysticism" for *snags-kyi-theḡ-pa*.

381 This and the following is condensed from the *Naya-traya-pradīpa* Cf. App.

382 Tib. *phyag-rgya* = *mudrā*.

383 Tib. *rig-pa-ḥdsin-paḥi-sde-snod* = *vidyādhāra-piṣaka*.

384 Tib. *byiñ-gyis-brlabs-pa* = *adhiṣṭhāna*.

385 Tib. *rjes-su-gnañ-ba* = *anujñā*.

386 Tib. *Ḥphags-pa-sdud-pa*.

387 Tib. Ma-skyes-dgraḥi ḡgyod-pa bsal-baḥi mdo. Kg. MDO XVIII.

388 Tib. Kun-tu-bzañ-poḥi spyod-pa ston-paḥi mdo. The whole passage is to be found in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā* (MS. Minaev 22. a. 8—12 = Tg. MDO VI, 21 a. 3—5.) — *Iha kvaciṭ tathāgatānāṃ kāya-vyāpārāt-maka-pāṇyādy-adhiṣṭhānena deçanā tad yathā Daçabhūmakādeḥ sūtrasya deçanā. kvaciṭ vacana-adhiṣṭhānena tad yathā Ajātaçatru-çoka-vinodana-sūtradeḥ. Kvacin mano'-dhiṣṭhānena tad yathā Samantabhadra-caryā-nirdeça-sūtradeḥ.*

389 Tib. *Çes-rab-sñiñ-po*. 390 Tib. *gleñ-gñi*.

391 Tib. *mtshun-ḡgyur-yi-rañ*.

392 Tib. Chos-yañ-dag-par-sdud-pa Kg. MDO. XXI. Quoted in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā* (MS. Minaev 6 b. 6—8 = Tg. MDO. VI 6 b. 2) *uktam bhagavatā Dharmasaṃgīti-sūtre. evaṃ mayā çrutam iti kṛtvā bhikṣavo dharmāḥ saṃgātavyā iti. tathā sambandhānupūrvā pratipādyā.*

393 Tg. MDO. XLIV. 74 a. 2.

394 Tg. has *rgyal-ba-ston-pa-ḡbaḡ-ḡig-gi* for *rgyal-baḥi-bstan-pa* etc.

395 Tib. *dug-gsum*. These are: 1. *ḡdod-chags* = *rāga* — lust,

2. *ḡe-sdañ* = *dveṣa* — hatred, and

3. *gti-mug* = *moha* — ignorance.

396 Or, as in the verse below "*trāṇa*".

397 The etymology of *gāṇa* acc. to the *Abhidharmakośa* (B. B. 5. 1) and *Vyākhyā* (8. 18.) is much more natural.

398 Tg. MDO. LVIII 143. 4—6.

399 Cf. Madh. *vr̥tti* 3. 3, 4. *yaś chāḍen roḥiḥ kṛṣṇampūrṇaḥ aśeṣaḥ sarvāṇāṃ ca durgatīḥ bhavāt ca. tae chāṣanāt trāṇa-guṇāḥ ca gāṇam etad dya yam oḥ nyamatoḥ nāsti.*

400 Tib. *don-dam-par bstan-beos-yim.*

401 Nirṇaya-saṅgraha (Cf. below) Tg. MDO. LII. 205 a. 3—7.

402 Tib. *Rnam-par-gtan-la-dbab-par-bdud-ba.* Tg. MDO. LII. 205 a. 4—5 *de-la thos-pa lhur-len-paḥi doḥi doḥi na hū-lā stu ḥram-zaḥ gaoḥ tshig rnam-sa. rtsod-pa lhur-len-paḥi bstan-beos na hū-lā stu hū-lā phya-nok-pa rnam-sa-kyi gtan-tshigs-kyi bstan-beos ca* — The formalistic works are such as (for instance) the Brahmanical charms, and the polemical are the heretical works on Logic.

403 Cf. the following passage of the *Jhānavaiṇyāsūtra*, quoted in the *Çikṣā-samuccaya* (B. B. p. 182 6) — *Ukṣāṇa bhūgavata, dharmavaiṇyāsūtrāṇi sārthakāṇi cāstrāṇi cihṣitarvām apārthakāṇa parivarjaniyāni tad yathā lokāyata-cāstrāṇi daṇḍa-nīti-cāstrāṇi kākāhorda-cāstrāṇi vuddi-vidyā-cāstrāṇi kumāra-kṛidā-cāstrāṇi jambhaka-vidyā-cāstrāṇi* — i. e. by the Lord or the *Jhānavaiṇyāsūtra*: Useful works are to be studied and the worthless (and harmful) — rejected. The latter are as follows — the treatises on materialism, works on politics and criminal law, or magic performances for procuring death, on the science of controversy or spirit & demonology.

404 Tib. *Ḥdul-bahi-mdo*, otherwise called *Mdo-ba-ba*. Cf. below p. 50.

405 Tib. *ji-sñed-pa = kun-rdsoḥ sarvāṇi*

406 Tib. *ji-lā-ba = don-dam-pa paramārtha.*

407 Tib. *lugs-kyi-bstan-beos = nīti-cāstra.*

408 Tib. *Çes-rab-brgya-ba.* Tg. MDO XXXIII and CXXIII No. 26, attributed to Nāgārjuna. The verse quoted below is — in vol. XXIII—99 b. 8—100 a. 1 and in CXXIII—144 b. 7—8.

409 Tib. *Skye-boḥi-gso-thigs.* Ibid. No. 28 attributed to Nāgārjuna.

410 Tib. *Tshigs-su-bḥad-paḥi-mdzod.* Ibid. No. 29, the work of Ravigupta.

411 Tib. *Mi-brtag-pa* (*miḥi-mtshan-ñid-brtag-pa*) Ibid. No. 34.

412 XI. 60. — *vidyā-sṭhāne pañcaridhe yogam akṛtvā sarvajñatvam naiḥ kathamcit paramāryaḥ*

ity anyeṣāṃ nigrhaṇānugrahaṇāya svājñārtham vā tatra karoty eva sa yogam.

413 Tib. *gtan-tshigs-rig-pa = hetu-vidyā.*

414 Tib. *sgra-rig-pa = śabda-vidyā.*

415 Tib. *gso-ba-rig-pa = cikitsā-vidyā.*

416 Tib. *bso-rig-pa = çilpa-karmasthāna-vidyā*

417 Tib. *nañ-rig-pa = adhyātma-vidyā.*

418 Tib. *mñon-sum = pratyakṣa.*

419 Tib. *rañ-gi-don-gyi-rjes-su-dpag-pa = svārtha-anumāna.*

420 Tib. *gñan-gyi-don-gyi-rjes-su-dpag-pa = parārtha-anumāna.*

421 Tib. *gñan-sel = (anya —) apoha.*

422 Tib. *kag-(btag) chod* (or *gcod*) = *jāti*.

423 Tg. MDO. XCV No. 1, the work of Dignāga.

Cf. M. V. § 76 and Vasubandhu's Commentar yon Sūtrālaḥ-kāra XI. 60.

424 These are: —

a) Ālambana-parikṣā (Dmigs-pa-brtag-pa) of Dignāga Tg. MDO. XCV. No. 4.

b) Trikāla-parikṣā (Dus-gsum-brtag-pa) of the same author. Ibid. No. 6.

c) Çruti-parikṣā (Thos-pa-brtag-pa) of Kalyāṇarakṣita CXII. No. 8.

d) Pramāṇa-parikṣā (Tshad-ma-brtag-pa) of Dharmottara. Ibid. No. 12.

d) Laghu-pramāṇa-parikṣā (Tshad-ma-brtag-pa-chuñ-ba) of the same author. Ibid. No. 13.

f) Anya-apoha-vicāra (Gžan-sel-brtag-pa) of Kalyāṇarakṣita. Ibid. No. 10.

g) Karma-phala-saṁbandha-parikṣā (Las-dañ-ñbras-buñi-ñbrel-pa-brtag-pa) indicated by Bu-ston as wanting in the Tg.

425 Siddhi: —

a) Sarvajña-siddhi (Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-grub-pa) of Kalyāṇarakṣita Tg. MDO. CXII No. 7.

b) Bāhya-artha-siddhi (Phyi-rol-don-grub-pa) of the same author. Ibid. No. 8.

c) Anya-apoha-siddhi (Gžan-sel-grub-pa) of Dharmottara. Ibid. No. 14.

d) Paraloka-siddhi (Hjig-rten-pha-rol-grub-pa) of the same author. Ibid. No. 15.

e) Kṣaṇabhanga-siddhi (Skad-gcig-ñjig-pa-grub-pa) of the same author. Ibid. No. 17.

f) Anya-apoha-siddhi (Gžan-sel-grub-pa) of Çaṁkarānanda. Ibid. No. 20.

g) Pratibandha-siddhi (ñbrel-pa-grub-pa) of the same author. Ibid. No. 21.

h) Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi (Rgyu-dañ-ñbras-buñi-ño-bo-grub-pa) of Jñānaçrimitra. Ibid. No. 29.

426 Tg. MDO. XCV No. 11.

427 Ibid. No. 10.

428 Tib. *yañ-dag-pañi-çes-pa* = *samyag-jñāna*.

429 The author of the Pramāṇa-viniçcaya-ñikā, Tg. MDO. CX. No. 2.

430 The Commentary on the Pramāṇa-viniçcaya by Dharmottara bears the title — Pramāṇa-viniçcaya-ñikā ramañi nāma (Ibid. CIX and CX No. 1)

431 Tib. *Gtan-tshigs-thigs-pa*. Tg. MDO. XCV. No. 13.

432 *khyab-pa* = *vyāpti* and *phyogs-kyi-chos* = *pakṣa-dharmatā*.

433 Tib. *ñbrel-pa-brtag-pa*. Tg. MDO. XCV. No. 14.

435 Tib. *Rtsod-pañi-rigs-pa*. Ibid. No. 16.

436 Tib. *tshar-bcad-kyi-gnas* = *nigraha-sthāna*.

437 Edited by Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky in B. B.

438 Tg. MDO. LVIII 62 b. 4—5, a quotation from an unknown āgama.

439 Correct acc. to Tg. — *deñi ñañ phyir* for *de ñañ phyi rtag* etc.

440 Corr. *brtag rtag phyir* for *rtag rtag phyir*.

441 Corr. *mñon-ma-byas-phyir* for *ññon-ma-byas-phyir* acc. to Vyākhyāyuktiñikā (Tg. MDO. LX 53 a. 2—3). The latter says: — *mñon-sum-du-ma-byas-phyir yañ rtag-ge-par rig-par-bya-ste so-soñi-skye-bo-dañ-ldan ñes-bya-ba-tshig-ñdis-so. mñon-sum-du-ma-byas-pa-ñid kyañ de-kho-na mñon-sum-du-mi-byed-pa-ste so-soñi-skye-bo-yañ de-kho-na mñon-sum-du-mi-byed-pas-so* — a logician is likewise recognised by his having no intuitive perception (the attribute of a Saint = *ārya-pudgala*) since it is said (of him) — “he belongs to the worldlings (*prñhagjana*)”; the absence of intuitive perception is such with regard to

the Absolute Truth, since worldlings have no such perception. Cf. the definition of a worldling acc. to the same work (189 a. 1.) *so-sohi-skye-bo-les-bya-ba-ni* *skye-bo gañ bden-pa-mthoñ-ba-rnams-las so-sor phyi-rol-tu-gyur-pa*, a worldling (*prthagjana*) is one, that stands apart from those, that perceive the Absolute Truth.

442 The Vyākhyāyukti has: *yoñs-su-bzun-phyir les-bya-ba-ni tshad-mahi rigs-pa rnam-pa-gsum yoñs-su-bzun-ba-hi-phyir-ro. de-ni so-sohi skye-bo-rnams-kyi sa yin-no* — by complete apprehension means by thorough apprehension of the three modes of proof; such is the position of worldlings. Vasubandhu's mentioning three modes of proof is noteworthy if compared to the standpoint of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. We have moreover in the same work (102 b. 6—7.) — *mdor-na rigs-pa-ni hdir tshad-ma rnam-pa-gsum-po mñon-sum dan rjes-su-dpag-pa dan yid-ches-pa-hi-gsum-no* — Logic, in short, consists of the three methods of proof, — sense-perception, inference, and authoritative word (= *āpta-vacana*, *āgama*).

443 Corr. acc. to Guṇamati *yoñs-su-byañ-bar-byas-pa-hi-phyir* for *yoñs-su-bya-ba-byas* etc.

444 l. 12. *niçrīto' niyato' vyūpī sūmveṭṭaḥ khedavān api bālācārayo matas tarkas tasyā' to viṣayo na tat* (= *mahāyānam*).

445 *Adṛṣṭa-satya-ācārayo hi tarkaḥ kaçcīd āgama-niçrīto bhavati* — Logic is not founded on the direct perception of the (Absolute) Truth; it is, therefore, to a certain degree dependent on Scripture. (Vasubandhu on Sūtrāl. I. 12.)

446 *Avyūpī ca na sarva-jñeya-viṣayaḥ* (Ibid.).

447 Tib. *byis pa* = *bāla* = *prthagjana*.

448 Tib. *ma-mo*. The Abhidharma frequently appears under this appellation. Another "mother" is the Prajñāpāramitā, which is designated by the appellation of *yum*.

449 Tib. *rkyen* = *pratyaya*. 450 Tib. translation Tg. MDO. CXXXV.

451 Tib. *byiñs* = *dhātu*. 452 Tib. *byed-lan-gyi-rkyen*.

453 Tib. *de-phan-gyi-rkyen*. 454 Tib. *ñe-bar-bsgyur-ba*.

455 Tib. *mtshams-sbyor* = *samdhī*.

456 The work of Çarvavarman. Tg. MDO. CXVI No. 9.

457 The work of Smṛtījñānakīrti, composed in Tibet and translated by the author himself. Ibid. No. 18.

458 *pratisamvid*. M. V. § 13.

459 Tib. *sdeb-sbyor* = *chandas*.

460 The work of Ratnākaraçānti Tg. MDO. CXVII No. 4, 5.

461 *prastāra*. The xyl. has *pratāra*.

462 Tib. *Ḥchi-med-mdzod*. Tib. transl. Tg. MDO. CXVII No. 1.

463 The work of Dandin. Tib. transl. ibid. No. 3.

464 *dhvani*.

465 Poetics (*kāvya*) and the Sāmaveda — which in Tibetan are both designated by the appellation *ñān-dñags*, — confounded.

466 Tib. *gdon-nad* — diseases ascribed to the influence of evil spirits.

467 The work of Vāgbhaṭṭa Tg. MDO. CXVIII, commented by the author himself (Ibid. and vol. CXIX) and by Candranandana (vol. CXX, CXXI and XhXII). The verse quoted above is an extract from the main work (15 b. 2—3).

468 Tib. gser-hgyur-gyl-bstan-bcos = rasāyana-çāstra. Xyl. — gsar-hgyur.

469 Tib. sku-gzugs-kyl-tshad = pratimā-māna.

470 The work of Buddhajñānapādā Tg. MDO. XXIX No. 12.

471 The work of Jñānagarbha Tg. MDO. XXIX No. 1.

472 The work of Çāntirakṣita. Ibid. XXVIII No. 4.

473 The work of Āryāsanga Tg. MDO. LI.

474 The work of Āryāsanga Tg. MDO. L.

475 Tib. Chos-kyi-phuñ-po.

476 Tib. Gdags-paḥi-bstan-bcos.

477 Tib. Khams-kyi-tshogs.

478 Tib. Gañ-po.

479 Tib. Rnam-ces-kyi-tshogs.

480 Tib. Lha-skyid.

481 Tib. Ye-ces-la-hjug-pa.

482 Tib. Kā-tya-ḥi-bu.

483 Tib. Rab-tu-byed-pa.

484 Tib. Dbyig-bces.

485 Tib. Yañ-dag-hgro-baḥi-mnam-graṅs.

486 Tib. Gsus-po-che.

487 These works are mentioned in the Abhidharmakoça-vyākhyā (B. B. p. 12. 3—5).

488 Cf. Abhidharmakoça-bhāṣya B. B. p. 7. 10—13.

489 Tib. Ḥdul-baḥi-mdo or Mdo-rtsa-ba. The work of Guṇaprabha. Tg. MDO. LXXVII.

490 Tib. rab-byuñ-gi-gñi = pravrajyā-vastu. Cf. M. V. § 276. 1.

491 Tib. gzuñ dam-pa Kg. ḤDUL. XIV, XV, XVI.

492 Tib. zu-ba.

493 Tib. Ḥdul-byed.

494 Tib. Phran-tshegs Kg. ḤDUL. XI (2), XII, XIII.

495 Tib. Me-tog-phreñ-rgyud otherwise called Vinayakārikā. The work of Viçakhadeva Tg. MDO. LXXXIX No. 1.

496 Full title — Ārya-mūla-sarvāstivāda-çramaṇera-kārikā. The work of Çākyaprabha. Ibid. No. 2.

497 Tib. Dbu-ma-baḥi-rigs-tshogs-drug.

498 Tib. Ston-pa-ñid-bdun-cu-ba. Tg. MDO. XVII No. 4.

499 Tib. rten-ḥbrel = pratīya-samutpāda.

500 Tib. spros-pa = prapañca.

501 Tib. Rtsa-ba-ces-rab. Edited by Prof. de la Vallée Poussin with the Commentary of Candrakīrti (Prasannapadā) in B. B.

502 Correct bdag-dan-gñan-las-skye-ba for de-las-gñan-skye-ba.

503 Tib. Rigs-pa drug-cu-ba. Tg. MDO. XVII No. 2.

504 Tib. Rtsod-pa-bzlog-pa. Ibid. No. 5.

505 Tib. Žib-mo-mnam-ḥthag. Ibid. No. 3.

506 Tib. Tha-sñad-grub-pa, not translated into Tibetan. The 6th work acc. to the Tg. is the Akutobhaya (tib. Ga-las-hjigs-med) ibid. No. 6, which appears to be a forgery. Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa p. 66, note 1.

507 Tib. Mñen-rtogs-rgyan.

508 prajñāpāramitā' śābhiḥ padārthaiḥ samudīritā

sarvākārājñatā mārgajñatā sarvajñatā tataḥ

sarvākārābhisambodho mūrdhnaprāpto' nūpūrvikaḥ

ekakṣaṇābhisambodho dharmakāyaḥ ca te' śādhā. Abhisam. I. 3, 4.

509 Tib. rnam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa = sarva-ākāra-jñatā.

510 Tib. *lam-ces* = *mārga-jñatā*. Cf. Vimuktasena's Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-ālokā. — Appendix.

511 Tib. *gñi-ces* = *vastu-jñāna*. Cf. Abhisam. IV. 1. or *kun-ces* = *sarva-jñatā*.

512 Tib. *rnam-pa-kun-rdsoḡs-sbyor-ba* = *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*.

513 Tib. *rtse-moñi-sbyor-ba* = *mūrdha-abhisamaya*.

514 Tib. *mthar-gyis-sbyor-ba* = *anupūrvābhisamaya*.

515 Tib. *skad-cig-mañi-sbyor-ba* = *eka-kṣaṇa-abisambodha*.

516 Tib. *Brgyad-stoñ-don-badus*. The work of Dignāga, alias Prajñāpāramitā-saṃgraha-kārikā Tg. MDO XIV. Commented by Triratnadāsa. (Prajñāpāramitā-saṃgraha-vivaraṇa). Ibid.

517 333 a. 8.

518 This and the following is condensed from Triratnadāsa's Commentary.

519 *dños-po-med-pañi-rtog-pa* = *abhāva-vikalpa*. Cf. Vasubandhu on Sūtrāl. XI. 77.

520 *dños-poñi-rtog-pa* = *bhāva-vikalpa*. Cf. Ibid.

521 *sgro-ñdogs-kyi-rtog-pa* = *adhyāropa-vikalpa*. Cf. Ibid.

522 *skur-ñdebs-kyi-rtog-pa* = *apavāda-vikalpa*. Cf. Ibid.

523 *gcig-tu-rtog-pa* = *ekatva-vikalpa*. Cf. Ibid.

524 *tha-dad-du-rtog-pa* = *nānātva-vikalpa*. Cf. Ibid.

525 *no-bo-ñid-du-rtog-pa* = *svalakṣaṇa-vikalpa* (sic). Cf. Ibid.

526 *khyad-par-du-rtog-pa* = *viśeṣa-vikalpa*.

527 *miñ-ji-lta-ba-bñin-du-don-du-rtog-pa* = *yathānāma-artha-abhiniveṣa-vikalpa*. Ibid.

528 *don-ji-lta-ba-bñin-du-miñ-du-rtog-pa* = *yathārtha-nāma-abhiniveṣa-vikalpa*. Ibid.

529 Tib. *nañ-stoñ-pa-ñid* = *adhyātma-śūnyatā*.

530 Tib. *dños-po-med-pañi-no-bo-ñid-stoñ-pa-ñid* = *abhāva-svabhāva-śūnyatā*.

531 Full title: Ārya-ṣaṭasāhasrikā-pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-brhaṭ-ñikā. (Tib. ḥbum-tig.) Tg. MDO. XIV.

532 That on Omniscience.

533 Tib. Rab-ñbyor.

534 Tib. Bslab-btus. Edited by Prof. C. Bendall in B. B.

535 Tib. Mdo-kun-las-btus-pa.

536 Tib. Sgom-rim-rnam-gsum. The works of Kamalaçila (Pūrva-bhāvanā-krama, Madhyama-bhāvanā-krama and Uttara-bhāvanā-krama). Tg. MDO XXX No. No. 7, 8, 9.

537 Tib. Dbus-mthañ-rnam-ñbyed Tg. MDO. XLIV.

538 Tib. Chos-dañ-chos-ñid-rnam-ñbyed. Ibid.

539 Sūtrāl. I. 2. —

*ghaṭitam iva suvarṇam vāriyam vā vibuddham
sukṛtam iva subhojyam bhujyamānam kṣudhārtaiḥ
vidita iva sulekha ratnapete'va muktā
vivṛta iha sa dharmah pritim āgryām dadhāti.*

540 These are:

1. pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa (tib. yoñs-grub) — Absolute Reality.

2. paratantra-lakṣaṇa (tib. gžan-dbañ) — Relative Reality, of the individual ideas.

3. parikalpita-lakṣaṇa (tib. kun-btags) — Imputed Reality, of the external world.

541 The ten forces (M. V. § 7), the four kinds of moral intrepidity (*vai-ṣāradya*, ibid § 8), the 18 exclusive qualities (*āveṇika-dharma*, ibid. § 9) and the 32 corporeal marks, (ibid § 17).

542 Tib. Sa-sde-lña = pañcabhūmi.

543 Tib. Sañi-dños-gži Tg. MDO XLIX.

544 Tib. *rtog-pa* = *vitarka*. 545 Tib. *dp̄yod-pa* = *vicāra*.

546 Tib. *lhag-bcas-myañ-ḥdas* = *sopadhi-ṣeṣa-nirvāṇa*.

547 Tib. *lhag-med-myañ-ḥdas* = *anupadhi-ṣeṣa-nirvāṇa*.

548 Tib. *rtog-bcas* and *dp̄yod-bcas* = *savitarka* and *savicāra*.

549 Tib. *rtog-med* and *dp̄yod-bcas* = *nirvitarka* and *savicāra*.

550 Tib. *rtog-med* and *dp̄yod-med* = *nirvitarka* and *nirvicāra*.

551 Tib. Rnam-par-gtan-la-dbab-par-bsdu-ba Tg. MDO LII and LIII

No. 1.

552 Tib. *mu-bži* = *catuṣkoṭika*.

553 Tib. Gži-bsdu-ba. Tg. MDO. LIII No. 2.

554 Tib. Rnam-graṅs-bsdu-ba. Ibid. LIV No. 2.

555 Tib. *rnam-byañ* = *vaiyavadānika*.

556 Tib. *kun-nas-ñon-moṅs-pa* = *sāṃkleṣika*. 557 Tib. *gñuñ*.

558 Tib. Rnam-par-bḥad-paḥi-sgo-bsdu-ba. Tg. MDO. LIV No. 3.

559 Tg. MDO. LVI. 86 b. 4. (*duḥkha*), 92 b. 8 (*samudaya*), 107 b. 4. (*nirodha*), 109 b. 8. (*mārga*).

560 Ibid. 119 b. 8. 561 Ibid. 125 a. 6. 562 Ibid. 138 a. 8.

563 Cf. above p. 38 note 368. 564 Tg. MDO. LVIII 1—3 b.

565 Ibid. 3 b. 1—4 b. 1. 566 Ibid. 12 b. 6—19 a. 2.

567 Ibid. 156 a. 6—168 b. 6. 568 Edited by Prof. S. Lévi.

570 Pratītyasamutpāda-ādivibhanga-nirdeṣa Tg. MDO. XXXVI, commented by Guṇamati.

571 Madhyānta-vibhanga-ṭikā. Ibid. XLV.

572 Tg. MDO. XXXIV. 130—355.

573 Tib. Sdom-pa-ñi-ḥu-pa. The work of Candragomin. Tg. MDO. LIX

No. 12.

574 Tib. So-sor-thar-baḥi-ḥgrel-pa alias Vinaya-samuccaya, ascribed to Vimalamitra Tg. MDO. LXXV, LXXVI and LXXVII.

575 Tib. Ched-du-brjod-paḥi-tshoms-kyi-ḥgrel-pa. The work of Prajñāvarman Tg. MDO. LXXI and LXXII.

576 Tib. Sdud-ḥgrel-gñis. These are: a) the Saṃcaya-Gāthā-pañjikā of Haribhadra (Tg. MDO. VII. I—93.) and the work of Buddhacriṣṇāna bearing the same title. (Tg. MDO. VIII 135—223).

577 Tib. Bḥes-ḥphrin. The work of Nāgārjuna. Tg. MDO. XXXIII No. 32.

578 Tib. *ḥgrel-pa*. 579 Tib. *bḥad-pa*.

580 Tib. *rnam-par-bḥad-pa*.

581 Tib. *bḥad-sbyar*.

582 Tib. *don-bsdus*.

583 Tib. *dkah-ḥgrel*.

584 Tib. *rgya-cher-ḥgrel-pa*. 585 Tib. *legs-par-sbyar-ba*.

- 586 Tib. *rnem-par-phyo-ba*. Cf. MV. § 66.
 587 Cf. p. 42 note 398.
 588 Tib. *Ḥod-ldan*. Full title: *Ārya-mūla-sarvāstivāda-ṣramaṇera-kārikā-vṛtti prabhāvatī nāma*. The work of Čākyaprabha Tg. MDO. LXXXIX 183 b. 2—3.
 589 Tib. *bdag-med-pa* = *anātma*.
 590 Tib. *ḥdus-byas* = *saṃskṛta-(dharma) = saṃskāra*.
 591 Tib. *zag-bcas* = *sāsrava*.
 592 Kg. *ḤDUL*. 593 Cf. MV. § 63.
 594 Tib. *thog-mar-dge-ba* = *ādau kalyāṇa*.
 595 Tib. *bar-du-dge-ba* = *madhye kalyāṇa*.
 596 Tib. *tha-mar-dge-ba* = *paryavasāne kalyāṇa*.
 597 Tib. *don-bzañ-po* = *svārtha*.
 598 Tib. *tsig-ḥbru-bzañ-po* = *svyañjana*.
 599 Tib. *ma-ḥdres-pa* = *kevala*.
 600 Tib. *yoñs-su-ḥdzogs-pa* = *paripūrṇa*.
 601 Tib. *yoñs-su-dag-pa* = *pariśuddha*.
 602 Tib. *yoñs-su-byaṇ-ba* = *paryavādāta*.
 603 Cf. Vasubandhu on Sūtrālaṃkāra XII. 4, 5.
 604 Tg. MDO LVIII 32 a. 6.
 605 Cf. M. V. § 4. 1, 2, 3.
 606 Vasubandhu's interpretation (on Sūtrālaṃkāra XII-14) is different: — *svārthaḥ saṃvṛti-paramārtha-satya-yogāt*, — it is of good meaning, since it is connected with both the Empirical and the Absolute Reality.
 607 Vasub. on Sūtrālaṃkāra XII. 15 — *kevalam parair asādhāraṇatvāt*.
 608 Ibid.: — *paripūrṇam tridhātu-kleṣa-prahāṇa-paripūraṇāt*.
 609 Ibid.: — *pariśuddham svabhāva-viśuddhito' nāsravatvāt*.
 610 Ibid.: — *paryavādātām mala-viśuddhītaḥ saṃsāna-viśuddhyā kṣiprāś-ravāṇām*.
 611 The following is an extract from the Vyākhyāyukti (Tg. MDO LVIII 144 b. 8.)
 612 Cf. Guṇamati's Vyākhyāyukti-ṭīkā (Tg. MDO. LX. 153 b. 5, 6. *ñon-moñs-pa ḥdul-ba-la-snañ ṣes-bya-ba-ni ñon-moñs-paḥi gñen-po* (= *pratipakṣa*) *gañ-yin-paḥo*.
 613 Tib. *rten-ḥbrel-gyi-chos-ñid*. Guṇamati (Ibid. 153 b. 6—7) says: *rten-ciñ-ḥbrel-par-ḥbyuñ-baḥi-chos-ñid* (= *prāṭītyasamutpāda-dharmatā*) *dañ-mi-mthun-pa-ma-yin-pa* (= *aviruddha*) *ṣes-bya-ba-ni* (= *iti*) *ḥdi yod-pas ḥdi ḥbyuñ* (= *asmiṃ sati idam bhavati*) *ṣes-bya-baḥi-chos-ñid-dañ-mi-mthun-pa* (= *aviruddha*) *ma-yin-no*. 614 Cf. p. 21.
 615 XII 14, 15.
Kalyāṇo dharmo' yaṃ hetuvād bhakti-tuṣṭi-buddhīnāṃ
dvividhārthaḥ sugrāhyaḥ caturguṇa-brahmacarya-vadaḥ
parair asādhāraṇa-yoga-kevalam tridhātuka-kleṣa-vihāni-pūrakam
svabhāva-śuddham mala-śuddhītam ca tac caturguṇa-brahmavicaryam iṣyate.
 616 Cf. above, note 606.
 617 Cf. a corresponding passage in Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī (Tg. MDO. XCIV 147 b. 3, 4) quoted in the Madhyamakavṛtti (B. B. 360. 2) — *śūnyatā-karuṇā-garbhām keṣāṃ cid bodhi-sādhanaṃ*.

618 I. 4. āghrāyamāṇakaṣṭukaṁ svādurasam yathau' sadham tadvat
dharma-dvaya-vyavasthā vyañjanato' rithena ca jñeyā (the text edited by

Prof. S. Lévi has vyañjanato' ritho na ca jñeyah).

619 XII. 8, 9. uddeśān nirdeśāt tathai'va yānānulomanāt ślakṣṇyāt.
prāṭityād yāthārhan nairyaṇyad ānukulyatvād.

vyañjana-saṁpac cai' śū vijñeyā sarvathā' grasattvānām.

620 Tg. MDO. LIV. 56 b. 4—5.

621 The Nyāyabinduṭīkā (B. B. 2 5—6 — Tibetan text and 1. 6—7.

Sanskrit text.)

622 Tib. mkhas-grub. 623 Tib. brgyud-pa = paramparā.

624 Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 79 a. 1—2.

625 Ratnāvalī Tg. MDO. XCIV. 152 a. 2—3.

626 Tib. dge-baḥi-bḥes-gñen = kalyāṇamitra.

627 Bodhicaryāvatāra V. 102. —

sadā kalyāṇamitraṁ ca jīvītārtho' pi na tyajet

bodhisattva-vrata-dharaṁ mahāyānārtha-kovidam.

628 Bodhisattva-saṁvara-viṁśaka. Tg. MDO. LXI. 192 a. 3.

629 XVII. 10. — mitraṁ śrayed dāntaśamopaśāntaṁ guṇādḥikaṁ sodya-
mam āgamādhyam

prabuddha-tattvaṁ vacasū' bhyupetaṁ kṛpātmakaṁ kheda-vivarjitam ca.

630 — The kalyāṇamitra.

631 Sūtrālaṁkāra XIII. 8. bahuṣṛuto dṛṣṭa-satyō vāgmī samanukampakaḥ
akḥinno bodhisattvaḥ ca jñeyah satpuruṣo mahān.

632 Tib. luñ = āgama. 633 Tib. rtogs-pa = adhigamya.

634 Sūtrālaṁkāra XII. 5. viśadā saṁdeha-jahā ādeyaḥ tattva-darśikā
dviividhā

saṁpanna-deśana' yaṁ vijñeyam bodhisattvānām.

635 Tib. kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa = sāmkleṣika.

636 Tib. rnam-par-byañ-ba = vaiyavadānika.

637 Neither exaggerately verbose nor exaggerately laconic.

638 XII. 10, 11, 12, 13.

639 vācā padaiḥ suyuktair anudeśa-vibhāga-saṁśaya-cchedaiḥ.

bahulikārānugatā hy udghaṣṭa-vipañcita-jñeṣu.

640 Tib. ngo-smos-kyis-go-ba = udghaṣṭa-jñā.

641 Tib. rnam-spros-kyis-go-ba = vipañcita-jñā.

642 cūddhā trimanḍalena hite' yaṁ deśanā hi buddhānām

doṣair vivarjitā punar aśābhir eṣai'va vijñeyā.

643 Cf. Vasubandhu's Commentary on this verse: — yena ca deśayati
vācā padaiḥ ca yathā co' ddeśādī-prakāraiḥ yeṣu co' dghaṣṭa-vipañcita-jñeṣu, —
the voice and style, by means of which (the Bodhisattva) teaches, the form of
teaching, and the persons that receive it, — those that understand a brief
indication and those that require details.

644 kauṣḍīyam anasabodho hy avakāśasyā' kṛtir hy anūtatvaṁ
saṁdehasyā' cchedas tadvigamasyā' dṛḍhikaraṇam.

645 Correct britan-mi-byed for batan-mi-byed.

646 khedo' tha matsarivaṁ doṣā hy ete matā kathāyān hi
tadabhāvād buddhānām niruttarā deśanā bhavati.

647 Tg. MDO. LVIII. 74 a. 2—75 a. 7 (condensed).

648 The author's own words.

649 Tib. *go-rim(s)* = *ānupurvī*.

650 Cf. Guṇamati's Vyākhyāyuktiṭikā (Tg. MDO. LX. 78 b. 3—4). *yañ-dag-phul-can zsa-bya-ba-ni hphags-paḥi-bden-paḥi gnam-mo* — the communication of high, sublime matters is that of the four Truths of the Saint.

651 Tib. *mgo-gcig-tu-luñ-bstan-pa* = *ekāñṣa-vyākaraṇa*. The other forms of instruction (*vyākaraṇa*) are: —

rnam-par-phyes-ste-luñ-bstan-pa = *vibhajya-vyākaraṇa*

dris-nas-luñ-bstan-pa = *pariprechā-vyākaraṇa*, and

gñag-par-luñ-bstan-pa = *sthāpanīya-vyākaraṇa*.

Cf. M. V. § 83, Rosenberg, Problems p. 59 and Guṇamati's Vyākhyāyuktiṭikā (Tg. MDO. LX. 78 b. 7—79 a. 4.)

652 Tib. *ishad-ma* = *pramāṇa*. Guṇamati (ibid. 79 a. 8—b. 1.) says: *mñon-sum dañ rjes-su-dpag-pa daiñ yid-ches-paḥi-luñ-gi-ishad-ma-rnams-dañ-mi-hgal-baḥi-phyir-ro* — by not being in conflict with the modes of cognition which are: — sense-perception, inference, and authoritative Scripture. Cf. above p. 46 note 46.

653 Tib. *bag-chags* = *rāsanā*.

654 Kg. MDO. XXI. 190 b. 5—6 and 191 b. 2.

655 Corr. *le-lo-can* for *le-lo-žan*.

656 Lit "The Wheel" (*hkhor-lo*).

657 XII. 1. *prāṇān bhogāṇ ca dhīrāḥ pramuditā-manasaḥ kṛcchra-labdhān asārān, sattvebhyo duḥkḥitebhyah satatam avasranty ucca-dāna-prakāraiḥ, prāḡ evo' dāra dharmaṁ hitakaram asakṛt sarvathai' va prajānām, kṛcchre nai' vo-palabdham bhṛgam avasrjatām vṛddhigam cā' vyayaṁ ca*.

658 The Bodhisattvas. Corr. *brtan-pa* for *bstan-pa*.

659 Corr. *yañs* (= *udāra*) for *yañ*.

660 Tib. *Hjam-dpal-rnam-par-hphrul-paḥi-mdo*. Kg. MDO. II 251 b. 6. and 252 a. 4.

661 Kg. MDO. V. 38 b. 4—5. The version of the Kg. is slightly different from that of Xyl. —

gañ-dag ḥdod-phyir chos-kyi luñ-hbogs-pa rmoñs-pa de-dag chos-kyi rin-po-che de-dag ḥdod-pa spañs-pa phyir-len-te rin-thañ-med-pa rñed-kyañ-spoñ-ñiñ-rgyu.

662 Cf. M. V. § 263, 87 sqq.

663 XII. 24 *iti sumatir akhedavān kṛpālūḥ prathita-yaçāḥ suvidhijñatām upetaḥ*

bhavati sukathiko hi bodhisattvas tapati jana kathitair yathai' va sūryaḥ.

664 Tg. MDO. LVI 138 b. 6—139 a. 3.

665 Cf. Abhidharma-samuccaya-bhāṣya of Jinaputra (Tg. MDO. LVII 129 b. 6.) — *yoñs-su-çes-par-bya-baḥi dños-po-ni* (= *parijñeyam vastu*) *phuñ-po-la-sogs-paḥo* (*skandhādayaḥ*) — the subject that is to be fully apprehended, consists of the five groups of elements etc. Cf. also Vyākhyāyuktiṭikā (Tg. MDO. LX 9. b. 4—5) *ci-žig yoñs-su-çes-par-bya že-na gñags-la-sogs-pa sdug-bśaḥ-gyi-bden-pas bsdus-paḥo* (= *rupādayo duḥkḥa-satyena saṃgrhīṣāḥ*).

666 Abhidh. sam. bh. (Tg. MDO. LVII 129 b. 7) *yoñs-su-çes-par-bya-baḥi-don-ni mi-rtag-pa-ñid* (= *anityatā*) *la-sogs-paḥo*.

667 Ibid. 129 b. 7—8. *yoñs-su-çes-par-bya-baḥi-rgyu-ni tshul-khrims dañ*

dbañ-poñi sgo bsadams-pa-la-sogs-paño — the factors that are conducive to the complete apprehension (of the Truth of Phenomenal Existence) are pure morality and suppression of the senses.

668 Ibid. 129 b. 7—8 *yoñs-su-ces-pa-ni* (= *parijñānam*) *byañ-chub-kyi-chos-rnams-so* (= *bodhipakṣikā dharmāḥ*). Acc. to Guṇamati (Tg. MDO. LX 9 b. 6.) *yañ-dag-pañi lla-ba* (= *samyagdṛṣṭi*).

669 Abhidh. sam. bh. (Tg. MDO. LVII 129 b. 8) — *rnam-par-grol-baño* (= *vimukti*).

670 Ibid. 129 b. 8.

671 Ibid. 129. b. 8—130 a. 1.

672 Ibid. 130 a. 6—8.

673 Tib. *chud-za-ba dañ mi-za-baḥi-sgo*. Abhidh. sam. bh. Tg. MDO. LVII 130 b. 5—131 a. 5.

674 Ibid. 131 b. 8—132 b. 2. The six modes are:

de-kho-nañi-don-gyi-tshul — the mode of the Absolute (underlying the Relativity of phenomenal existence).

ñtshob-paḥi-tshul — the mode of attaining (final Enlightenment as a Buddha)

bçad-paḥi-tshul — the mode of explaining (the latter).

mihañ-gñis-spañs-paḥi-tshul — the mode of teaching without having recourse to the two extremities.

bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-paḥi-tshul — the mode of unthinkable perfection.

dgoñs-paḥi-tshul — the mode of deeper sense.

675 Ibid. 133 b. 2.

676 Ibid. 133 b. 1—133 b. 4.

677 Tg. MDO. LVIII. 33 b. 5—6. The Sanscrit text of this verse is preserved in the Abhisamayālaṃkāṛalokā (MS. Minaev 16 b. 1—2). It runs as follows: —

prayojanañ sapinḍārthaḥ padārthaḥ sānusañdhikāḥ, sacodyaparihāraḥ ca vācyaḥ sūtrārtha-vādiḥ.

678 Ibid. 33 b. 7—34 a. 1.

679 Cf. below.

680 Tg. MDO LVIII 98 a. 7—8.

681 Cf. Vyākhyāyukti Tg. MDO. LVIII 98 a. 8—6. 1. *rab-tu-dbye-ba-ni brjod-par-bya-ba de gzugs-can dañ gzugs-can-ma-yin-pa dañ bstan-du-yod-pa dañ bstan-du med-pa-la-sogs-paḥi rnam-par rab-tu-dbye-bas-so*.

682 Ibid. 33 b. 8—34 a. 1.

683 *rigs* = *gotra*.

684 Tib. *Tiñ-ne-ñdzin-rgyal-po*. Çikṣāsamuccaya BB. 354 6. — 355. 2.

685 *adhyeṣayeyur yadi tvāñ te dharmā-dānasya kāraṇāt*

prathamāñ vāca (sic) *bhāṣeyā nā' hañ vaipulya-çikṣitāḥ*.

686 *evañ tvāñ vāca bhāṣeyā yuṣme vā vijñā-pañḍitāḥ*

kathāñ mahātmanāñ çakyañ purato bhāṣituñ mayā.

687 *sahasai' gñāñ na jalpeta tulayitvā tu bhājanāñ*

yadi bhājanāñ vijñāniyāḥ anadhigto' pi deçayeh.

688 *yadi duḥçilāñ paçyesī* (sic) *pariçāyāñ bahūñ sthitāñ,*

sañlekhāñ mā prabhāse tvāñ varṇāñ dānasya kirtayeh.

689 Correct *nañ-tshul* for *ñan-tshul*.

690 Cf. Çikṣās. page 354 note 8.

691 *bhāveyur yadi cā' lpeccāḥ çuddhāḥ çile pratiṣṭhitāḥ*

mañtrañ cittañ janitvā tvāñ kuryāḥ sañlekhikāñ kathāñ.

692 *paritū yadi pāpeccāḥ çilavanto' tra vistarāḥ*

labdha-pakṣas tadā bhūtvā varṇāñ çilasya kirtayeh.

693 Cf. below.

694 Tib. Dam-paḥi-chos-padma-dkar-po BB. 282. 5, 6 and 283. 6—284. 10, quoted likewise in the *Çikṣāsamuccaya* BB. 352. 8—354. 2.

695 *kālena co* (sic) *cintayamānu paṇḍitāḥ praviṣṭya layanaṁ tatha ghaṭṭa-yitvā, vipaṣṭya dharmaṁ imu sarva yoniḥ utthāya deṣeta alina-cittāḥ.*

696 *sukha-sthito bhoti* (sic) *sadā vicakṣaṇaḥ sukhaṁ niṣannas tatha dharma bhāṣate, udāra-prajñāpta karitva āsanaṁ caukṣe manojñe prthivī-pradeṣe.*

697 *caukṣaṁ ca so cīvāra prāvaritvā surakṣa-raṅgaṁ ca prasanna-raṅgaiḥ āsevakaṁ kṛṇa tathā daditvā mahāpramāṇaṁ ca nivāsayitvā.*

698 *sapāda-piṭhasmi* (sic) *niṣadya āsane vicitradyuṣyehi saṁśrīṭasmin* (sic) *sudhauta-pādaḥ ca upāruhitvā nigdhena cīrṣena mukhena cā'pi.*

699 *dharmaśane cā'tra niṣīdīyāna ekāgra-sattveṣu samāgateṣu upasamharec citrakathā bahūḥ ca bhikṣūṇa ca bhikṣuṇīyāna cai'va.*

700 *upāsakānāṁ ca upāsikānāṁ rajñāṁ tatha rājasutāna cai'va. vicitritārthā madhuraṁ kathayā anabhyasūyantu sadā sa paṇḍitāḥ.*

701 *kilāsitāṁ cā'pi vitarjayāta na cā'pi utpādayi kheda-samjñāṁ aratim ca sarvaṁ vijahīta paṇḍito maitrī-balaṁ ca pariṣūya bhāvayet.*

702 *bhāṣec ca rūtri-dīpaṁ agradharmāṁ dṛṣṭānta-koṭi-niyutaiḥ sa paṇḍitāḥ. samharṣayet parṣa tathai'va toṣayen na cā'pi kimcīt tatra jātu prārthayet.*

703 *khadyaṁ ca bhōjyaṁ ca tathā' nna-pānaṁ vāstraṁ cāyāsanaśivaraṁ ca gilāna-bhāṣajya na cintayet saḥ na vijñāpet parṣadi kimcīt anyat.*

704 *anyatra cinteya sadā bhāṣya buddho' ham ime ca sattvāḥ etac ca me sarvasukhopadhānaṁ dharmā cāvame hitāya loka.*

705 Kg. MDO. XIV 11 b. — quoted *Çikṣāsamuccaya* BB. 355. 3—13.

706 *imāni Sāgaramate mantra-padāni dharmā-bhāṇakena supravṛttāni kṛtvā dharmā-āsanakena supravṛttāni kṛtvā* (wanting in Xyl.) *dharmā-āsana-niṣaṇṇena sarvaṁ parṣadaṁ bodhy-ākara-abhinirhṛtayaḥ maitryā spharītvā ātmani vaidya-samjñāṁ utpādyā dharme bhāṣajya-samjñāṁ dharmā-cāvanīkeṣu ātura-samjñāṁ tathāgate satpuruṣa-samjñāṁ dharmā-netryāṁ ciraśthika-samjñāṁ utpādyā imāni mantra-padāny āmukhikṛtyā dharmā-samkathā kṛāṇīyā tasya samanūd yojana-ṣate (Ç.kṣ. 10 janaṣate!) na māro na-mārekāyikā vā devatā upasamkramayīṣyanti-ricakṣuḥkaraṇe ye'py enaṁ upasamkramayīṣyanti te'py asya na cakṣyanti antarāyaṁ kartum.*

707 Ibid. 355. 14—15. — *dharmā-bhāṇakena caukṣeṇa cūci-samudācāreṇa susnātena cūci-nivāsītēna bhavīṭaryam.*

708 *phyin-drug = śaṭpāramitāḥ.* 709 *sbyin-pa = dāna.*

710 *tsul-khrims = cūla.* 711 *bzod-pa = kṣānti.*

712 *brison-hgrus = vīrya.* 713 *bsam-gtan = dhyāna.*

714 *ces-rab = prajñā.*

715 Tib. Sen-ge-bzan-po. The following passage is an extract from the Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* — *Abhisamayālaṁkāraśloka* in abridged form. The full text is as follows: — (MS. Minaev 64 a. 8—b. 3.) — *bodhisattvasya dharmā-dānādī-dānād dāna-pāramitū-samnāhaḥ. tasyai'va cāvākādi-manas-kāra-parivarjanāc chila-pāramitū-samnāhaḥ. tasyai'va sarvākāra-jñatā-dharmā-ṇāṁ kṣamaṇa-rocana-upaparīkṣaṇa-sarvajana-apriya-vāditva-sahanāt kṣānti-pāramitū-samnāhaḥ. tasyai'ro' utottara-kuṣāla-mūla-abhivṛddhyartham chandādi-jananūd vīrya-pāramitū-samnāhaḥ. tasyai'va yānāntara-avyavakīrṇa-citta-ekā-gratayā taikuṣāla-mūla-anuttara-samyaksambodhi-pariṇāma-ālambanūd dhyā-*

na-pāramita-saṃnāhaḥ. tasyai'va māyākāra-saṃjñā-upasthānena deya-dāyaka-pratigrāhaka-anupalambhāt prajñāpāramitā-saṃnāhaḥ (= Tg. MDO. VI 63 a. 8—b. 5.)

716 Egoistic. 717 *mi-dmigs-pa* = *anupalambha*.

718 Tg. MDO. LVIII 75 a. 8—b. 8.

719 Tg. MDO. LVIII 77 a. 3—4.

720 Lit. — the stains (*dri-ma*). 721 Ibid. 76 a. 2—8.

722 Tib. *Lus-skyes-dus-pa* (?).

723 Tib. *Bži-brgya-pa*. The work of Āryadeva. Tg. MDO. XVIII. 14 b 1—2.

724 Vyākhyāyuktī. Tg. MDO. LVIII 146 a. 1—5.

725 The Abhisamayālaṃkāraśloka MS. Minaev. 152 b. 3—5 — *Prajñā-pāramitā satkṛtyā adhyācāyena śrotavye'ty apanīta-avagunṭhanikādīnā nicāsa-na-sihena vikṣepa-doṣaṃ parihṛitya mokṣa-kāma-ācāyena saddharmaḥ śrota-vyaḥ*. (= Tg. MDO. VI. 162 a. 1—2).

726 *lhag-paḥi-bsam-pa* = *adhyācāya*. For definition cf. *Çikṣāsamuccaya* p. 285. 14—286. 5.

727 Tg. MDO. LVIII 143 b. 2—4. 728 Ibid. 140 b. 7—141 a. 1.

729 Tib. *rtogs-pa-brjod-pa* = *avadāna*. 730 Tib. *dgaḥ-bo*.

731 Vyākhyāyuktī Tg. MDO. LVIII 143 b. 8—144 a. 1.

732 Tib. *chos-dgaḥ*.

733 Kg. DKON. III. 25 a. 3.

734 *dge-baḥi-bḥes-gñen* = *kalyāṇamitra*. Cf. *Çikṣāsamuccaya*. Kār. VI.

735 Tg. MDO. LVIII 142 b. 6—143 a. 4.

736 *bag-la-ñal* = *anuçāya*.

737 Cf. above p. 5 *śrutānusāra-pratipatti-sārāḥ* (Jātakamālā Ed. Kern, Harvard Series p. 215. 2.)

738 Ibid. 220. 9—12. *nicaistarāsa-ssthānād vibodhya vinaya-çriyaṃ.*

prityārpitābhyāṃ cakṣurbhyāṃ vān-madhu āsvādayann iṣa

gauravāvarjitaitakagra-prasannāmala-mānasah

satkṛtya dharmaṃ çṇuyād bhiṣag-vākyam ivā'turah.

739 Kg. DKON. I 119 a. 7—119 b. 1. Cf. below.

740 Tib. *Rgya-cher-rol-pa*. Ed. Lefmann. 412. 13—18. (Dharma-cakra-pravartana-parivarta)

duravāpyaṃ mānuṣyaṃ buddhoipādaḥ sudullabhā (sic) *çradhdhā*

çreṣṭhaṃ ca dharma-çravaṇaṃ eṣṭākṣaṇa-vivarjana durāpaḥ

prāptiḥ ca te'dya sarve buddhotpādaḥ kṣaṇas tathā çradhdhā

dharma-çravaṇaḥ ca varaḥ pramādam akhilaṃ vivarjayataḥ

bhavaṭi kadācīd avasthā yat kalpa-nayutair na çrūyate dharmaḥ

saṃprāptiḥ sa tavā'dya pramādam akhilaṃ vivarjayataḥ.

741 M. V. § 120. 742 Tg. MDO. LVIII 147 a. 3—4.

743 Ibid. 149 b. 3—4.

744 Ibid. 139 a. 2—3. Cf. *Saddharma-puṇḍarika* BB. 57. 3.

sudurlabhā idṛçakāç ca sattvāḥ çrutvāna ye çradhdadhi agra-dharmaṃ

audumbaram puṣpa yathai'va durlabham kadāci kañiñci kathamci dṛçyate.

745 *srid-pa* = *bhava*.

746 *Çikṣāsamuccaya* 189. 5—6.

kiyaḍ bahū dharma-paryāyu-neyya çīlaṃ na rakṣeta çrutena mattaḥ

na bhāṣṣṛutyaṃ sa śakyu (sic) trāyānam duḥṣīlayena (sic) vrajamāna durgatim.

747 Tib. Btsun-pa-chos-la-gnas-paḥl-dge-slon žes-bya-baḥl-mdo. A Sūtra bearing such a name is not to be found in the Indices of the Kangyur.

748 XII. 3. tasmān nai'va nirarthikā bhavati sū yā bhāvanā yoginām tasmān nai'va nirarthikā bhavati sū yā deṣanā saugatī, dṛiṣṭo'rīkaḥ śrute-mātrakād yadi bhavet syād bhāvanā'pārthikā aśrutvā yadi bhāvanām anuviṣet syād deṣanā' pārthikā.

749 Çikṣāsamuccaya. Kārikā XX.

kṣameta śrutam eṣeta saṃśrayeta vanaṃ tadā samādhanāya yujyeta bhāvayed aśubhādikam.

750 Ibid. 194. 7, 8.—

sahadarmikeno (sic) vacanena uktāḥ krodhaṃ ca dveṣaṃ (Çiks. — doṣam) ca apratyayaṃ ca.

prāviṣkarontī (sic) imi bāladharmā imam artha vijñāya na viśvasanti.

751 VIII. 26.

752 Sic according to Tib. The editions of the Sanscrit text by Professors Minaev and de la Vallée Poussin have both: —

nā'vadhyāyanti taravo na cā'rādhyāḥ prayatnataḥ

kadā taiḥ sukha-saṃvāsaiḥ saha vāso bhaven mama. —

The Tib. seems to be a translation from another reading of the text, which must have been: —

nā'vadhyāyanti taravo vane ca mrgapakṣiṇaḥ

kadā taiḥ etc.

753 Çikṣāsamuccaya 196. 9—10. — yadi punaḥ śrutavān imāṃ kṣaṇa-saṃpadam āśādyā lābhādāv āsaktaḥ cittam na śodhayet sa evai'kaḥ sadevako loka vañcakaḥ (Çiks. — vañcītaḥ) syāt.

754 Ibid. 196. 11—14. — tad yathā Kāṣyapa kaścid eva puruṣo mahatā udaka-ārṇaveno' hyamāna udaka-tṛṇayā kālām kuryād evam eva Kāṣyapa ihaī' ke ṣramaṇa-brāhmaṇā bahūn dharmān udgṛhya paryāvāpya na rāga-tṛṇāṃ vinodayanti na dveṣa-tṛṇāṃ na moha-tṛṇāṃ vinodayanti te mahatā dharmo-ārṇaveno' hyamānāḥ kleṣa-tṛṇayā kālagatā durgati-vinipāta-gāmino bhavanti.

755 The author's own words.

756 Çikṣāsamuccaya 108. 5—111. 4.

757 Agauravo bhoti śruteṇa matto viśāda-mantṛeṣu nivṛtta bhoti muṣita-śrutiḥ cā' pyasaṃprajanyo bhāṣye ramantasya (sic) ime hi doṣāḥ.

758 adhyātma-cintā tu sudūra bhoti cittam na kāyaḥ ca prasanna bhoti unnāma-nāmāni bahūni gacchatī (sic) bhāṣye....

759 Corr. hṣud for mdud.

760 saddharma-cintā tu prapaṣṭu bālāḥ sukarkaṣo bhoti asnigdha-cittāḥ vipaśyanāyāḥ śamathāc ca dūre bhāṣye....

761 agauravo bhoti sadā gurūṇām paligodha-mantṛeṣu ratim janitvā asāra-sūhāyī parihīna-prajñā bhāṣye....

762 amānito deṣa-gaṇaiḥ (Çiks. — gaṇaiḥ) sa bhoti nā'py asya tasmin spṛha saṃjananti

pratisaṃvidāto (sic) bhavati (sic) vihīno bhāṣye....

763 paribhāṣyate cā'pi sa paṇḍitebhir ye kacid (sic) astī (sic) pṛtha-kāya-sūkṣī nirarthakam jīvitu (sic) tasya bhoti bhāṣye....

764 *sa çocate kălu (sic) karotu (sic) balaḥ pratipatti-hīno' smi kim adya kuryām*

suduṣkḥito (sic) bhoti alabdha-gādho bhāṣye...

765 *calācalo bhoti ṛṇaṃ yathe' ritaṃ vicikitsate evaṃ asau na saṃśayaḥ na tasya jātu dṛḍha buddhi bhoti bhāṣye...*

766 *naṭa yathā tiṣṭhati ranga-madhye anyāṇa (sic) curāṇa (sic) guṇān prabhāṣate*

svayaṃ ca bhoti pratipatti-hīno bhāṣye....

767 *çaṭhaḥ ca so bhoti laghur niraṣaḥ punaḥ punaḥ cā' rabhate vivādaṃ so dūrato ārya-dharmasya bhoti bhāṣye....*

768 Corr. re-chaḍ for re-ḥchaḍ.

769 *saṃhr̥ṣyate saikṛta alpa-sthāmaḥ prakampate viprakṛto ajānī*

kapiṛ yathā cañcala-citta bhoti bhāṣye....

770 This and the following two verses are omitted in Çikṣ.

771 *ramitvā bhāṣyasmī (sic) ciraṃ pi kālaṃ na vindate prītiṃ ihā' gra-saukhyam.*

varam hi ekasya padasya cintanā prītiṃ pade yatra lābhed anantām.

772 *ne' kṣu-tvace saram ihā' sti kiñcin madhye' sti tat sāra supremaṇīyaḥ. bhuktvā tvacaṃ ne' ha punaḥ saṣakyaṃ labdhum nareṇa' kṣu-rasaṃ pradhānam.*

773 *yathā tvacaṃ tatvad avai' hi bhāṣyaṃ yathā rasas tadvad ihā' rtha-cintā tasmād dhi bhāṣye tū ratim vihāya cintetha artham sada apramattāḥ.*

774 Tib. *sañs-rgyas-kyi-ñiñ = buddha-kṣetra.*

775 Tib. *bskal-pa-bzan-po = bhadra-kalpa.*

776 Tib. *mi-mjed-pahi-hjig-rten-kyi-khams = sahā-loka-dhātu.*

777 Cf. below.

778 Tib. *Sñan-pa-chen-po.*

779 Tib. *Yon-tan-bkod-pa.*

780 Tib. *Bskal-bzan*

781 Tib. *Sñiñ-rje-pad-ma-dkar-po.* Ed. by Çarat Candra Das. Buddh.

Text. Soc.

782 Tib. *De-bzin-gçegs-paḥi-gsañ-ba-bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-paḥi-bstan-pa.*

Kg. DKON. I.

783 Tib. *Ḥdzin-pa. Kar.-puṇḍ. BTS. 17. 5—10. sqq.*

784 Tib. *Rtsibs-kyi-mu-khyud.*

785 Tib. *ḥkhor-los-begyor-ba = cakravartin.*

786 Tib. *Mig-mi-ḥdzum-pa.*

787 Tib. *māun-na-ḥdon-(pa) = purohita.*

788 Tib. *Rgya-mtshoḥi-rdul.*

789 Tib. *Rgya-mtshoḥi-sñiñ-po.*

790 Tib. *Rin-chen-sñiñ-po.*

791 KP. BTS. 21. 16.

792 Ibid. 21. 25—27.

793 Ibid. 22. 1. — *kupathena dakṣiṇābhimukhaṃ gacchataḥ.*

794 Ibid. 24. 12—14.

795 Ibid. 24. 30.

796 Ibid. 24. 31. — *saṃsāra-abhirataḥ.*

797 Ibid. 25. 24—26.

798 Tib. *me-lon-bkod-pa.* Ibid. 25. 28.

799 Ibid. 26. 7.

800 Kar. Puṇḍ. BTS. 26. 30—31.

801 Tib. *Tshe-dpag-med.*

802 Tib. *Bde-ba-can.* Ibid. 36. 24—25.

- 803 Tib. *miḡ-mi-ḡdzum-pa*.
- 804 Tib. *Ḥod-zer-kun-nas-ḡphags-pa-dpaḡ-brtsegs-kyi-rgyal-po*. Ibid. 38. 14—16.
- 805 Tib. *Mthu-chen-thob*. M. V. § 23. 9.
- 806 Tib. *Rab-tu-brtan-pa-yon-tan-nor-bu-brtsegs-paḡi-rgyal-po*. Kar. Puṇḡ. 39. 11.
- 807 Tib. *Kun-tu-gzigs*.
- 808 Tib. *Dag-pa-rdul-bral-yaṇ-dag-brtsegs*. Ibid. 42. 17—21.
- 809 Tib. *Kun-tu-bzaṇ-po*. Ibid. 43. 17.
- 810 Tib. *Pad-ma-dam-pa*. Ibid. 44. 23.
- 811 Tib. (*Chos-kyi*)-*dbaṇ-bsgyur-dbaṇ-phyug*. Ibid. 45. 19.
- 812 Tib. *Snaṇ-ba-rdul-bral-spos-mtho-dbaṇ-phyug-rgyal-po*. Ibid. 48. 25.
- 813 Tib. *Ye-ḡes-rdṡ-rje-rnam-par-bsgyiṇs-paḡi-dbaṇ-phyug-(kyi-tog)*. Ibid. 50. 16.
- 814 Tib. *Mi-ḡkhrugs-pa*. Ibid. 53. 14.
- 815 Tib. *Gser-gyi-me-tog*. Ibid. 56. 28.
- 816 Tib. *Rgyal-baḡi-zla-ba*. Ibid. 57. 4. Sic acc. to Tib., but Sūtra: — *tad buddhakṣetram jayasomaṇ nāma bhaviṣyati, tatra tvam anuttarāṇ samyak-sambodhim abhisambhotsyase Nāgavimarditeḡvaraghoṣo nāma bhaviṣyasi yāvad buddho bhagavān*.
- 817 Tib. *Rnam-par-gzigs*. M. V. § 2. 6. } Kar. Puṇḡ.
818 Tib. *Gtsug-tor-can*. Ibid. § 2. 7. } BTS. 62. 11—12.
819 Tib. *Thams-cad-skyob*. Ibid. § 2. 8. }
- 820 Tib. *Skar-ma-skyoṇ*.
- 821 Tib. *Ḥkhor-ba-ḡjig*. Kar. Puṇḡ. BTS. 63. 13.
- 822 Tib. *Gser-thub*. Ibid. 63.20.
- 823 Tib. *Ḥod-sruṇs*. Ibid. 64. 17. 824 Tib. *Dri-med-ḡod*.
- 825 Tib. *Byams-pa*. Ibid. 66. 16.
- 826 Tib. *bsḡen-bkur-ba = upasthāyaka*. Ibid. 67. 15—68. 3.
- 827 *kiyaḡ bahavo bhagavann anāḡate' dhvani muni-bḡaskarā' smin bhadra-kalpe udayanti*.
- 828 Ibid. 68. 7—9. 829 Ibid. 68. 31 sqq.
- 830 Tib. *Gsaḡ-mdzad*. Ibid. 69. 29.
- 831 Tib. *mtshams-med-pa = anantarya*. Cf. M.V. § 122.
- 832 Ibid. 97. 23.
- 833 Tib. *Mdzes-par-snaṇ-ba = ḡubhāloka (?)*
- 834 Tib. *Rnam-par-brgyan pa*.
- 835 Tib. *Yon-tan-mthaḡ-yaṣ-rin-chen-sna-tshogs-bkod-paḡi-rgyal-po*. Kg. DKON. 117 b. 7—118 a. 2.
- 836 Tib. *Rnam-par-dag-pa-can*.
- 837 Tib. *Yul-ḡkhor-bsruṇ*. Ibid. 118 b. 1—2.
- 838 Kg. DKON. I. 118 b. 6—119 a. 1.
- 839 Ibid. 119 a. 2—5. 840 Ibid. 119 a. 7—119 b. 1.
- 841 *tsan-dan sbrul-gyi sḡiṇ-po = goḡrṡa-aragāsāra-candana*.
- 842 Kg. DKON. I. 120 a. 7. sqq. 843 Ibid. 120 b. 2.
- 844 Tib. *Ma-smad-pa*. 845 Tib. *Dpe-med-pa*.
- 846 Tib. *Chos-sems*.
- 847 Tib. *Chos-kyi-blo-gros*. Kg. DKON. I. 121 b. 5.—122 a. 3.

- 848 Ibid. 123 a. 2—6. 849 Tib. Rnam-par-dag-paḥi-blo-gros.
 850 Tib. Ḥkhor-ba-ḥjig. Ibid. 123 a. 6—123 b. 1.
 851 Tib. Rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi-sde.
 852 Tib. Gser-thub. Kg. DKON. I. 123 b. 2.
 853 Tib. Dban-po-ti-ba. 854 Kg. DKON I. 123 b. 3.
 855 Tib. Don-thams-cad-grub-pa.
 856 Ibid. *de-ni-na-yin-te* ... this was myself. 857 Tib. Ska-rags-can.
 858 Kg. DKON. I. 123 b. 4. 859 Tib. Mchog-gi-blo-gros.
 860 Tib. Seṅ-ge. Ibid. Cf. Fr. Weller: Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa. — 6.
 861 Tib. Glog-gi-lha (Xyl. Klog-gi-lha).
 862 Tib. Tog. Kg. DKON. I. 123 b. 5. Weller, — 410.
 863 Tib. Bzañ-po(ḥi rgyal-po).
 864 Tib. Me-tog-dam-pa. Kg. DKON. I. 123 b. 5. Weller, — 941.
 865 Tib. Ḥod-kyl-dpal.
 866 Tib. Me-tog. Kg. DKON. I. 123 b. 6. Weller, — 759.
 867 Tib. Rnam-par-snañ-baḥi-padma.
 868 Tib. Skar-rgyal Kg. DKON. I. 123 b. 6. Weller, — 15.
 869 Tib. Dri-ma-med-paḥi-ḥod.
 870 Tib. Spyān-legs. Kg. DKON. I. 123. b. 7. Weller, — 645.
 871 Tib. Rdul-med.
 872 Tib. Lag-bzañs. Kg. DKON. I. 123. b. 7. Weller, — 470.
 873 Tib. Blo-gros-rgyal-po.
 874 Tib. Ḥod Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 1.
 875 Tib. Dge-baḥi-bkod-paḥi-rgyal-po.
 876 Tib. Skar-ma-la-dgaḥ-ba. Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 1. Weller, — 754.
 877 Tib. Phyogs-ḥbyor.
 878 Tib. Mñon-par-ḥphags-pa-gcegs-pa. Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 2. Weller, —
 497. (?)
 879 Tib. Rnam-par-dag-pa-bkod-paḥi-rgyal-po.
 880 Tib. Yon-tan-(mchog-gi)-mñañ-ba. Kg. DKON. I 124 a. 2. Weller, —
 550 (?).
 881 Tib. Dpal-sbas.
 882 Tib. Nor-dpal. Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 3.
 883 Tib. Lus-ḥin-tu-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa.
 884 Tib. Ye-ḥes-ḥbyuñ-gnas. Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 3. Weller, — 99.
 885 Tib. Drag-ḥul-can.
 886 Tib. Rin-po-cheḥi-ḥbyuñ-gnas. Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 4. Weller, — 102.
 887 Tib. Rin-chen-grags. 888 Tib. Kun-tu-snañ-ba.
 889 Tib. Cod-pan-brgyan-pa.
 890 Tib. Yon-tan-mthaḥ-yas-grags-pa.
 891 Tib. Blo-mthaḥ-yas-grags-pa.
 892 Tib. Blo-(gros)-mthaḥ-yas. Kg. DKON. I. 124 a. 6—7.
 893 Ibid. 124 a. 7—124 b. 2.
 894 Tib. Mos-pa. Ibid. 124 b. 3.
 895 Ibid. 124 b. 6—7. 896 Tib. Rdo-rjes-rnam-par-gnon-pa.
 897 Tib. Tshañs-pa-gtsug-phud-can. Kg. DKON. I. 125 a. 5.
 898 Tib. Mar-me-mdzad. Ibid. 125 a. 3.

- 899 Kg. MDO. VI. 91a7—b4. 900 Kg. MDO. II. 31b.
 901 *gnas-bskal*.
 902 *pañca-kaṣāya* Cf. M. V. § 124.
 903 BTS. 95. 27—32. *tatra Anguṣṭhā nāma lokadhātuh. tatra Anguṣṭhāyām lokadhātāu daṣavarṣāyuskā manuṣyā durvarṇā drohoḍimakā akuṣalamūle sama-vadhānagatā anguṣṭhāmātram uccatvena. tatra Jyotirāmo-nāma tathāgato' rhan samyak sambuddhaḥ* etc.
 904 Tib. Skar-ma-la-dgaḥ-ba.
 905 Karuṇā-puṇḍarika B.T.S. 63. 12.
 906 Ibid. 63. 20. 907 Ibid. 64. 17. 908 Ibid. 66. 9.
 909 Kg. MDO. I. 102 a. 4, 5. sqq. On Buddha Čākyamuni — 102 b. 7—103 a. 2
 910 Tib. Mchog-tu-dgaḥ-baḥi-rgyal-po.
 911 Tib. Ser-skya. 912 Tg. MDO. I.
 913 Kg. RGYUD. I. 914 Tib. *mi-mjed-pa*.
 915 BTS. 63. 8—12. *kena kāraṇena sahe' ty ucyate. saḥās te sattvā rūgasya saḥās te dveṣasya saḥās te mohasya saḥās te kleṣa-bandhanānām tena kāraṇena sahe' ty ucyate. tatra saḥāyām lokadhātāu bhadrako nāma bhaviṣyati mahākālpaḥ kena kāraṇena ucyate bhadrako iti. bhadrake mahākālpe raga-dveṣa-moha-cariṭānāṁ sattvānāṁ sahasraṁ mahākāruṇikāṇāṁ buddhānāṁ bhagavatām utpatsyate*.
 916 Kg. DKON. III. 262a5—7.
 917 Onas-chen-po-brgyad-kyi-mchod-rten-la-bstod-pa = Aṣṭa-mahāsthāna-caitya-stotra. Tg. BSTOD I.
 918 Tib. *grāns-med* = *asamkhyā*. This is not an indefinite number, but, as we shall see (Cf. below) —
 1.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.000.
 919 These are: *ñon-moṁs-paḥi-bdud*, *ḥchi-bdag-gi-bdud*, *phuṁ-poḥi-bdud*, and *lhaḥi-buḥi-bdud*.
 920 Tib. Gsal-grags. 921 Tib. Yul-ḥkhor-skyoṁ.
 922 This Buddha Čākyamuni is of course not the Buddha of our age, but an extinct Buddha of former times to whom the Teacher addressed his first Initial Vow.
 923 Tib. Legs-mdzad. 924 Tib. Dbañ-po-rgyal-mtshan.
 925 Tg. MDO. LXIII. 15 b. 7—8.
 926 Tib. *bsa-ru-lta-bu* = *khadga-viṣṇa-kalpa*. This passage is a quotation from the Abhidharma-Koṣa Tg. MDO. LXIII.
 927 Tib. *shyor-lam* = *prayoga-mārga*.
 928 Tib. *chos-sku* = *dharma-kāya*.
 929 Tib. *gsugs-sku* = *rūpa-kāya*.
 930 IV. 1. *mahotsahā mahārambhā mahārthā 'tha mahodayā cetanā bodhisattvānāṁ dvayārthā citta-sambhavaḥ*.
 931 I. 18. *cittopādaḥ parārthāya samyak sambodhi-kāmataḥ samāsavyāsataḥ sū ca yathāsūtram sa co' cyate*.
 932 Tg. MDO. IX. 91 a. 8—b 3 cf. Haribhadra, Abhisamayālaṁkāraḥ, MS. Minaev. 23 b. 14.
 933 IV. 7. *mitra-balād dhetu-balān mūla-balāc chruta-balāc chubhābhyaśāt adṛḍhadṛḍhodaya uktaḥ cittopādaḥ parākhyānāt*.

934 Cf. Vasubandhu's Commentary to this verse: *hetu-balād vā gotra-sāmarthyāt*.

935 Ibid.: — *kuṣāla-mūlād vā' tīta-puṣṭitaḥ*.

936 Sūtrālaṃkāra IV. 8. *sūpāsitasambuddhe susambhṛta-jñāna-puṇya-sambhāre*

dharmeṣu nirvikalpa-jñāna-prasavāt paramatā'sya.

937 The following verse is quoted in Haribhadra's Abhisamayālaṃkāra-
kāraṇīya, MS. Minaev 24 a. 10, 11. *tatrā' dau gotra-sāmarthyāt kṛpā-bija-pra-*
bodhataḥ

prayogācāya-sampattyā bodhi-citta-parigrahaḥ.

938 Kg. DKON. V. 203 b.

939 *bodhi-praṇidhi-citta*. Cf. Bodhicaryāvatāra I. 15.

940 *bodhi-prasthāna*. Ibid.

941 *samādāna-samketika*. Cf. Vasubandhu on Sūtrālaṃkāra IV. 7.

942 IV. 2. *cittotpado' dhimokṣo' sau cūddhādhyācayiko' paraḥ*
vaipakyo bhūmiṣu matas tathā' varaṇa-varjitaḥ.

943 I. 20. *bhū-hema-candra-jvalanair* etc. Cf. below.

944 IV. 15. *prthivīsama utpādaḥ* etc.

945 Tg. MDO. LII. 300 a. 7—300 b. 3.

946 *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi-sa = adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*. Is a synonym of
the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*).

947 *chos-kyi-sprin = dharma-meghā*.

948 *dkaḥ-ba-spyod-pa = duṣkara-caryā*.

949 Cf. above p. 94. 950 Kg. MDO. I.

951 Tib. Drin-lan-bsab-pa Kg. MDO. XXXII.

952 Tib. Phuñ-po-gsum-pa. Kg. MDO. XXIV.

953 Tib. Mn̄on-dgaḥ. 954 Tib. Mdzes-chen.

955 Tib. Snañ-byed.

956 XVIII. 38 — *sambhāro bodhisattvānāṃ puṇya-jñāna-mayo' samāḥ*
saṃsūre' bhyudayāyai' kaḥ anyo'saṃkliṣṭa-saṃsṛtaḥ.

957 *zag-beas = sāsrava*. 958 *zag-med = anāsrava*.

959 *mñon-mtho = abhyudaya*. Is defined acc. to the Lamaist tradition
as: — *ñan-soñ-gsum-las mñon-mtho* — an existence higher than the three Evil
Births.

960 *ñes-legs = niḥcreyasa*. Is a synonym of Nirvāṇa. Cf. M. V. § 95. 5.

961 Sūtrālaṃkāra, XVIII. 39.

dānaṃ ḥilaṃ ca puṇyasya prajñā jñānasya sambhṛtiḥ.

trayaṃ cā' nyad dvayasyā' pi pañcā' pi jñāna-sambhṛtiḥ.

962 XVIII. 40. *saṃtatyā bhāvanām etya bhūyo bhūyaḥ cūbhasya hi āhāro...*

963 Sic acc. to Vasubandhu's Commentary. The Xyl. has *rati* (?).

964 Ibid.... *sa sambhāro dhīre sarvārtha-sādhakaḥ*.

965 Sūtrālaṃkāra XVIII. 41.

praveśyā' nimittāyā' nābhogāya sambhṛtiḥ

abhiṣekāya niṣṭhāyai dhīrāṇām upacīyate.

966 Tib. *mtshan-ma-med-pa = animitta*. Haribhadra's Abhisamayālaṃkāra-
kāraṇīya (MS. Minaev 43 b. 7—11. = Tg. MDO. VI 43 a. 6—8) has: —
niṣittam asādhāraṇaṃ rūpaṃ tattvena anyonyam eka-rūpatvān nāsty ato' grahaṇam
iti yvat. etad uktam. dharma-dhātu-rūpatayā anityatādi-sarvākārajñatā-

śūnyatānāṁ sva-svabhāvena niḥsvabhāvatatāt parasparam eṣāṁ aikāntmyena animittatva-nivṛttau rūpādya-ālambanam iti.

967 Tib. *lhun-gyis-grub-pa* = *anābhoga*.

968 Tib. *dbañ-bakur-ba* = *abhiṣeka*.

970 Tib. *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi-sa* = *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*.

971 Tib. *rin-du-son-ba* = *dūranigamā*.

972 Tib. *mi-gyo-ba* = *acalā*.

973 Tib. *legs-paḥi-blo-gros* = *sādhu-matī*.

974 Tg. MDO. XCIV. 139 a. 3.

975 Tib. *gzugs-kyi-sku* = *rūpa-kāya*.

976 Tib. *chos-sku* = *dharma-kāya*.

977 The king for whom Nāgārjuna wrote the Ratnāvalī. Cf. below.

978 Tg. MDO. XVII.

978a Tib. *miṣhan-mar-ḥdzin-pa* = *nimitta-grahaṇa*. Cf. *animitta* above.

978b Kg. MDO. V. 289a l sqq.

979 *ces-rab* = *prajñā*.

980 Ratnāvalī. Tg. MDO. XCIV. 147 b. 3—4, quoted in the Mādhyamika-vṛtti BB. 360. 2. — *śūnyatā-karuṇā-garbhaṁ keṣūṁ cid bodhi-sūdhanam*. Cf. also Abhisamayālaṁkāṛāloka MS. Minaev 24 a. (Tg. MDO. VI) — *śūnyatā-karuṇā-garbha-bodhi-cittam utpādyā* — having made the Creative Effort founded upon (the conception) of Relativity, endowed with the essence of Great Com-miseration.

981 XVI. 29. *sarve śuklā dharmā vikiṣipta-samahitobhayā jñeyāḥ dvābhyāṁ dvābhyāṁ dvābhyāṁ pāramitābhyāṁ pariṣṛitāḥ*.

982 Cf. Vasubandhu's Commentary on this verse.

983 Ibid. XVI. 5. *bhogesu cā nabhiratis tivrā gurutā dvaye akhedaḥ ca yogaḥ ca nirvikolpaḥ samastam idam uttamaṁ yānam*.

984 Vasubandhu says: — *ksāntiā virjyeṇa cā 'kheda dvaye yathākramaṁ duḥkhaḥ ca satte-asatte-irte kuśala-prayoge ca*.

985 Mahāyāna-saṁgraha-upamābandhana, the work of Asvabhāva. Tg. MDO. LVI. 306 a. 2—3.

986 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*.

987 Cf. Har 2012222 Abhisamayālaṁkāṛāloka (MS. Minaev 39 a. 11—16. = Tg. MDO. VI 39 a. 2) *grāva-ka-yāne'pi bodhisattva-dharmā dānādayo nirdiṣṭā eva' sy āpadyāḥ ka.... evaṁ manyate: grāvakādi-dharmāḥ tat-piṭake viśtareṇa abhikṣāḥ bodhisattva-dharmāḥ tu prasangataḥ*.

988 Tg. MDO. XCIV. 147 a. 7.

989 I. 9. *śūnyatāṁ nirvāṇāṁ anupāyavūt tathā' py anupadeśāt na grāva-ka-yāne'pi bodhisattva-dharmā dānādayo nirdiṣṭā eva' sy āpadyāḥ ka.... evaṁ manyate: grāvakādi-dharmāḥ tat-piṭake viśtareṇa abhikṣāḥ bodhisattva-dharmāḥ tu prasangataḥ*.

990 Tg. MDO. XCIV. 149 b. 2—3.

991 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*. The work of Candrakīrti. Tg. MDO. XXXII. 294 a. 2—3.

992 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*. 993 M. V. § 50.

994 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*.

995 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*.

996 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*.

997 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*.

998 Tib. *kye-ba-ka-ba* = *khodga-viṣṇu-kalpa*.

- 999 Tib. *ḥdod-chags-dañ-bral-baḥi-sa* = *vītarāga-bhūmi*.
 1000 Tib. *byas-pa-rtogs-paḥi-sa* = *kṛtāvi-bhūmi*.
 1001 Tib. *rañ-saṅs-rgyas-kyi-sa* = *pratyekabuddha-bhūmi*. Is not mentioned in the M. V.
 1002 Tib. *rab-tu-dgaḥ-ba* = *pramudīā*. The others are: —
 dri-ma-med-pa = *vimalā*.
 ḥod-byed-pa = *prabhākari*.
 ḥod-ḥphro-be-can = *arciṣmatī*.
 ḥin-tu-sbyaṅs-dkaḥ-ba = *sudurjayā*.
 mñon-du-gyur-pa = *abhimukhī*.
 riñ-du-son-ba = *dūraṅgamā*.
 mi-gyo-ba = *acalā*.
 lega-paḥi-blo-gros = *sādhu-matī*.
 chos-kyi-sprin = *dharma-meghā*. Cf. M. V. § 31.
 1003 This is detailed in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*lokā. Cf. Appendix.
 1004 Tib. *dad-paḥi-sa* = *śuddhābhūmi*.
 1005 Tib. *tshogs-lam* = *saṁbhāra-mārga*.
 1006 Tib. *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi-sa* = *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*.
 1007 Tib. *sbyor-lam* = *prayoga-mārga*.
 1008 Ed. Rahder p. 26. Tg. MDO LI 218 a. 6—7.
 1009 Tib. *rigs-kyi-sa* = *gotra-bhūmi*.
 1100 Tib. *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi-sa* = *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*.
 1011 Tib. *lhag-paḥi-bsam-pa-dag-paḥi-sa* = *śuddha-adhyāṣayikā-bh*.
 1012 Tib. *ñes-paḥi-sa* = *niyatā-bhūmi*.
 1013 Tib. *spyod-paḥi-sa* = *caryā-pratipatti-bhūmi*.
 1014 Tib. *spyod-pa-ñes-paḥi-sa* = *niyata-caryā-bh*.
 1015 Tib. *mthar-thug-par-ḥgro-baḥi-sa* = *niṣṭhā-gaṁana-bhūmi*.
 1016 Tib. *bsdu-ba-bñi* = *catvāri saṁgraha-vastūni*.
 1017 XVI. 72. *dānaṁ samaṁ priyākhyānam artha-caryā samūrthaiā taddeṣanā samādāya svānuvṛttibhir iṣyate*.
 1018 Tib. *sbyin-pa* = *dāna*.
 1019 *sñan-par-smra-ba* = *priya-vādītā*.
 1020 Tib. *don-spyod-pa* = *artha-caryā*.
 1021 Tib. *don-mthun-pa* = *samāna-arthatā*.
 1022 XX—XXI. 42. *mahāyāne' dhimuktūnām kīṇayāne ca dehinām dwayor āvarjanārthāya vinayāya ca deṣitāḥ caryāḥ catasro dhirāṇām yathā-sūtrānusārataḥ*.
 1023 Tib. *pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi-spyod-pa* = *pāramitā-caryā*.
 1024 Tib. *byaṅ-chub-kyi-phyogs-dañ-mthun-paḥi-spyod-pa* = *bodhipakṣa-caryā*.
 1025 *mñon-ḥes-kyi-spyod-pa* = *abhijñā-caryā*.
 1026 Tib. *Gtsug-na-rin-chen-gyi-mdo*. Kg. DKON. IV.
 1027 Tg. MDO. LI. 220 b. 7.
 1028 Tib. *mi-sad-pa* = *akṣaya* 1029 Tg. MDO. IX. 92 b. 3—4.
 1030 Tib. *bsam-pa* = *āṣaya*. 1031 Tib. *sbyor-ba* = *prayoga*.
 1032 Tib. *lhag-paḥi-bsam-pa* = *adhyāṣaya*.
 1033 Tib. *tshad-med-pa* = *apramāna*.
 1034 Tib. *mñon-par-ḥes-pa* = *abhijñā*.

- 1035 Tib. *so-sor-yañ-dag-par-rig-pa* = *pratisaṃvid*.
 1036 *dharma-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na pudgala-pratisaraṇena*. M. V. § 74.
 1037 *artha-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na vyañjana-pratisaraṇena*. M. V. § 74.
 1038 *nīārtha-sūtra-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na neyārtha-sūtra-pratisaraṇena*. Ibid.
 1039 *jñāna-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na vijñāna-pratisaraṇena*. Ibid.
 1040 Tib. *byaṅ-chub-kyi phyogs-dañ-mthun-paḥi-chos* = *bodhipakṣikā dharmāḥ*.
 1041 Tib. *ñi-gnas* = *śamatha*. 1042 Tib. *lhag-mthoṅ* = *vipaśyanā*.
 1043 Tib. *gsuñs* = *dhāraṇī*. 1044 Tib. *spobs-pa* = *pratibhāna*.
 1045 Tib. *ḥdus-byas* = *saṃskṛta*. 1046 Tib. *sag-bcas* = *sāśrava*.
 1047 Tib. *bdag-med-pa* = *anātmaka*.
 1048 Tib. *bgrod-geig-pa* = *ekāyana*.
 1049 Tib. *thabs-la-mkhas-pa* = *upāya-kauśalya*. 1050 Kg. DKON XVI.
 1051 Tib. Thub-pa dgoṅs-paḥi rgyan. The work of Abhayākara Gupta.
 Tg. MDO. XXIX.
 1052 I. 19, 20. *bhū-hema-candra-jvalanair nidhi-ratnākarārṇavaiḥ vajrācalaśadhi-mitrāiḥ cintāmaṇy-arka-gūtibhiḥ nṛpa-gaṇḍa-mahāmārga-yāna-prasavaṇodakaiḥ ānandokti-nadī-meghair dvāvīṃśati-vidhāḥ sa ca*.
 1053 *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka* MS. Minaev 25 b 4—2 7a. 1 (= Tg. MDO VI. 24 b. 1.—25 b. 8).
 1054 Tib. *ḥdun-pa* = *chanda*.
 1055 Tib. *chos-kyi-dgaḥ-ston* = *dharmoddāna*.
 1056 IV. 15—20. 1057 Cf. *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka* — Appendix.
 1058 Tib. *rnam-kun-rdzogs-sbyor-ba* = *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*. Cf. above p. 51.
 1059 Tib. *rtse-mo-ḥi-sbyor-ba* = *mūrdha-abhisamaya*.
 1060 Tib. *mthar-gyis-sbyor-ba* = *anupūro-abhisamaya*.
 1061 Tib. *skad-cig-maḥi-sbyor-ba* = *ekakṣaṇa-abhisambodha*.
 1063 Tib. *sgrub-pa* = *pratipatti*. The definition of *pratipatti* acc. to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka* (MS. Minaev. 63 b. 1. sqq.) is as follows: — *sā ca trisārojñatā-viśaye sāmānyena śukladharma-adhiṣṭhānā sarvākārābhisambodhā-dau caturvidhe' bhisamaye pratyabhisamayaṃ śaṭpāramitā-adhiṣṭhānā ca kriyā pratipattiḥ* — *pratipatti* is the action which, in regard of the three forms of omniscience (*sarvākāra-jñatā*, *mārga-jñatā* and *sarva-jñatā*), is, in general, founded upon all the virtuous qualities, and, as concerns the four methods of intuition, each of them taken respectively, — is based upon the six Transcendental Virtues.
 1063 Tib. *go-chaḥi-sgrub-pa* = *saṃnāha-pratipatti*.
 1064 Tib. *ḥjug-paḥi-sgrub-pa* = *prasthāna-pratipatti*.
 1065 Tib. *tshegs-kyi-sgrub-pa* = *sambhāra-pratipatti*.
 1066 Tib. *ñes-par-ḥbyun-baḥi-sgrub-pa* = *niryaṇa-pratipatti*. These four Actions are enlarged upon in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka*. Cf. Appendix.
 1067 Tib. *tshegs-lam* = *sambhāra-mārga*.
 1068 Tib. *sbyor-lam* = *prayoga-mārga*.
 1069 Tib. *mthoṅ-lam* = *darśana-mārga*.

1070 Tib. *sgom-lam* = *blāṣvanā-mārga*.

1071 Tib. *mthar-phyin-paḥi-lam*. Is the same as *mi-slob-lam* = *aṣaikṣa-mārga*.

1072 Tib. *sag-bcas* = *sāsrava*.

1073 Tib. *kun-rdzob* = *saṁvṛti*.

1074 Tg. MDO. LII. 199 a. 6.

1075 Ibid. 199 b. 1. — *rnam-par-dag-paḥi-lam* (= *viṣuddhi-mārga*) *nī mthoñ-ba dañ bsgom-pa dañ mthar-thug-paḥi-lam-gyis bedus-pa* — the Path of Complete Purification is contained in the Paths of Illumination, Concentration, and that of the Final Result.

1076 Tg. MDO. LVI. 110 a. 1.

1077 Tg. MDO LVII. 68b. 4, 5.

1078 Tg. MDO. LII.

1079 Tib. *kun-hbyuñ* = *samudaya*.

1080 Tib. *sag-med* = *anāsraṇa*.

1081 Tg. MDO LII. 270 a. 7—270 b. 3.

1082 Tib. *dran-pa-ñe-bar-gžag-pa* = *smṛty-upasthāna*.

1083 Tib. *nes-par-ḥbyed-paḥi-cha-dañ-mthun-pa* = *nirvedha-bhāgiya*. These are: —

dro-bar-gyur-pa or *drod* = *ūṣmagata*. Heat

rtse-mo = *mūrdhāna* — Climax.

bsod-pa = *kṣānti* — Steadfastness.

ḥjig-rten-paḥi-chos-kyi-mchog = *laukika-agra-dharma* — Highest Mundane Virtues.

1084 Tib. *ḥjig-rten-paḥi-chos-mchog* = *laukika-agra-dharma*.

1085 Tib. *bar-chad-med-lam*.

1086 Tib. *tshul-khrims-kyi-bslab-pa* = *adhiṣṭā-ṣikṣā*.

1087 Tib. *sems-kyi-bslab-pa* = *adhicitta-ṣikṣā*.

1088 Tib. *ṣes-rab-kyi-bslab-pa* = *adhiprajñā-ṣikṣā*.

1089 XVI. 7. — *Ḥikṣātrayaṁ adhiḥkṛtya ca ṣaṭ pāramitā jīnair samākhyātāḥ. ādyaḥ tisro dvedhā antya-dvayatas tīrṣṇu ekā*.

1090 Moral Discipline.

1091 Charity (*dāna*), Morality (*ṣīla*), and Patience (*kṣānti*). Cf. Vasubandhu on verse quoted.

1092 Concentration (*dhyāna*) and the Climax of Wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*).

1093 Mental Discipline and the Training in Highest Wisdom. Vasubandhu says: — *dvidhe'ty adhicittaṁ adhiprajñāṁ ca ṣikṣā sū antena dvayena saṁgrhitā yathākramaṁ dhyānena prajñayā ca*.

1094 That of Energy (*vīrya*).

1095 *tīrṣṇu api ṣikṣāsu ekā vīrya-pāramitā vedīṭavyā, sarvāsāṁ vīrya-sahā-yatvāt*. Ibid.

1096 Tib. *bsod-nams-bya-baḥi-dños-po* = *punya-kriyā-vastu*. Cf. above p. 16.

1097 M. V. § 43.

1098 Tib. *grāns-med-pa* = *asaṁkhyā*.

1099 Tg. MDO. LXIII.

1100 Tg. MDO. XXIX.

1101 Tib. *grāns-kyi-gnas*.

1102 M. V. § 249. 1—52.

1103 Tib. *khri* = *prabheda*.

1104 Tib. *ḥbum* = *lakṣa*.

1105 Tib. *sa-ya* = *atilakṣa*.

1106 Tib. *bye-ba* = *koṣi*.

1107 Tib. *duñ-phyur* = *madhya*.

1108 Tib. *ther-ḥbum* = *ayuta*.

1109 Tib. *ther-ḥbum-chen-po* = *mahāyuta*.

1110 Tib. *khrag-khrig* = *nayuta*.

1111 Tib. *khrag-khrig-chen-po* = *mahānayuta*.

- 1112 Tib. *reb-bkram* = *prasuta*.
 1113 Tib. *reb-bkram-chen-po* = *mahāprasuta*.
 1114 Tib. *gtams* = *kaṁkara*.
 1115 Tib. *gtams-chen-po* = *mahākaṁkara*.
 1116 Tib. *dkrigs* = *bimbara*.
 1117 Tib. *dkrigs-chen-po* = *mahābimbara*.
 1118 Tib. *mi-hkhrugs-pa* = *akṣobhya*.
 1119 Tib. *mi-hkhrugs-pa-chen-po* = *mahākṣobhya*.
 1120 Tib. *khyad-phyin* = *vivāha*.
 1121 Tib. *khyad-phyin-chen-po* = *mahāvivāha*.
 1122 Tib. *pañ-stein* = *utsanga*.
 1123 Tib. *pañ-stein-chen-po* = *mahotsanga*.
 1124 Tib. *ded-ḥdren* = *vāhana*.
 1125 Tib. *ded-ḥdren-chen-po* = *mahāvāhana*.
 1126 Tib. *mtshah-snañ* = *tiṣṭha*.
 1127 Tib. *mtshah-snañ-chen-po* = *mahātiṣṭha*.
 1128 Tib. *rgyu-rig* = *hetu*.
 1129 Tib. *rgyu-rig-chen-po* = *mahāhetu*.
 1130 Tib. *ḥod-mdzes* = *karabha*.
 1131 Tib. *ḥod-mdzes-chen-po* = *mahākarabha*.
 1132 Tib. *dbañ-po* = *indra*. 1133 Tib. *dbañ-chen* = *mahendra*.
 1134 Tib. *legs-phyin* = *samāpta*.
 1135 Tib. *legs-phyin-chen-po* = *mahāsamāpta*.
 1136 Tib. *rtog-ḥgro* = *gati*. 1137 Tib. *rtog-ḥgro-chen-po* = *mahāgati*.
 1138 Tib. *ḥbyin-rdul* = *bimbarajaḥ*.
 1139 Tib. *ḥbyin-rdul-chen-po* = *mahābimbarajaḥ*.
 1140 Tib. *rgya-rtags* = *mudrā*.
 1141 Tib. *rgya-rtags-chen-po* = *mahāmudrā*.
 1142 Tib. *stobs-ḥkhor* = *bala*.
 1143 Tib. *stobs-ḥkhor-chen-po* = *mahābala*.
 1144 Tib. *brda-ḥes* = *saṁjñā*.
 1145 Tib. *brda-ḥes-chen-po* = *mahāsaṁjñā*.
 1146 Tib. *rnam-ḥbyuñ* = *vibhūta*.
 1147 Tib. *rnam-ḥbyuñ-chen-po* = *mahāvibhūta*.
 1148 Tib. *stobs-mig* = *balākṣa*.
 1149 Tib. *stobs-mig-chen-po* = *mahābalākṣa*.
 1150 Tib. *grañs-med* = *asamkhyā*.
 1152 Their names are: — *apramāṇa*, *aprameya*, *aparimīta*, *aparimāṇa*,
atulya, *amāpya*, *acintya*, *anabhilāpya*.
 1153 Tg. MDO. LI. 212 b. 2—4 sqq. 1154 The Abhisam. ālokā.
 1155 *goñs-pa-can* = *drañ-don* = *neyārtha*.
 1156 *ñes-don* = *nūtārtha*. 1157 *rab-tu-dgaḥ-pa* = *pramuditā*.
 1158 *dri-ma-med-pa* = *vimalā*. 1159 *riñ-du-soñ-ba* = *dūramgamā*.
 1160 *mī-gyo-ba* = *acalā*.
 1161 *sgra-ji-bḥin-pa* = *yathārūta*. Is the same as *ñes-don* = *nūtārtha*.
 1162 *chos-kyi-sprin* = *dharma-meghā*. Cf. Ratnāvalī Tg. MDO. XCIV.
 150 a. 8—b. 1. *bcu-pa-chos-kyi-sprin-yin-te*, *dam-pa chos-kyi char ḥbobs-phyir*.
byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥ sañs-rgyas-kyi ḥod-xer-dag-gis dbaṅ-bakur phyir. — The

tenth stage is that of the Clouds of the Truth. It is (called so), because the rain of the Highest Truth descends upon the Saints and the Bodhisattvas are consecrated with the Light of the Buddha.

1163 Ed. Lefmann 10. 4, 5. 1164 Tg. MDO. XC.

1165 Sūtrālaṃkāra XIV. 29.

*sā' syā' śraya-parāvṛtṭiḥ prathamā bhūmir iṣyate.
ameyaīś cā' sya sā kalpaiḥ suviśuddhiṃ nigacchati.*

1166 That is one immeasurable period.

1167 Ibid. XIV. 44. *bhāvanāyāś ca niryāṇaṃ dvayasamkhyā-samāptiś.*

1168 Kg. MDO. XX.

1169 Tib. Sgrib-pa-thams-cad-rnam-par-sel-ba. Cf. M. V. § 23. 7.

1170 Tg. MDO. LVI. 36 b. 1—2.

1171 Tib. Theg-pa-chen-po-bsdus-paḥi-bḥad-sbyar. The work of Asva-bhāva. Tg. MDO. LVI. 316 b. 4—8.

1172 *kalyāṇamitra.* 1173 Tib. *mihoṅ-paḥi chos = dṛṣṭa-dharma.*

1174 Tg. MDO. LI. 212 a. 6—7.

1175 Tib. *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi-sa = adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi.*

1176 Tg. MDO. LV. 1177 Tg. MDO. LI. 189 a. 1—2.

1178 Tg. MDO. LVII. 110 a. 1—2.

1179 Munimatālaṃkāra Tg. MDO. XXIX.

1180 Tg. MDO. LII.

1181 Tib. Dbu-ma-pa Chos-kyi-bḥes-gñen. The author of the Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra called Prasphuṭa-padā. Tg. MDO. VIII. The passage quoted is f. 70 a. 3—4.

1182 Kg. DKON. II. 1183 Tib. Mdzes-par-snañ-ba.

1184 Tib. Ḥdzam-bu-chu-boḥi-gser. 1185 Tib. Dgra-thul.

1186 Tib. Bzañ-len-ldan.

1187 Tib. *mi-skye-baḥi-chos-la-bzod-pa = anupattika-dharma-kṣānti.* Cf. Mādḥ. vṛtti 362. note 3.

1188 Cf. Çikṣāsamuccaya BB. 17. 1 sqq.

1189 Tib. Bya-rgod-phuñ-po = Ghrḍhrakūṭa. 1190 Cf. above p. 30.

1191 The two latter points are enlarged upon in the Uttaratantra Tg. MDO. XLIV.

1192 Kg. MDO. XXIV. 37a 5 sqq.

1193 Tib. *chos-kyi-dbyiñs-rnam-par-dag-pa = dharma-dhātu-viśuddhi.* M. V. § 4. 6.

1194 Tib. *me-loñ-ka-buḥi-ye-ces = ādarśa-jñāna.*

1195 Tib. *mñam-pa-ñid-ye-ces = samatā-jñāna.*

1196 Tib. *so-sor-rtog-paḥi-ye-ces = pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna.*

1197 Tib. *bya-ba-sgrub-paḥi-ye-ces = kṛtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna.* M. V. § 5 and Sūtrālaṃkāra IX 67.

1198 Cf. Abhisamayālaṃkāra I. 17.

*svābhāvikaḥ sasambhogo nairmāṇiko' paras tathā
dharma-kāyaḥ sakāritraś caturdhā samudīritaḥ.*

1199 IX. 59, 60. *svabhāva-dharma-sambhoga-nirmāṇair bhinnavṛttikaḥ
dharma-dhātur viśuddho' yañ buddhānāñ samudākṛtaḥ
svābhāviko' tha sambhogaḥ kāyo nairmāṇiko' paraḥ
kāyabhedā hi buddhānāñ prathamas tu dvayaśrayaḥ.*

1200 Tib. *mi-gnas-paḥi-mya-nan-las-ḥdas-pa* = *apratīṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*. Is defined as: *srid-ḥir-mi-gnas-pa* = *bhave ṣame ca na pratīṣṭhitaḥ*.

1201 IX. 63. *ameyaṁ buddha-nirmāṇaṁ kāyo nairmāṇiko mataḥ*
dvayor dvayārtha-saṃpattiḥ sarvākārā pratīṣṭhitā.

1202 The Apparitional Body and the Body of Bliss. Vasubandhu comments this verse as follows: — *sāmbhogikāḥ (kāyaḥ) svārtha-saṃpatti-lakṣaṇāḥ, nairmāṇikāḥ parārtha-saṃpatti-lakṣaṇāḥ. evāṁ dvayārtha-saṃpattir yathākramāṁ dvayor pratīṣṭhitā sāmbhogike ca kāye nairmāṇike ca*.

1203 Cf. Abhisamayālaṅkāra VIII, 1.

sarvākāra-viśuddhiṁ ye dharmāḥ prāptā nirāsravāḥ

svābhāviko munēḥ kāyas teṣāṁ prakṛti-lakṣaṇāḥ —

and Haribhadra thereon (MS. Minaev 379 b. 13—380 a. 2) — *yathārutatve tokottarāṇ evā' nāsrava-dharmāṇ abhyupagamyā teṣāṁ yā prakṛtir anutpādātā lallakṣaṇāḥ sa svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ sa eva dharmatā-kāyo dharmakāya iti bhōva-pratyaya-lopo vyapadiṣyate*.

1204 Transbaikalian (Aga Monastery) Edition 4 a. 4. This work is wanting in the Peking Tangyur.

1205 Cf. the following very characteristic verse of the Uttaratantra (Tg. MDO. XLIV. 56 a 5—6) —

rdzogs-saṅs (rdzogs-paḥi-saṅs-rgyas) sku-ni ḥphro-phyir daṅ

de-bḥin-ñid dbyer-med-phyir daṅ

rigs-yod-phyir-na lus-can kun

rtag-tu saṅs-rgyas śhīṅ-po-can. "As the Body of the Supreme Buddha

manifests itself (in everything), as it does not differ from the Absolute, and as there exists the Germ (of Enlightenment), every living being is for ever and anon possessed of the Essence of Buddhahood".

1206 Cf. below.

1207 IX. 75 b. *citrāprameyācintyaḥ ca sarvasattvārtha-kāraḥ (kṛtyanu-ṣṭhāna jñānaṁ)*.

1208 IX. 65. *tribhiḥ kāyais tu vijñeyo buddhānāṁ kāya-saṅgrahaḥ*

sācraṇaḥ svaparārtho yas tribhiḥ kāyair nidarṣitaḥ.

1209 Cf. Uttaratantra, Tg. MDO. XLIV. 55 a. — *gḥan-gyi-rkyen-gyis* (= *para-pratyayena*) *rtogs-min-pa* (*anavagamyāḥ*) not cognisable by other factors, — and Āryāśaṅga thereon (Uttaratantrabhāṣya, Ibid. 78 b. 4—5.) *raṅ-byuṅ-gi-ye-ṣes-kyis rtogs-par-bya-baḥi-phyir rtogs-par-bya-ba-ma-yin-no*. (The Buddha is not to be cognised by other factors, since he may be perceived exclusively by the Divine Wisdom, originated from Himself).

1210 Tg. MDO. XCIV. 150 a. 8—b. 2.

1211 Tib. *dbaṅ-phyug-chen-po* = *maheṣvara*. Is here a synonym of the Body of Bliss.

1212 Prasphuṭapadā, Tg. MDO. VIII. 62 b. 3.

1213 Tg. MDO XXXII. 291 b. 6—7.

1214 Tib. *rgyal-sras* = *jināmaja*. An epithet of the Bodhisattvas.

1215 Tib. *dro-bar-gyur-ba* or *drod* = *ūṣmagata*. Is the first of the four degrees conducive to Illumination (*nirvedha-bhāgiya*). Cf. Haribhadra (MS. Minaev 41 a. 16—41 b. 1) — *nirvikalpa-jñāna-agni-pūrvarūpatvād ūṣmagatam voṣmagatam*. — It is (called) the Degree of Heat being like the Heat that precedes the fire of undifferentiated knowledge.

1216 XIV. 47.

1217 VIII. 9. *paripākam gate hetau yasya yasya yadā yadā*
hitam bhavati kartavyam prathate tasya tasya sah.

The Xyl. has for *rgyu-ni yon-su-smin-gyur-nas* (*paripākam gate hetau*) — *gañ-la gañ-ñdul-la snañ-ste*(?). Haribhadra explains this verse as follows: — (MS. Minaev 381 a. 11—14) — *yasya sattvasya yasmin kāle dharmadēṣanādī kriyamānaṃ yatra pathyam bhavati tadā asya artha-karaṇāya pūrva-praṇidhāna-samṛddhyā tattatpratibhāsa-ānūrūpyeṇa artha-kriyākaro bhagavān.* — When some living being requires the explanation of the Doctrine, or some other kind of help, — then the Lord, by the force of his previous vows, fulfills the projects of this living being, manifesting Himself in this or that form.

1218 Corr. *gdul-bya-min-paḥam skal-pa med-paḥi* (= *abhavya*) *gdul-bya-rnams-la mi-snañ-ste* for *gdul-bya-min-paḥam mi-snañ-bas gdul-bya-rnams-la* etc. Cf. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* VIII. 10: —

varṣaty api hi parjanye nai'vā 'bijaṃ prarohati
samutpāde' pi buddhānām nā' bhavyo bhadram aṣnute.

1219 IX. 16. *yatho' dabhājane bhinne candra-bimbaṃ na dṛṣyate.*
tathā duṣṭeṣu satteṣu buddha-bimbaṃ na dṛṣyate.

1220 Tib. *ñdus-byas* = *samskṛta*.

1221 Tib. *ñdus-ma-byas* = *asamskṛta*.

1222 Prasphuṭapadā. Tg. MDO. VIII. 112 a. 3.

1223 Tib. *hog-min.* 1224 Tib. *Bkas-bcad-bar-ba* (?).

1225 Tib. *gnas-gtsaṅ-ma*.

1226 Ed. Bunyiu Nanjio 269. 4—7: *Akaniṣṭha-bhavane divye sarva-pāpa-vivarjite tatra budhyanti sambuddhā nirmittas tv iha budhyate.* Acc. to Tib. . . . *divye nānā-ratna-virājite.*

1227 Tib. *dbaṅ-phyug-chen-poḥi-gnas* = *Mahā-mahācvara-āyatana*. M. V. § 131. 7.

1228 Prasphuṭapadā, Tg. MDO. VIII. 97 a. 6—8.

1229 Tib. *gñi-daṅ-sñiñ-po-me-tog-gis-brgyan-paḥi-ñiñ.*

1230 Tib. *gliṇ-bñi-pa* = *caturdvīpaka* (*lokadhātu*).

1231 Tib. *ston-gsum* = *trisāhasra*.

1232 Tib. *rab-ñbyam-gyi-mtshams-sbyor-ba*

1233 Tib. *rab-ñbyam-gyi-rgyud.*

1233a Tib. *rab-ñbyam-gyi-rgyud-bar-pa.*

1234 Tib. *rnām-par-snañ-mdzad* or *rnām-snañ.*

1235 *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa* M. V. § 17.

1236 *anuvyañjana*. Ibid. § 18.

1237 For all these passages cf. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* loka (MS. Minaev 381 b. 15—382 a. 3.) — *daṣa-bhūmi-praviṣṭa-mahābodhisattvair saha parama-anavadya-mahāyāna-dharma-sambhoga-prīti-sukha-upabhogāt sambhogiko' yaṃ kāyo dvatrimśal-lakṣaṇa-aṣṭy-anuvyañjana-virājita-gātre rūpa-kāya-svabhāvo... buddhasya bhagavato grāhyaḥ.*

1238 IX. 64. *ñilpa-janma-mahābodhi-sadā-nirvāṇa-darśanañ*
buddha-nirmāṇa-kāyo' yaṃ mahopāyo vimocane.

(The text edited by Prof. S. Lévi has: *mahāmāyo vimocane*?)

1239 Tib. *las-thams-cad-pa.*

- 1240 IX. 26. *buddhānām amale dhātāu nai'katā bahutā na ca ākāṣavad adehatvāt purva-dehānusārataḥ.*
- 1241 Ibid. IX. 77. *gotrabhedād avaiyānīhyāt sākalyād apy anādītaḥ abhedān nai' ka-buddhatvaṁ bahutvaṁ cā' malācraḥ.*
- 1242 Prasphuṭapadā, Tg. MDO. VIII 121 a. 2—3.
- 1243 Tib. dgañ-ldan. 1244 Tg. MDO. XCIV.
- 1245 Tib. skra-can.
- 1246 A passage, similar to that quoted, occurs in Dharmamitra's Prasphuṭapadā Tg. MDO. VIII. 121 a. 8 sqq. *ḥdir-chos-nub-par ston-pa yañ gdul-bya rab-tu-ma-gus-pa-dag-gi chos dan chos-smra-ba-la rten-paḥi sdig-pa mi-ḥbyuñ-bar-bya-baḥi-phyir sañs-rgyas-kyi mdzad-pa-chen-po-ste.*
- 1247 The two last stanzas are omitted in the Xyl. Their Tibetan text is as follows:
- sems-can-rnams-ni gdul-baḥi-phyir
mya-nan-ḥdas-la-sogs-par ston.*
- The Sanscrit text is: — (Abhisam. ālokā MS. Minaev 103a 11—12)
- na Buddho parinirvāti na ca dharmo' ntardhīyate
sattvānām paripākāya nirvāṇam tū' padarçayet.*
- 1248 IV. 20. *tuṣṭita-bhavana-vāsūdi-saṁdarçanataḥ.*
- 1249 Haribhadra on Abhisamayālaṁkāra I. 20. MS. Minaev. 27 a. 1.
- 1250 Cf. below. 1251 Tg. MDO. XXXIX, XL, XLI.
- 1252 Kg. DKON. IV. 33a 5 sqq.
- 1253 B. B. 323. 7, 8 (Tathāgata-āyus-pramāṇa-parivarta).
- 1254 Ed. Bunyiu Nanjio 361. 5, 6 (v. 774): *Kāmadhātāu tathā 'rūpye na vai Buddho vibudhyate, rūpadhātū-akaniṣṭheṣu vītarāgeṣu budhyate.*
- 1255 Kg. MDO. VI. 17 a 6 sqq. 1256 Tg. MDO. XLIV. 65 a. 5—8.
- 1257 Tg. MDO. LVIII. 129 b. 4—5.
- 1258 Tg. MDO. LX 160 b. 8—161 a. 4 (condensed).
- 1259 Tib. Riñ-ḥphur.
- 1260 Tg. MDO. LVI 130 a. 6—8.
- 1261 Tg. MDO. LVII. 109 b. 8—110 a. 1.
- 1262 Lalita-Vistara. Ed. Lefmann, 10. 10, 11.
- 1263 Ibid. 12. 6. 7.

Das Uttaratantram.

Über das für die Kenntnis des späteren Buddhismus hervorragend wichtige Uttaratantra (vgl. Jewelry of Scripture p. 21 u. Anm. 166) schreibt unterm 15. IV. 1930 Herr Dr. Obermiller an Herrn Prof. H. Jacobi:

Im Winter 28—29 beschäftigte ich mich hauptsächlich mit der Ergründung des Abhisamayālaṁkāra; zu diesem Zweck benutzte ich den Kommentar von Haribhadra (Abhisamayālaṁkāra-ālokā) und die großen tibetischen Kompendien von Bu-ton, Tsoñ-

kha-pa und Jam-yañ-žad-pa. Der ganze Inhalt des Abhisamayālamkāra wird von den genannten Werken in 8 Hauptteile und 70 kleinere eingeteilt. Eins von den letzteren ist der Gotra-dhātu-tathāgata-garbha, welches als die Stütze oder das Fundament der ganzen Tätigkeit des Bodhisattva (pratipatter ādhārah) bezeichnet wird. Aus den Kommentaren erweist sich, daß dieses gotra oder dhātu als ein besonderes Element anzusehen ist, welches die Verwandlung (parāvṛtti) der Eigenschaften des gewöhnlichen Wesens in die des Buddha bewirkt. Dieses wird von den beiden Mahāyānistischen Schulen, den Yogācāra und Mādhyamika anerkannt. Ich gewann für dieses Thema ein besonderes Interesse und widmete mich während meines Aufenthalts in Transbaikalien im Sommer 1929 dem speziellen Studium entsprechender Teile der Kommentare des Tsoñ-kha-pa und Jam-yañ-žad-pa. Dabei erwies sich, daß die Hauptquelle zur Erforschung der Lehre vom gotra oder dhātu in dem Uttarantra, dem letzten der sogenannten 5 Werke Maitreyas, zu suchen ist. Ich unternahm daher das Studium dieses Werkes mit dem Abt (Schiretū) des buddh. Klosters Dgah-lan-dar-rgyas-gliñ, welcher circa 15 Jahre in Tibet studiert hat und in Transbaikalien für einen gründlichen Kenner dieses Zweiges der buddh. Literatur gilt. Dieses Studium hatte zur Folge eine englische Übersetzung des Uttarantra, die ich in diesem Winter zum Druck vorbereitet habe. Das Werk scheint mir von größter Wichtigkeit zu sein, als eine gründliche Darlegung der Theorie vom gotra-dhātu-tathāgata-garbha. Leider steht uns das Sanskrit-Original nicht zur Verfügung; ich mußte mich daher mit der tibetischen Übersetzung des mūla und Āryāsaṅga's Vyākhyā sowie mit dem ausführlichen Kommentar von Tsoñ-kha-pa's Schüler Dar-ma-rin-chen (Gyal-tshabh) begnügen. Nichtsdestoweniger ermöglichte der überaus klare Text der tibetischen Übersetzung eine ziemlich getreue Übertragung derselben ins Englische, welche nun vollständig fertig ist und auf eine Gelegenheit gedruckt zu werden wartet.

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Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus

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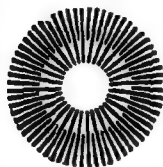
Bu-ston

II. Part

The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet

Translated from Tibetan by

Dr. E. Obermiller



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The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet

by

Bu-ston

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Introduction

The present volume contains the translation of the 2d Part of Bu-ton's History of Buddhism, i. e. of the historical part proper. The latter begins with the Life of the Buddha and ends with an account of the work carried out by the Tibetan Lotsavas and Indian Paṇḍits of Bu-ton's own period and immediately before him (XII and XIII Cent.), viz. the translation of the Buddhist kanonical texts and exegetical treatises from the Sanskrit. We have here, just as in the 1st Part, numerous quotations from both *sūtra* and *gāstra*. Owing to this it becomes possible to get a clear aspect of the principal sources from which Bu-ton has compiled his History, and which have likewise later on served as a basis for the work of Tārānātha. —

Bu-ton's History of Buddhism proper is divided into the following principal parts: —

I. The Life of the Buddha Çākya-muni, the narrative of the so-called 12 Acts of the Buddha (*mdzad-pa bcu-gñis*), or rather of the 12 principal events in his life. The account of the first eleven, ending with the first "Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine" (*chos-kyi hkhor-lo bskor-ba* = *dharma-cakra-pravṛtana*) represents a summary of the *Lalita-vistara-sūtra* and contains numerous verses from it. Then, after a short indication of the Second and the Third Swings (i. e. of the Scripture of the intermediate and the later period), there follows the story of the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa. It is taken from the *Vinaya-kṣudraka* (tib. *Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs*, Kangyur ḤDUL, XI), being a summary of the corresponding part of the latter.

II. The Rehearsals of the Buddhist Scripture. This part begins with the account of the first Rehearsal (Mahākāçyapa, Ānanda, Upāli), of the death of Kāçyapa and Ānanda, and of the second Rehearsal (Yaças, Kubjita, Revata, etc.). The only source here is likewise the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*, the corresponding text of which is rendered in an abridged form, all the verses being

quoted at full length. As concerns the 3^d Rehearsal and the 18 Sects, the texts referred to on this subject are: —

1. The *Nikāya-bheda-upadarçana-saṅgraha* of Vinītadeva (Tg. MDO. XC.).
2. The *Bhikṣu-varṣāgra-prcchā* of Padmākaraghoṣa (Ibid).
3. The *Prabhāvatī* of Çākyaprabha. (Tg. MDO. LXXXIX.)
4. The *Tarkajvālā* of Bhāvaviveka. (Tg. MDO. XIX.)

The latter work, though not directly mentioned, represents the principal source. Some passages of it are fully contained in Buton's text. —

III. The different theories concerning the time of duration of the Buddhist Doctrine. Here we have quotations from the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*, from Vasubandhu's Commentary on the *Akṣayamati-nirdeça-sūtra* (Tg. MDO. XXXV.), the Commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* (Tg. MDO. XVI), the Commentary on the 3 *Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtras* (Tg. MDO. XIV), etc. We have likewise the chronological calculations of the Sa-skya Paṇḍita and others concerning the time that has passed since the death of the Buddha.

IV. The "prophecies" concerning the persons that have furthered the spread of Buddhism. The most important are those contained in the *Lankāvatāra*, the *Mahā-karuṇā-puṇḍarīka* (Kg. MDO. VI), and the *Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra*. (Kg. RGYUD. XI. Narthañ edition, or XII. Derge edition) A separate prophecy referring to the Tantric Ācāryas, that of the *Kālacakra-uttaratantra* (Kg. RG YUD. I) and the *Mahāśāla-tantra-rāja* (Kg. RGYUD. V), is given at the end of this part. It is especially the *Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra* which is to be regarded as a source of the greatest importance, not only for the History of Buddhism, but for the historiography of India in general. The most interesting is that part of it which refers to the Indian kings, — Açoka, Virasena, Nanda, Candragupta, etc. Noteworthy is the passage concerning Pāṇini who is spoken of as the friend of the king Nanda. — A detailed analysis of the historically important parts of all these texts will be published by me before long. —

V. The biographies of the celebrated Buddhist teachers, viz. Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candragomin, Candrakīrti, Āryāsanga, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, Haribhadra, Çāntideva, etc. Each of these is followed by a list of the works composed by the teacher in question. An indi-

cation of the volumes of the Tangyur (Sūtra and Tantra) in which the works are contained is always given in the notes.

VI. A short summary of the history of the grammatical literature, or rather of the legends referring to it, viz. the stories about Bṛhaspati, Pāṇini, Sarvavarman (*alias* Çarvavarman, Saptavarman, or Içvaravarman), etc. After that comes an enumeration of the kanonical texts (Sūtra and Tantra) which have been lost or have not been translated into Tibetan. —

VII. Prophecies of an apocalyptic character foretelling the disappearance of the Buddhist Doctrine. Among these, that of the *Candragarbha-paripṛcchā* is quoted at full length with a very few abbreviations. This prophecy is treated in the Kangyur as a separate work (Kg. MDO. XXXII). In this place the text of the Lhasa block-print of Bu-ton's History contains a great number of mistakes in the proper names, which are sometimes quite illegible (e. g. Akandradha instead of Agnidatta!). A correct rendering of these names has been made possible with the help of the Derge (Sde-dge) edition of the Kangyur.

VIII. The History of Buddhism in Tibet. It begins with the genealogy of the early legendary Tibetan kings, commencing with Nā-ṭhi-tsen-po. Next come the legends about Tho-tho-ri-fien-tsen and Sroṅ-tsen-gam-po. These are followed by a more detailed account concerning the spread of Buddhism in Tibet during the reign of Ṭhi-sroṅ-de-tsen, viz. the activity of Çāntirakṣita (called the "Ācārya Bodhisattva"), the selection of the first 7 Tibetan monks [*Sad-mi mi bdun*], the dispute between the adherents of Kamalaçīla and of the Chinese Hva-çaṅ Mahāyāna (the Tsen-min and the Tōn-mūn), etc. Then we have a brief account of the reign of Ral-pa-can, of the persecution by Laṅ-dar-ma, and of the restauration of the Church by the 10 monks of Ü and Tsaṅ, an indication of the monasteries and monastic sections founded by the said monks and their pupils and, finally, a narrative of the events that followed, viz. the arrival of Dipaṃkaraçrijñāna (Atiça) in Tibet and the subsequent propagation of Buddhism. In particular we have an enumeration of the texts translated by some of the Lotsavas from the Sanskrit. It may be noted that, with very few exceptions, the texts mentioned belong to the Tantric parts of the Kangyur and Tangyur. Here ends the history proper. It is followed by a list containing the names of all the Paṇḍits and Lotsavas who have acted in Tibet, beginning with Çāntirakṣita

and Padmasambhava. With it ends the 3d Chapter (*lohu*) of Bu-ton's text: "The History of the Doctrine in Tibet".

The last part is a systematical Index of all the Buddhist literature which has been translated from the Sanskrit by the Lotsavas and Paṇḍits. It is divided into 1. Sūtra Scripture (including the Vinaya, Prajñāpāramitā, Avatamsaka, Ratnakūṭa, and Sūtra sections of the Kangyur), 2. Sūtra Exegesis, 3. Tantra Scripture, and 4. Tantra Exegesis. This Index, as well as the list of the Lotsavas and Paṇḍits, arranged in the alphabetical order, will form a separate 3d part which is to contain numerous other Indices and Appendices besides.

The part now published, similar to the first, includes a great number of smaller chapters and subdivisions. The system according to which these have been designated, is the same as in the first part, and is directly connected with the latter. A full table of the contents is given at the end. —

I may now be permitted to express my deepest gratitude to my revered teacher Professor Th. Stcherbatsky and Professor M. Walleser whose kind attention has made it possible for this work to appear in press. My deepest thanks are likewise due to the Tshan-ñid Lama Chö-ḍag (Chos-grags = Dharmakīrti) Vañchenu, now Abbot of the Kijinge Monastery, for his kind assistance in my study of this part of Bu-ton's text during the summer of 1927, in Transbaikalia. —

E. Obermiller.

The Life of the Buddha

(Description of the 12 acts of the Buddha)¹⁾.

1 and 2. [The Existence of the Bodhisattva in the Form of Çvetaketu and his Descent from the Abode of Tuṣita.]

Twelve years before the Bodhisattva was to enter (his mother's) womb, the sons of the gods belonging to the Pu reRegion²⁾, having miraculously assumed the form of Brāhmaṇas, proclaimed aloud that if (the Bodhisattva) would be conceived in the womb, — in the way that is to be described below, — he would become a universal monarch³⁾ or a Buddha, endowed with the characteristic features and marks (of the super-man)⁴⁾. And (other similar gods) addressed the Pratyekabuddhas (in Jambudvīpa) as follows: — In 12 years the Bodhisattva will become conceived in the womb; therefore you must abandon this land (since there is nothing more for you to do here)⁵⁾. — This was heard by the Pratyekabuddha Mātanga⁶⁾ who was abiding on the hill Golāṅgulaparivartana⁷⁾, near Rājagrha, and he passed away into Nirvāṇa, having left his footprints on a stone. At Vārāṇasī, 500 Pratyekabuddhas gave themselves up to the element of fire⁸⁾. And, after (they were consumed and) had passed away, their ashes fell (on the earth). Thencefrom that place received the name of Rṣipātana, — “the place where the Sages fell”.

¹⁾ The following narrative of the 12 acts of the Buddha is a summary of the contents of the Lalita-vistara-sūtra (tib. Rgya-cher-rol-paḥl-mdo).

²⁾ Tib. *gnas-gtsaṅ-maḥi lhaḥi-bu-rnams* = *çuddha-āvāsa-kāyikā devaputrāḥ*.

³⁾ *ñkhor-los-bsgyur-rgyal* = *cakravartī-rāja*.

⁴⁾ *skyes-bu-chen-poḥi mtshan* = *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa* and *dpe-byad* = *anuvyañjana*.

⁵⁾ Lalita-vistara 18. 12 — *riñcata mārṣā buddha-kṣetram. ito dvādaça-vatsare bodhisattvo mātuh kuḥṣim avakramisyati*.

⁶⁾ Glan-po.

⁷⁾ Mjug-ma-bsgyur-baḥl ri. Lal.-vist. 18. 14 sqq.

⁸⁾ *maḥi kham-la žugs* = *tejo-dhātum samāpadya*. Lal.-vist. 18. 20 sqq.

Now (the Bodhisattva residing in the abode of Tuṣita) [62 a.], having reflected over the meaning of the words of exhortation (which he had heard from the sounds of celestial music), became engaged in 4 kinds of contemplation,⁹⁾ viz. that his future life was to dure a 100 years (1), that Jambudvīpa was to be the continent (in which he would appear) (2), that Central India¹⁰⁾ was to be the country (where he would be born) (3), and that his caste was to be the royal one¹¹⁾ (4). Otherwise, in accordance with Scripture, he contemplated 5 points: — his caste, descent, native country, duration of life, and the woman (that would be his spouse). Having contemplated the world (of his future existence) in these 4 or 5 aspects, he commenced his descent into the human world. He said to the gods (of Tuṣita)¹²⁾: — O friends, there are 108 media for the perception of the Truth, which the Bodhisattva, departing for a future existence, has to demonstrate. O friends, faith¹³⁾ is a means for the perception of the Truth. It is necessary, in order that the thoughts might never become diverted from the Truth¹⁴⁾. The serenity (of the mind) is a means for the perception of the Truth, since (in order to obtain such a perception), the mind that was agitated and turbid must become pure and serene¹⁵⁾. — (So he continued) up to: — The position of one who is consecrated for Buddhahood) is a medium for the perception of the Truth. This state dures from the time of (the Bodhisattva's) entering the womb¹⁶⁾ and up to that of his making manifest the great Nirvāṇa. —

When, from the high region of Tuṣita,
The Leader, the Lion of Men made his departure,
He spoke to the gods the following words: —
O friends, cease to lead a careless life¹⁷⁾!

⁹⁾ Lal.-vist. 19. 6 sqq. — *catvāri mahāvilocitūāni vilokayati sma.*

¹⁰⁾ *yul-dbus = madhya-deśa.*

¹¹⁾ Or that of the Kṣatriyas. — tib. *rgyal-rigs.*

¹²⁾ Lal.-vist. 31. 10 sqq. — *aṣṭottaram idaṁ mārṣā dharmāloka-mukham-
catam.* ¹³⁾ *dad-pa = śradhā.*

¹⁴⁾ Lal.-vist. 31. 12—13 — *śradhā mārṣā dharmāloka-mukham abhedya-
āśayaīyāi saṁvartate.*

¹⁵⁾ Ibid. — *prasādo dharmāloka-mukham avila-citta-prasādanatāyāi saṁ-
vartate.* ¹⁶⁾ *mhal-du-ḥjug-pa = garbha-avakrānti.*

¹⁷⁾ Lal.-vist. 36. 14—15. —

*Tuṣita-vara-bhavana-nīlayād yadā cyavati nūyakaḥ puruṣa-siṁhaḥ /
āmantrayate devān pramādam akhilān viśarjayata //*

Having delivered these and similar sermons, he placed the diadem of precious jewels on the head of Maitreya¹⁹⁾ and said: — O friends, I am now departing for Jambudvīpa in order to become a Buddha. Henceforth Maitreya shall expound the Doctrine to you¹⁹⁾. As he uttered these words, the gods became full of grief and spoke: —

O Highest of beings, if thou shalt not reside here,
This abode of Tuṣita will lose all its splendour^{19a)}.

And: O Bodhisattva, now (the living beings in) that continent of Jambudvīpa are deceived by the 18 (heretical) teachers who are: Pūraṇa Kācāyapa²⁰⁾, Maskarī Goṣāliputra²¹⁾, Sañjayī Vairatīputra²²⁾, Ajita Keçakambala²³⁾, Kakuda Kātyāyana²⁴⁾, and Nirgrantha Jñātiputra^{24a)}, — the 6 dialecticians [62 b.], by the Brāhmaṇa²⁵⁾†, the Brāhmaṇa²⁶⁾†, the Brāhmaṇa Bhadraka²⁷⁾, the Brāhmaṇa Brahmāyuh²⁸⁾, the Brāhmaṇa Padmagarbha²⁹⁾, and the Brāhmaṇa Lohita³⁰⁾, — the 6 reciters (of Brāhmaṇical Scripture), and by Udraka Rāmaputra³¹⁾, Ārāḍa-Kālāma³²⁾, the Parivrājaka Subhadra³³⁾, the Brāhmaṇa's son Sañjayaka³⁴⁾ the anchorite Araṇa³⁵⁾, and Kācāyapa with the tresses³⁶⁾, — the 6 meditators. — It is therefore not the time for thee to go there. Thus they entreated him, but he replied: —

The sound of the conch-shell cannot be confounded with
other sounds,

The light of the sun cannot be matched by any other kind
of light.

¹⁹⁾ Ma-pham-pa = Ajita.

¹⁹⁾ Lal.-vist. 39. 1—2. — *ayaṁ Maitreya bodhisattvo yuṣmākaṁ dharmaṁ deçayisyati.*

^{19a)} Ibid. 38. 20. *idaṁ kholu satpuruṣa Tuṣita-bhavanaṁ twayā vikīṇaṁ na bhrājiyate.*

²⁰⁾ Ḥod-sruṅs-rdzogs-byed.

²¹⁾ Kun-tu-rgyu Gnag-lhas-kyi-bu.

²²⁾ Smra-ḥdod-kyi bu-moḥi bu Yañ-dag-rgyal-ba-can.

²³⁾ Mi-pham skraḥi-lva-ba-can.

²⁴⁾ Kā-tyaḥi-bu Nog-can.

^{24a)} Gcer-bu-pa Gñen-gyi-bu.

²⁵⁾ Rgyus(?rgyas)-rgyal = Puṣkara (?).

²⁶⁾ Rnas-brdeg (?Rna-dregs = Kaṇḍadarpaṇa).

²⁷⁾ Bzañ-Idan.

²⁸⁾ Tshañs-paḥi.-tshe

²⁹⁾ Padmaḥi-ññi-po.

³⁰⁾ Dmar-po.

³¹⁾ Rañs-byed-kyi-bu Lhaḡ-spyod.

³²⁾ Sgyu-rtsal-çes-kyi-bu Riñ-ḥphur.

³³⁾ Kun-tu-rgyu Rab-bzañ. Cf. below.

³⁴⁾ Bram-zeḥi-khyeḥu Kun-rgyal.

³⁵⁾ Drañ-sroñ Ñon-moñs-med.

³⁶⁾ Lhar-rgyas Ḥod-sruṅs-ral-pa-can.

Similarly (my Doctrine) cannot be confounded with the teachings (of all these heretics).

And I alone have the power of vanquishing them.

One single lion terrifies many multitudes of beasts,

A single thunderbolt can shatter the summits of many rocks,
Indra, though single, defeats the numerous chiefs of the Asuras,

And the sun alone disperses the dense mass of darkness.

Thereafter he asked the gods: — In what form am I to go? Some (of the gods) replied that he should assume the form of Brahma, others said that it would be suitable for him to descend in the shape of Indra or some other (god). But the Devaputra Agratejas declared, that, according to the Vedas, it would be the most suitable (for the Bodhisattva) to descend in the form of an elephant. Thereupon the Bodhisattva departed. —

3. [The Entrance into the Womb.]

In the palace of the king Çuddhodana³⁷⁾ there appeared 18 miraculous signs (foretelling his birth). Thereafter, when winter had passed away, in the first month of spring, when the full moon was in the 16th lunar constellation³⁸⁾, and when the stars foretold good luck, at the time when the queen-mother was observing the Poṣadha³⁹⁾ fast, [63 a.] he entered her womb through her right side in the form of an elephant. (And she had a dream of which she spoke as follows): —

I felt that, covered with a golden net, with a red crest on the head,

With 6 tusks of exceeding whiteness,

Resembling in colour a conch-shell, snow, or silver,

An elephant entered my womb. —

And, (after the elephant had entered), my body and mind

Became possessed of the most delightful state of ease

Which had never been experienced, heard of or felt before;

As if I were absorbed in concentrated trance⁴⁰⁾.

³⁷⁾ *Zas-gtsaṅ*.

³⁸⁾ *Lal.-vist.* 54. 18. — *çiṣīra-kāla-vinirgate vaiṣāḥka-māse viṣāḥka-nakṣatra-anugate.*

³⁹⁾ *Gso-sbyoṅ*.

⁴⁰⁾ *Lal.-vist.* 55. 7—10. — *hima-rajata-nibhaṣ ca śaḍ-viṣāṇaḥ sucaraṇa cārubhujāḥ surakṣa-ṣīrṣaḥ / udaram upagato gaja-pradhāno lālita-gatir dṛḍha-*

(The queen) asked the Brāhmaṇas the meaning of this dream, and they foretold that a son endowed with exclusive properties was to be born who, if he remained residing in the royal palace, would become a universal monarch, and, if he were to lead a monastic life, would attain the state of a Buddha⁴¹). Thereafter, having blessed the womb as the precious dwelling enjoyed by the Bodhisattva⁴²), the latter enjoyed therein for 10 months the purest felicity and, (during that time), converted 3.600.000.000 living beings, gods and men. At that time the flowers opened their leaves and expanded, and other miraculous signs, 32 in number, were to be seen.⁴³)

4. [The Birth of the Bodhisattva.]

And once, when the mother was abiding in the Lumbini garden, she seized with her hand the stem of a fig-tree, and (at that moment) the Bodhisattva came out of her right side without causing pain to her and clothed⁴⁴). The gods strewed flowers (before him), Brahma and Indra deposited him on a sheet of Benares linen, and Nanda⁴⁵) and Upananda⁴⁶) offered to wash his body⁴⁷). (The Bodhisattva said): — Behold me, o Kauṣika!⁴⁸) And, turning to the east: — I shall be antecedent to all that is virtuous!⁴⁹) — To the south: — I shall be worthy to receive gifts from gods and men!⁵⁰) — To the west: — I shall become the highest and the most pre-eminent in this world. [63 b.] This is my last birth. I shall now put an end to (the sufferings of) birth, old age, and death⁵¹). Turning to the north (he exclaimed): — I shall become the highest amongst all living beings!⁵²) — Looking downward: — I shall

*vajra-gātra-saṁdhiḥ / na ca mama sukha jātu evanirūpaṁ dṛṣṭam api śrutam
nā'pi cā'nubhūtam / kāya-sukha-citta-saukhya-bhāvā yathariva (sic) dhyāna-
samāhita abhūvan //*

⁴¹) Lal.-vist. 57. 9—22.

⁴²) *ratna-vyūho bodhisattva-paribhogah.*

⁴³) Lal.-vist. 73. 11—12. — *daṣa-māsa-kukṣi-gatena bodhisattvena ṣaṭ-triṁśan-nayutāni deva-manuṣyāṇāṁ paripācitāṇy abhūvan*; and ibid. 76. 9. sqq. — *rājñah Cuddhodanasya gṛhodyāne dvātriṁśat pūrva-nimittāni prādurebbhūvan.*

⁴⁴) Ibid. 82. 14—83. 11.

⁴⁵) Dgaḥ-bo.

⁴⁶) Ner-dgaḥ.

⁴⁷) Lal.-vist. 83. 21—22.

⁴⁸) I. e. Indra.

⁴⁹) Lal.-vist. 84. 16—17. — *pūrvanigamo bhaviṣyāmi sarveṣāṁ kuṣāla-mūlānāṁ dharmāṇāṁ.*

⁵⁰) Ibid. 84. 20—21. — *dakṣiṇīyo bhaviṣyāmi deva-manuṣyāṇāṁ.*

⁵¹) Ibid. 85. 1—2. — *iyam me paścimā jātiḥ / kariṣyāmi jāti-jarā-maraṇa-duḥkhasya antam.*

⁵²) Ibid. 85. 2—3. — *anuttaro bhaviṣyāmi sarva-sattvānāṁ.*

vanquish the Evil One and his hosts and shall grant bliss to the denizens of Hell by letting the rain that appeases the hellish fire descend from the great clouds of the Doctrine!⁵³⁾ And looking upward: — I shall be looked up to by all the living beings! —⁵⁴⁾ Thus spoke he and made 7 steps in each direction. And under his feet there sprung forth lotuses.

At that time all the different countries were full of lucky omens that were to be perceived everywhere. In the 4 great realms four tributary sovereigns and, likewise, 500 men belonging to families of high rank, 800 noble women, Yaçovati⁵⁵⁾ and the rest, 500 servants, Chandaka⁵⁶⁾ etc., 10 000 male foals, Kaṇṭhaka⁵⁷⁾ etc., 10 000 female foals, and 10 000 oxen were born. In the midst of an island there grew a Bodhi tree, 500 gardens sprung forth and 500 treasures miraculously appeared. Owing to all these circumstances, the prince received the name of Sarvārthasiddha, — he who conveys the accomplishment of all the desired aims and objects⁵⁸⁾.

After that (the Bodhisattva) went to the temple to worship the tutelary deity, and there he subdued and pacified the Čākyas that were using rough abusive language. Henceforth he received the surname of Čākyamuni, — the mighty one amongst the Čākyas. Then, as he received the homage of Čākyavardhana,(?)⁵⁹⁾ or as he was worshipped by the gods, he came to be called Devātideva, — “the god of gods” or “he who is higher than the gods”.

7 days after, his mother died and was reborn in the region of the 33 gods. Her death was not caused by (the birth of) the Bodhisattva, but as she saw that her son was to depart (from home in order to lead a monastic life), the mother's heart broke (from grief) and her life thus ended⁶⁰⁾.

In another Sūtra (we have the following account): — Agnidattaputra⁶¹⁾, the grandson of the sage Araṇa⁶²⁾, abiding on the mountain Ādhāra (?)⁶³⁾, came to know about (the birth of the Bodhisattva). (Having beheld a vision) he asked: — O, teacher,

⁵³⁾ Ibid. 85. 4—5. *nihanīṣyāmi māraṃ ca māra-senāṃ ca / sarva-nai-rayikāṇāṃ ca nīraya-agni-pratighātāya mahā-dharma-megha-vṛṣṭiṃ varṣiṣyāmi*

⁵⁴⁾ Ibid. 85. 7. — *ullokaniyo bhaviṣyāmi sarva-sattvānāṃ /*

⁵⁵⁾ Grags-ldan-ma. ⁵⁶⁾ Ḥdun-pa. ⁵⁷⁾ Sdags-ldan.

⁵⁸⁾ Don-thams-cad-grub-pa.

⁵⁹⁾ Ča-kya-ḥphel. ⁶⁰⁾ Lal.-vist. 98. 3—9.

⁶¹⁾ Mes-sbyin-gyi-bu. ⁶²⁾ Non-moṃs-med. ⁶³⁾ Kun-ḥdzin.

what does this mean, that the sun simultaneously appears in all the different regions. — Indeed, the mountain [64 a.] with all its caverns is illuminated by one stream of light. — The teacher replied: — The rays of the sun are sharp and piercing, but the rays of the light, that issues from the one child (that has been born), produce a (pleasant) cool feeling if they reach the body. (Such is this light) and it certainly comes from the Bodhisattva. Thereafter Araṇa went to Kapilavastu⁶⁴⁾ and said (to the king Çuddhodana): —

O great king, we who are here
Wish to behold your son.
We are desirous to see him, the Lord,
Who is the Highest and the Leader of the World.

And, as (the Bodhisattva), though sleeping, beheld him, the teacher said: —

Horses that belong to a good breed
Sleep only a quarter of the night.
In a like way, sleep does not long abide
On the eyelids of those who are desirous of fulfilling a great aim.

And: — How is it that the soothsayers have foretold (that the prince is to become) a universal monarch? —

O sovereign, the minds of the learned are mistaken;
In the age of strife⁶⁵⁾ no universal monarch appears.
But he, the treasury of the highest virtuous elements,
Is to become a Buddha, free from all that is sinful.

The young prince was thereafter entrusted to the care of Mahā-prajāpati⁶⁶⁾ Gautamī, and 32 nurses were appointed to him, — 8 who nursed him in their lap⁶⁷⁾, 8 who fed him with their breast⁶⁸⁾, 8 who played with him,⁶⁹⁾ and 8 who wiped off the impurities from his body⁷⁰⁾. Thus cherished, he grew up.

All these miraculous events came to be known by the sage

⁶⁴⁾ Ser-skya.

⁶⁵⁾ *risod-paḥi dus = kaliyuga.*

⁶⁶⁾ *Skye-dguḥi-bdag-mo.*

⁶⁷⁾ *pañ-na ḥiṣho-baḥi ma-ma = anga-dhātṛi.*

⁶⁸⁾ *nu-ma-benun-pa = kṛira-dhātṛi.*

⁶⁹⁾ *risen-paḥi ma-ma = kṛiḍā-dhātṛi.*

⁷⁰⁾ *dri-ma-ḥphyi-ba = mala-dhātṛi. Lal.-vist. 110, 13—19.*

Asita⁷¹⁾ — endowed with the 5 supernatural faculties⁷²⁾ who was abiding on the Himālaya. (This sage), with his nephew Nara-datta⁷³⁾, miraculously (descended from his abode) and came to the city of Kapilavastu⁷⁴⁾. Having beheld the characteristic marks (of the youth), he understood of what kind they were. And, astonishment and grief having arisen in him, he bowed to the Bodhisattva's feet, circumambulated him, and, shedding tears, uttered his prophecy: —

I perceive the characteristic features of this youth who
has been born. [64 b.]

He is adorned by the 32 marks (of the super-man),
Therefore there are only two things possible and no other: —
If he remains at home, he will become a universal monarch,
And if he departs from home and becomes a homeless ascetic,
He will attain Enlightenment here in this world
And become a leader who is independent from others.
(But I know that) he is not to abide at home,
For his private parts that are concealed⁷⁵⁾ and the crown
of his head

Cannot be seen by all⁷⁶⁾. —

But (asked the king), why doest thou weep? —

(The sage replied) —⁷⁷⁾:

O sovereign, having met with this Highest of Beings, the
treasury of virtue,
I shall die without attaining my aim.
I have not come to quiescence and perceive all that is
sinful in me;

Therefore my mind is greatly suffering, and I weep. —

Having said this, he departed to his abode.

When the Bodhisattva had grown older, he, with 10 000 other

⁷¹⁾ Nag-po. ⁷²⁾ *mñon-ces* = *abhijñā*.

⁷³⁾ Sic. acc. to Lal.-vist., but tib. Mes-byin = Agnidatta.

⁷⁴⁾ Lal.-vist. 101. 1—5.

⁷⁵⁾ *hdoms-kyi sba-ba spubs-su-nub-pa* = *koṣa-gata-vasti-guhya*.

⁷⁶⁾ Sic. acc. to tib. — *gsaṅ-baḥi-gnas-mchog spubs-su-nub-pa dan spyi-gtsug hgro-ba kun-gyis mi-mñon-bas*. But Lal.-vist. 105. 9. sqq. and 106. 8. sqq. — *nārhaṭi Sarvārthasiddhaḥ kumāro' gāram adhyāvasitum. tat kasya hatoḥ? sa hi mahārāja Sarvārthasiddhaḥ kumāro dvātriṃśatā mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇaiḥ samanvāgataḥ*.

⁷⁷⁾ Lal.-vist. 104. 3—105. 5.

youths of the Çākya clan entered the school of the teacher Viç-vāmitra⁷⁹) who taught the art of writing. (The Bodhisattva) asked: — O teacher, which of the 64 kinds of writing, Brāhmī⁸⁰) and the rest, must I study?⁸⁰). The teacher was greatly astonished and said⁸¹) —:

Most wonderful is this purest of living beings:
He is proficient in all the different sciences, but still
Adapting himself to the worldly usage,
He has come to my school of writing.
Of these different kinds of writing
Of which I do not know even the name,
All are known to him. But nevertheless
He has entered my school of writing. —

Once the youth descended into the garden, and there in the shade of a Jambu tree, he became absorbed in mystic meditation⁸²), beginning with the first degree and ending with the fourth⁸³). Owing to the (power of this his meditative trance), 5 heretical sages, endowed with miraculous powers became incapable of moving in the skies. Full of awe they worshipped the Bodhisattva and circumambulated him⁸⁴). At that time the shadows of the other trees were constantly changing their direction, but that (of the Jambu tree under which the Bodhisattva was sitting) remained immovable [65 a.] (Upon seeing this) his father was greatly astonished and worshipped him, saying⁸⁵): —

O Lord, at the time when thou wert born,
And now, when thou, O Glorious, art practising meditation,
These two times, O Leader and Protector,
My salutation was and is due to thee. —

⁷⁹) Kun-gyi-bces-gñen. ⁸⁰) tsheñs-pañi yi-ge.

⁸¹) Lal.-vist. 125. 18—20. sqq. — *katamāṃ me bho upādhyāya lipiṃ śikṣāpayasi: brāhmī-kharoṣṭī-puṣkarasārim* etc.

⁸²) Ibid. 126. 15—18. — *ācāryaṃ śuddhasattvasya loke lokānuvartino / śikṣitaḥ sarva-cāstreṣu lipi-śālām upāgataḥ // yeṣāṃ ahaṃ nāmadheyaṃ lipinām na prajānamī* (sic!) / *tatratāṃ śikṣitasanto lipi-śālām upāgataḥ //*

⁸³) *bsam-gtan* = *dhyāna*.

⁸⁴) Lal.-vist. 128. 15—129. 11.

⁸⁵) Ibid. 129. 12—14 sqq.

⁸⁶) Ibid. 132. 16—17. —

yadā cā' si mune jato yadā dhyāyasi cā'reiman / aka-dvir api te nūtha pādau vande vināyaka. //

5. [The Acts of Dexterity performed by the Bodhisattva.]

Thereafter, the eldersmen of the Çākya said to the king: — O Sovereign, the sooth-sayers have foretold that the youth, if he is to remain in the palace, will become a universal monarch. As this is so, he must take a worthy princess for his wife. — To this the king replied: — You must look where you find a maiden worthy of the youth⁸⁶). — Then each of the 500 Çākya eldersmen said that his daughter was the worthiest. The king then told them to ask the youth himself. The latter, having been questioned, said, that in 7 days he would give an answer⁸⁷). And such were the thoughts that came to him:⁸⁸) —

I know that the evil caused by desire has no end,
That it is the source of strife, enmity, grief, and suffering,
Is like a poisonous plant that causes fear,
Like fire or like the edge of a sword.

I have no desire of the objects of sensual pleasure,
And it is not suitable for me to abide in a circle of women;
With a mind, pacified through the bliss of mystic meditation and concentrated trance,

I shall do better to abide silently in the forest. —

But, as he again reflected over the matter, (he changed his intention) owing to his Wisdom and Commiseration. — And such were the words he uttered⁸⁹) —:

The lotus-flowers grow amidst an impure mire,
A king receives homage amongst ordinary people.
At the time when the Bodhisattvas become possessed

⁸⁶) Lal.-vist. 137. 5—6.

⁸⁷) Ibid. 137. 10—12.

⁸⁸) Ibid. 137. 13—17. —

*vidita mama ananta-kāma-dosāḥ saraṇa-savaira-saṣoka-duḥkha-mūlāḥ /
bhayakara-viṣapatra-saṃnikāṣāḥ jvalana-nibhā asidhāra-tulyarūpāḥ /
kāma-guṇi (sic) na me'sti chanda-rāga na ca ahaḥ ṣobhami istrigāra-madhya /
yannu ahaḥ vane vaseya tuṣṭim dhyāna-samādhi-sukhena śānta-cittaḥ //*

⁸⁹) Ibid. 137. 21—138. 6. —

*sankīrṇi paṇki padumāni vivṛddhimanti /
ākīrṇa rāja nara-madhyi labhāti pūjāṃ /
yada Bodhisattva parivāra-balaṃ labhante /
tada sattva-koṭi-nayutāny amṛte vinanti //*
*ye cā'pi pūrvaka abhūd vidu-Bodhisattvāḥ /
sarvebhi bhārya-suta darśita istri-gūrāḥ /
na ca rāga-rakṣa na ca dhyāna-sukhebhi bhraṣṭāḥ /
hantā'nuṣṭikāyī ahaṃ pi guṇeṣu teṣāṃ /*

Of the highest congregation (of followers)⁹⁰),
 They lead millions of living beings to the state of im-
 mortality.

The wise Bodhisattvas who have appeared before (me)
 Have all of them manifested themselves
 As having wives, children, and followers.
 Now, they were not possessed of desire,
 And have not been deprived
 Of the bliss of concentrated trance. [65 b.]

I must likewise become possessed of these their virtues⁹¹).
 Having thought so, he wrote down all the virtuous qualities of a
 woman and said: — Such (a wife) do I wish for myself. Then the
 king said to his chief household priest⁹²): — Go thou and get a
 maiden with whom all these virtuous qualities are to be found. —

She may be of the royal race, or the daughter of a Brāh-
 maṇa,

She may be of the Vaiçya⁹³) or of the Çūdra⁹⁴) caste;
 This is quite the same. Bring us only such a maiden
 With whom all these virtues do exist.

My son is not to be surprised by high birth and descent;
 Virtue, truthfulness and righteousness, —
 In these alone his mind finds pleasure⁹⁵).

Thereafter, that Brāhmaṇa went through all the different countries
 and came to see Gopā⁹⁶) the daughter of the Çākya Daṇḍapāṇi⁹⁷).
 He gave to her the letter (of the prince) and she said with a smile:
 — O Brāhmaṇa, I am possessed of all these qualities. Therefore,
 the prince of noble appearance can become my husband. Tell
 the youth that, if he wishes (to wed me), he must not delay. He
 ought not to live with an ordinary being of low degree⁹⁸). —

⁹⁰) Tib. *ḅkhor-mchog* = *parivāra-varaṇ*; the Lal.-vist. has *parivāra-balaṇ*.

⁹¹) I. e. of the preceding Bodhisattvas.

⁹²) *mdun-na-ḥdon* = *purohita*.

⁹³) *rjeḥu-rigs*. ⁹⁴) *dmaṇs-rigs*.

⁹⁵) Lal.-vist. 140. 2—5. —

brāhmaṇiṃ kṣatriyāṃ kanyāṃ vaiçyāṃ çūdrīṃ tathaiṣa ca /
yasyā eṣa guṇā santi tāṃ me kanyāṃ pravēdaya //
na kulena na gotreṇa kumāro mama viśmitaḥ /
guṇa satya ca dharmo ca tatrā'sya ramate manaḥ //

⁹⁶) *Sa-ḥtsho-ma*.

⁹⁷) *Lag-na-be-con-can*.

⁹⁸) Lal.-vist. 140. 21—141. 4. —

All this the chief priest repeated to the king. The latter said: — These women are great in telling lies; they are therefore not to be relied upon. Let, after 7 days, all the maidens assemble in the hall, and the youth shall give them presents that are agreeable to them. (That maiden) on whom the youth shall fix his eyes, is to become his wife⁹⁹).

After 7 days had passed away, the youth descended into the hall and offered diverse precious ornaments to the maidens that came, but they could not support the lustre of the Bodhisattva's beauty and speedily departed. Last of all came Gopā, and, as the ornaments had been, all of them, given away, she said with a smile: — What fault have I committed, that thou despisest me? — I do not despise thee, — said the youth, but thou hast come too late¹⁰⁰) [66 a.]. Thus spoke he and presented her a ring worth many hundreds and thousands. She then departed, and those that had witnessed (all this in secret),¹⁰¹ said to the king: — The youth has fixed his eyes on Gopā and they have conversed with each other for a short time¹⁰²). — The king then sent a messenger to the Čākya Daṇḍapāṇi, praying him to give his daughter in marriage to the prince. But Daṇḍapāṇi said: — The youth has grown up amidst the pleasures of palace-life and is not skilled in arts and sports. According to the usage of my family, I may give my daughter only to one who knows the different arts. How can I give her in marriage to one who is not skilled in them?¹⁰³) This was repeated to the king who, having been thus twice offended, sat and pondered deeply. The youth heard about this and said to the king: — What has happened? — Is it not proper that thou shouldst tell me? — And the king told him all. The youth then proposed that a match in all the different arts and sports should be fought. The king was delighted and ordered to announce, by the sound of bells, that such a match was to take place. And, after 7 days, 500 youths of the Čākya tribe assembled in order to join in the match, and Gopā was declared to be the prize of him who would win¹⁰⁴.) It was proclaimed that she was to belong

⁹⁹) Ibid. 141. 11—12. — *tatra yasyāṁ dārikāyāṁ kumārasya cakṣur abhinivakṣyati kumārasya vārayiṣyāmi iti /*

¹⁰⁰) Lal.-vist. 142. 14, 15. — *nā'haṁ tvāṁ vimānāyāmi api tu khalu punas tvam atipaścād āgatā /*

¹⁰¹) *ḍya-ra-ba = guhya-puruṣa.*

¹⁰²) Lal.-vist. 142. 20—22.

¹⁰³) Ibid. 143. 4—7.

¹⁰⁴) Ibid. 144. 6—9.

to him who would be victorious in swordsmanship, in shooting and wrestling. And first of all came Devadatta¹⁰⁶⁾; he encountered an elephant that was led (into the city for the Bodhisattva), and, full of envy and pride, struck it with the palm of his hand and killed it. Thereafter, the youth Sundarananda¹⁰⁶⁾ came and (seizing the body of the elephant), flung it out of the gates of the city. But last of all came the Bodhisattva, uplifted the elephant's body with his great toe and hurled it a mile far beyond 7 walls and 7 trenches. And at the place, where the elephant's body fell, a great pit was dug up (and up to this day) it is called "the elephant's pit"¹⁰⁷⁾.

Thereafter the teacher Viçvāmitra having been appointed as a judge, [66. b.] a match in the skill of writing took place, and the Bodhisattva was victorious in the contest. After that there was a match in the skill of counting in which the teacher Arjuna¹⁰⁸⁾ of the Çākya clan was the judge. Here the Bodhisattva likewise gained the prize, having vanquished all the others. Arjuna himself did not know the numbers higher than that which is called *ak-ṣobhya*¹⁰⁹⁾, whereas the Bodhisattva knew them all up to that which bears the name of *agrasāra*¹¹⁰⁾. Then the Bodhisattva proved superior (to the rest) in leaping, swimming, and in the foot-race. Thereupon Nanda and Ānanda both came to match their strength (with that of the Bodhisattva), but (the latter) only touched them with his hand and they instantly fell down. Next came Devadatta, and the Bodhisattva seized him with his right hand, turned him round in the air and then threw him on the ground, without however doing harm to his body. Then all the Çākya youths rushed upon him, but the Bodhisattva only touched them with his hand and they all fell down.

The contest in shooting next took place. The target, an iron drum, was hit by Ānanda at the distance of 4 miles,¹¹¹⁾ by Devadatta — within the reach of 8 miles, by Sundarananda, — from beyond 12 miles, and by Daṇḍapāṇi — at the distance of 2 yo-

¹⁰⁶⁾ Lhas-byin.

¹⁰⁶⁾ Mdzes-dgañ-bo.

¹⁰⁷⁾ Ibid. 145. 4—7..... *yaṁ sāmpratam hasti-gatū ity abhidhiyate /*

¹⁰⁸⁾ Srid-sgrub.

¹⁰⁹⁾ *mi-ñkhrugs-pa*. Cf. Vol. I. Note 1118.

¹¹⁰⁾ *shin-po-mchog*. Lal.-vist. 146. 9—149. 2.

¹¹¹⁾ Ibid. 154. 6. sqq.; *rgyañ-grags* = *kroṣa*.

janas.¹¹³⁾ So far each of them could shoot, but not at a greater distance. But the Bodhisattva planted the iron drum at the distance of 20 miles, behind it 7 Tala trees and, beyond them, — the figure of a wild boar made of iron. He then brought from the temple the bow of his grandfather Simhahanu¹¹⁴⁾ and bent it, drawing in one leg and stretching out the other. Off sped the arrow, piercing the iron drum, the 7 Tala stems and the iron figure of the wild boar. And, having hit the ground, it disappeared. At that place there appeared (a pit) resembling a well which is known thencefrom as "the well of the arrow"¹¹⁵⁾. (Thereafter) the Bodhisattva likewise showed his superiority in all the other arts, as palmistry¹¹⁶⁾, riding an elephant, and so on up to the preparation of incense-sticks. [67. a.] And Daṇḍapāṇi gave his daughter in marriage to him¹¹⁷⁾.

6. [The Life of the Bodhisattva in the circle of noble women.]

The Bodhisattva, in order to act in accordance with the worldly custom, caused Gopā to be crowned (as the chief princess) amongst 84 000 noble women. And in their company he led a life full of bliss and enjoyment.

Thereafter, some of the gods, Nāgas etc.¹¹⁷⁾ beheld him and thought as follows: — If this highest of men will abide amidst the circle of noble women for a long time, the living beings who are to be the receptacles of his Doctrine, will be no more existing and he will not depart (from home to lead a religious life)¹¹⁸⁾. And, full of reverence, they thought: — He must depart from home, become a Buddha and expound his Doctrine. — And the Buddhas, the Lords (abiding in the regions situated in the 10 quarters of the sky)¹¹⁹⁾ summoned him by the following verse that issued from the sounds of celestial music¹²⁰⁾:

¹¹³⁾ *dpag-tshad.* ¹¹⁴⁾ *Señ-geñi-za-ḥgram.*

¹¹⁵⁾ Lal.-vist. 155. 19, 20. — *yatra ca pradeṣe sa iṣur bhūmi-talaṃ bhittvā praviṣṭas tasmin pradeṣe kūpaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ. / yad adyatve' pi ṣara-kūpa ity abhi-dhīyate /* ¹¹⁶⁾ *lag-rtsis.* ¹¹⁷⁾ Lal.-vist. 157. 3—5.

¹¹⁷⁾ Ibid. 160. 3, 4. sqq. *deva-nāga-yakṣa-asura-garūḍa-kimnara-mahoraga-Ṣakra-Brahma-lokapālānām.*

¹¹⁸⁾ Sic. acc. to tib., but Lal.-vist. 160. 8—9. *tāni dharmā-bhājanāni sarvāṇy antarhīṭāni bhaviṣyanti / bodhisattvaḥ ca paścād abhinīṣkramya anuttarāṃ samyak-sambodhim abhisambhotsyate //*

¹¹⁹⁾ Lal.-vist. 161. 12, 13. sqq. — *daṣa-dig-loka-dhātu-sthitair buddhair bhagavadbhīḥ.* ¹²⁰⁾ Ibid. 161. 17—20. sqq.

Long before, having perceived the living beings
 Enduring a hundred different kinds of suffering,
 Thou hast uttered the following entreaty:
 "May I become the refuge, the protector and the shelter
 The benefactor and the friend of all that lives! —"
 O, hero of virtue, remember now thy previous life
 And thy vow of helping the living beings.
 The time and the hour for thee have come; —
 Depart thou, O great Sage, from thy home.

And from the sounds of the musical instruments, played by
 the noble women of his retinue he heard the following words which
 were preceded by a narrative of his previous births¹²¹): —

The 3 spheres of the world are subjected to the suffering
 of decrepitude and illness,
 And, being without a refuge, are consumed by the fire of
 death.
 The living beings are ignorant of the means of deliverance
 from this Phenomenal Life,
 Being like bees that have fallen into a water-pot.
 The 3 spheres of the world are non-enduring, being like
 clouds in autumn,
 The birth and death of a living being appear like a panto-
 mime on the stage,
 And the duration of life is short, like that of lightning in
 the skies. [67. b.]
 It flows speedily, like a stream, descending from a mountain.

And¹²²): —

Remember thou thy previous life
 And grant thou the vision of the Truth,
 Free from defilement and immaculate,
 And the sublime light of the Highest Divine Wisdom to
 the living beings
 Who are obscured by the gloom of ignorance and infatuation.

Upon hearing all this the Bodhisattva got rid of his intoxication
 and directed his mind toward Supreme Enlightenment. Thereupon,
 3 200 000 Devaputras likewise summoned him, saying¹²³): —

¹²¹) Ibid. 173. 11—14.

¹²²) Ibid. 179. 3—4.

¹²³) Ibid. 183. 21—184. 2.

The change of existence, most wonderful¹²⁴),
 And this thy birth have been demonstrated by thee, O
 Lion of men,
 And thou hast likewise made manifest
 Thy life in the circle of noble women¹²⁵).
 • Thou hast thus acted in conformity with the worldly custom,
 Having become familiar with the worldly properties,
 And hast brought to maturity a multitude of gods and men.
 But at present thou must think, how to depart from home,
 For the time to do this has now come. —

And further on¹²⁶): —

O thou, sweet-voiced and soft-voiced, —
 Remember thou the prophecy of Dīpaṃkara,
 And let thy voice of a Buddha be heard,
 True, right, and free from error. —

At that time the king beheld in a dream that the Bodhisattva was departing (from home). When he awakened, he asked the eunuch whether the Bodhisattva was still abiding (in the palace). The answer was: — He is here. — The king thought: — This is a sign, that the Bodhisattva is to become an ascetic. — And, in order to make the Bodhisattva still more attached (to his present worldly life), he caused three palaces to be built for him, — a cool one for summer-time, one suitable for the rainy season, and a warm one for the winter¹²⁷). And in each of these palaces 500 men accompanied the Bodhisattva when he ascended and descended the staircase, and half a yojana far was heard their watch-word: — The prince is not to go out unnoticed! —

Now, the sooth-sayers had all of them foretold, that (the Bodhisattva, would depart by the royal gates¹²⁸). And the king ordered many massive door-planks to be made. 500 men were

¹²⁴) tib. *cin-tu-brtan* (?) for *atiya-cāh*.

¹²⁵) Or the harem — *btsun-moḥi-ḥkhor* = *antaḥpura*.

¹²⁶) Lal.-Vist. 185.15, 16. — *mañju-rata mañju-ghoṣa smarāhi Dīpaṃkara-*
śya vyākaraṇam /

bhūtaṃ tathā evātathā jina-ghoṣa-rutam udīrehi //

¹²⁷) Ibid. 186. 9, 10. sqq. — *tato rājñā Cuddhodanena kumārasya pari-*
bhogārtham trayo yathartukā-prāsādāḥ kārītā abhūvan / *graiṣmiko vārṣiko hai-*
māntikaṣ ca /

¹²⁸) *bka-gis-kyi chab-sgo* = *mangala-dvāra*.

appointed to open and shut these doors, and their watch-word was to be heard [68. a.] half a yojana far¹²⁹).

Thereafter, the Bodhisattva said to (his charioteer) Chandaka¹³⁰): — Prepare for me a chariot to go to the garden. — And Chandaka told this to the king. The latter gave the order that (on the way) the prince was to be kept far from all disagreeable sights and that he should see only pleasant and delightful objects¹³¹).

Then the Bodhisattva went out through the eastern gate, and saw there a man, subjected to the suffering of old age. This apparition was produced by the Devaputras through the incitation of the Bodhisattva himself¹³²). The latter asked Chandaka: ¹³³) —

O, charioteer, who is this man, feeble and helpless?

His flesh and blood have dried up, he has but skin and sinews,

His hair is white, his teeth are scarce, his body meager,

He walks painfully and reeling and leans upon a staff. —

The charioteer replied: ¹³⁴) —

This man, O Prince, is overcome by old age,

His senses are weakened, he is greatly suffering,

And his strength and energy are gone.

He is disrespected by his friends and has no protector,

Is unfit for action and cast out like a withered tree. —

The Bodhisattva then said ¹³⁵): —

Tell me, is this a characteristic of this man only,

Or does the whole of the living world undergo such a state?

Tell me quickly, how is the state of things,

And having heard, I shall duly reflect over the sense. —

¹²⁹) Lal.-vist. 186. 17—19.

¹³⁰) Hdun-pa.

¹³¹) — *mā kumārāḥ pratikūlaṁ paśyed* etc. Lal.-Vist. 187. 3—11.

¹³²) Ibid. 187. 21. sqq. — *bodhisattvasya eva anubhāvena śuddha-āvāsa-kāyikair devaputrāiḥ*. Ibid. 188. 5—9. — *kiṁ sārāṭhe puruṣa durbala alpasthāmo / ucchuṣṭha-māṁsa-rudhira-tvaca-snāyu-naddhaḥ / cveṭaṁśiro virala-danta kṣāṅga-rūpo / ālambya-daṇḍa vrajate asukhaṁ skhalantaḥ* //

¹³⁴) Ibid. 188. 11—14. — *eso hi deva puruṣo jarayā' bhībhūtaḥ / kṣīṇa-driyaḥ suduḥkhito bala-vīrya-kīnaḥ / bandhū-janena paribhūta anāthabhūtaḥ / kāryā' samartha apaviddhu vaneva dāruḥ* //

¹³⁵) Ibid. 16—19. — *kula-dharma-ṣa ayam aśya hitaṁ bhaṇāhi / athavā' pi sarva-jagato' sya iyaṁ hy avasthā / śighraṁ bhaṇāhi vacanaṁ yatha-bhūtaṁ etat / cṛutvā tatkā' rtham iha yoniṣa cintayisyas* //

The charioteer answered¹³⁶): —

O Prince, this is neither the property of his race, nor of his country only.

With all the living beings, youth gives way to decrepitude;
Thy father and mother and the host of thy relatives likewise
Cannot be delivered from the suffering of old age. —
No other way exists for the living beings! —

To this the Bodhisattva said¹³⁷):

O Charioteer, fie on the minds of the stupid living beings,
They are infatuated with the pride of youth and have no
look for (the coming) old age!

I will go back, turn round the chariot quickly [68. b.]
I too will be subjected to old age; what use is there
For me to be merry and amuse myself? —

So saying, he returned to the city.

Then he went out by the southern gate and, seeing a sick person, asked¹³⁸):

O, charioteer, who is that man whose body is stiff and pallid,

Who is deprived of all the senses and breathing hard,
Whose members have all withered, whose belly
Is swollen, and who, perfectly exhausted, sits
In his own urine and ordure, an object of disgust? —

The charioteer replied¹³⁹):

This man, O Prince, is severely ill,
And, full of the fear, caused by this illness, is near to death;
He has not the bright appearance of the healthy, his strength
is gone,

¹³⁶) Ibid. 188. 21—189. 2. — *na i'tasya deva kula-dharma na rāṣṭra-dharmah / sarve jagasya jara yauvanu dharṣayāti / tubhyaṁ pi mātṛ-pitṛ-bāndhava-jñāti-saṁgho / jarayā amukta na hi anya gatir janasya //*

¹³⁷) Ibid. 189. 4—7. — *dhik sūrathe abudha-bāla-janasya-buddhiḥ / yad yauvanena mada-matta jarām na paçyet / āvartayā' su mi ratham punar aham praveşye / kiṁ mahya krīda-ratibhir jarayā' çritasya //*

¹³⁸) Ibid. 189. 14—17. *kiṁ sūrathe puruṣa ruşya-vivarna-gūtraḥ / sarvendriy-ebhi vikalo guru-praṇvasantaḥ / sarvāṅga-ṣuṣka udarākula-kṛcchra-prāpto / mūtre purīṣi svaki tiṣṭhati kutsanīye //*

¹³⁹) Ibid. 19—22. — *eṣo hi deva puruṣo paramaṁ gilāno / vyādhi-bhayam upagato maraṇānta-prāptaḥ / ārogya-teja-rahito bala-viprahīno / astrāṇa-dvipa-çaraṇo hy aparāyaṇaḥ ca.*

And he has neither protector, nor refuge, nor shelter, nor help. —

The Bodhisattva said¹⁴⁰):

The state of health is (ephemere) like enjoyment in a dream,
And (on the contrary) the terror of illness is so great!
How can a wise man, having seen this state (of illness),
Indulge in pleasures or have the notion of something as
being blissful? —

(And, as before he returned to the city.)

Then, as he went out through the western gate, he saw a dead body and asked again¹⁴¹):

Who, O charioteer, is that man,
Whom they carry there on a bier, surrounding him,
Tearing out their hair and nails and scattering dust on
their heads,
Uttering various sounds of lamentation and beating their
breasts? —

The charioteer answered¹⁴²):

This man, O Prince, has died here in Jambudvīpa,
Henceforth he shall no more see his parents, his wife and
children,
He has left his wealth, his home, and the circle of his friends,
He is now in another world and shall no more see those
whom he knew. —

The Bodhisattva said¹⁴³):

Fie on the youth that is overpowered by decrepitude!
Fie on the health that is overpowered by illness!
Worthless for a sage is life that has no long duration, [69. a.]

¹⁴⁰) Ibid. 190. 2—5. — *ārogyatā ca bhavate yatha svapna-kṛīḍā / vyādhi-bhayaṁ ca imam idṛṣu ghora-rūpaṁ / ko nāma vijñāpuruṣo ima dṛṣṭva vasthāṁ* (sic) / *kṛīḍā-ratīm ca janayec chubha-samjñatām ca* //

¹⁴¹) Ibid. 190. 14—17. — *kiṁ sāratho puruṣa mañca-parigṛhīto / uddhūta-keṣa-nakha pāmṣu cire kṣipanti / paricārayitva viharanty uras tādāyanto / nānā-vilāpa-vacanāni udirayantaḥ* //

¹⁴²) Ibid. 190. 19—22. — *eṣo hi deva puruṣo mṛtu Jambudvīpe / na hi bhūyu mātṛpitr-drakṣyati putra-dārān / apahāya bhoga-gṛha-mitra-jñāti-saṅghaṁ para-loka-prāptu na hi drakṣyati bhūyu jñātīm* //

¹⁴³) Ibid. 191. 2—9. *dhig yauvanena jarayā samabhidrutena / ārogya dhig vividha-vyādhi-parāhṛtena / dhig jīvitenā viduṣā nacira-sthitena / dhik paṇḍita-sya puruṣasya rati-prasangaiḥ* etc.

And worthless is for the wise man the attachment to
 worldly pleasures!
 O, that old age, illness, and death would not exist!
 But great is the suffering that takes hold of the 5 groups
 of elements,
 And what is there to say of old age, illness and death, which
 are persisting and continuous.
 Enough, let us go back and reflect
 Over the means how to attain Salvation. —

(And, having once more returned to the city, he again went out,
 this time) by the northern gate. There he saw a mendicant monk
 and asked¹⁴⁴):

Who, O charioteer, is this man with a calm and tranquil mind,
 Who goes with downcast eyes, looking only a *yuga*-length
 before himself,
 Clad in a mantle of reddish hue and walking in perfect peace,
 Bearing an alms-bowl and free from arrogance and conceit? —

The charioteer answered¹⁴⁵):

This man, O Prince, is called a mendicant monk,
 He has abandoned all desires and undergoes the strictest
 discipline,
 He has embraced religious life and seeks quiescence for
 himself,
 Is free from passion and hatred, and wanders, living on
 alms. —

To this the Bodhisattva said¹⁴⁶):

Well hast thou spoken, this pleases me;
 Religious life has been always praised by the wise. —
 In it lies the welfare of oneself and other living beings,

¹⁴⁴) Ibid. 191. 20—192. 2. — *kiṃ sāratho puruṣa śāntā-praśānta-citto /
 notkṣipta-cakṣu vrajate yuga-mātra-darṣi / kāṣṭhāya-vastra-vasano supraśānta-
 cārī / pātraṃ grhītvā na ca uddhatu unnato vā //*

¹⁴⁵) Ibid. 192. 4—7. — *eko hi deva puruṣo iti bhikṣu nāma / apahāya kāmā-
 ratayaḥ suvinīta-cārī / pravrajya-prāptu śamam ātmana eṣamāṇo / saṃvṛga-
 dveṣa-vigato' nveti piṇḍa-caryām //*

¹⁴⁶) Ibid. 192. 9—12. — *sādhū subhāṣitam idaṃ mama rocate ca / pravrajya
 nāma vidubhiḥ satatam praśastā / hitam ātmanaḥ ca para-sattva-hitam ca yatra /
 sukha-jīvitam sumadhuram amṛtam phalaṃ ca //*

And its result is a blissful existence, full of beatitude and immortality. —

Thereupon the Bodhisattva returned to his home.

7. [The Departure of the Bodhisattva from Home].¹⁴⁷⁾

The king, having seen and heard all this, (made arrangements) in order to guard (the Bodhisattva and prevent his departure). Walls were built, moats dug out, and massive doors were erected. At the crossing places of the roads¹⁴⁸⁾, going from each of the four gates of the city, strong detachments of troops were placed, in order to guard the passage. The harem received the order to sing and make music (uninterruptedly) and to arrange various mirthful plays. But at that time there appeared certain ominous signs foretelling the Bodhisattva's departure. — The birds ceased to sing, the lotus-flowers withered, the trees bloomed no more, the sound of the pipes and lutes suddenly broke up, and the drums, though they were beaten, ejected no sound. The king sat deeply pondering [69. b.] Gopā beheld in a dream that the earth trembled and many other visions, and the Bodhisattva himself had the following dream. — He saw that he was moving the waves of the ocean, that the whole of the earth was his couch and the mount Sumeru — his pillow, that a great light dispersed all darkness, and that an umbrella, arising from the ground, was spread over the 3 Spheres of the world. He saw, moreover, that animals black and white and birds of 4 different colours appeared, and became, all of them, of one colour, that he himself ascended a mountain consisting of impurities without becoming polluted, rescued many living beings that were carried by the waters of a stream, healed the sick and, finally, having seated himself on the slope of the mount Sumeru on a throne supported by lions, received the homage of the gods. —

Thereupon the Bodhisattva, thinking it unsuitable to depart without the leave of his father, went to the latter and said: — The time of my departure has come. I pray thee not to hinder me and not to be grieved. The king replied: I shall give thee everything that thou canst desire, if thou wouldst but remain in the palace. The Bodhisattva said: — Grant me perpetual youth,

¹⁴⁷⁾ *mion-par-hbyun-ba* = *abhinīṣkramaṇa*.

¹⁴⁸⁾ *La-l-vist. bñi-mdo* = *śṛṅgāṭaka*.

health, and immortality. — I have not the power to give thee these. Ask thou something else, — returned the king. Again the Bodhisattva said¹⁴⁹):

O King, if thou canst not grant me these 4 highest boons,
The absence of the fear of old age, illness, death, and of
all calamities,

I pray thee then to hear another my wish, — make
That there should be no repeated existence¹⁵⁰),

After this life has taken an end. —

After that the king said: — May thy desire be fulfilled, — whereupon the Bodhisattva returned to his abode.

And the king told all that to the Çākya. The latter having agreed to guard the prince, 500 Çākya youths were placed at each of the 4 gates of the city. [70. a.] Each of these had 500 chariots under his command and each chariot was surrounded by 500 foot-soldiers. The eldersmen of the Çākya placed themselves at all the crossing places of 3 and 4 roads, and the king himself held watch¹⁵¹).

At that time, the Yakṣa chiefs and the 500 sons of Hārīti¹⁵²), as they knew that the Bodhisattva was to depart that evening, exerted themselves in worshipping him. The 4 great guardian-kings thought of offering horses for his departure¹⁵³), and the 33 gods likewise performed acts of worship. And the 4 great vows which the Bodhisattva had previously made, now appeared before his mind¹⁵⁴). At the same time, Dharmacārīn and other Devaputras drew the attention (of the Bodhisattva) on the dissolute life of the harem and aroused in him the consciousness of its being disgusting like a cemetery. And after that he uttered the following words¹⁵⁵):

Alas! miserable are these creatures!

How can one find pleasure in an assembly of she-devils?

The foolish minds, obscured by the darkness of ignorance,

Perceive the objects of sensual pleasure, unreal as they are

As if they had some real value,

¹⁴⁹) Ibid. 200. 4—11.

¹⁵⁰) *ñiñ-mtshams-abyor-ba* = *pratisandhi*.

¹⁵¹) Lal.-vist. 200. 15—201. 10.

¹⁵²) *Hphrog-maḥi bu lha-brgya* = *pañca Hārīti-putra-çatāni*.

¹⁵³) Lal.-vist. 202. 13—15.

¹⁵⁴) Ibid. 204. 13—205. 16.

¹⁵⁵) Ibid. 206. 19—22.

And never can one obtain deliverance,
Being like an encaged bird.

And, having reflected over the subject in 32 ways¹⁵⁰), he concentrated his mind upon the impurity (of the objects of sensual pleasure)¹⁵⁷). Thereafter he went to the top of the palace and made there his salutations to all the Buddhas. And, as he looked about, he saw that Indra, the 4 guardian kings, the sun and the moon were likewise worshipping¹⁵⁸). He beheld moreover that the asterism Puṣya had arisen, and said to Chandaka¹⁵⁹):

This is a lucky omen for me that all my aims are to be attained.

This night my projects will be fulfilled;

Therefore, O Chandaka, do not delay, be quick

And get me a horse decorated with ornaments.

Chandaka asked: — Whither shalt thou go? — and the Bodhisattva replied: — I am departing (from this worldly life). [70. b.] Then Chandaka tried repeatedly to divert him, but (the Bodhisattva) spoke much of the evil¹⁶⁰) caused by desire, and it was impossible to make him change his intention¹⁶¹). Then the Devaputras Çāntamati¹⁶²) and Lalitavyūha¹⁶³) made it impossible for the citizens of Kapilavastu to awake from their sleep and to utter a sound. Then the Bodhisattva said to Chandaka: — Bring me the horse!¹⁶⁴) And at that moment, Indra, the chief of the gods, and the 4 guardian kings likewise descended into Kapilavastu¹⁶⁵.) Chandaka then said that it was not the time to depart, but the Bodhisattva replied: —

“In pursuit of the welfare of all that lives,
I, having attained Enlightenment and the state
Where there is no old age, illness, and death,
Shall bring deliverance to the world¹⁶⁶).” —

¹⁵⁰) Ibid. 207. 1—208. 6.

¹⁵⁷) *mi-sdug-paḥi sgom-pa* = *aṣubha-bhāvanā*.

¹⁵⁸) Ibid. 209. 12—210. 1.

¹⁵⁹) Ibid. 210. 4—6. — *Chandaka capalu mā vilambahe / aṣṣa-rāja dada me alaṅkṛtaṁ / sarva-siddhi mama ete mangalā / artha-siddhi dhruvam adya . bheṣyate //*

¹⁶⁰) *ṣaṣ-dmige* = *ādinava*.

¹⁶¹) Lal.-vist. 210. 6—217. 4.

¹⁶²) *Ṣi-baḥl-blo-gros*.

¹⁶³) *Brtse-ba-bkod-pa*.

¹⁶⁴) Lal.-vist. 217. 5—11.

¹⁶⁵) Ibid. 217. 12—15.

¹⁶⁶) Ibid. 219. 3, 4.

Such was the vow I made long before,
And the time of fulfilling it has now come. —

The Devaputra Saṁcodaka¹⁶⁷⁾ then summoned him, saying¹⁶⁸⁾:

Rise speedily, O thou, endowed with highest power and
energy,
Deliver the living beings, who are tormented by suffering;
The time of thy departure (from worldly life) has now
come. —

Then Indra opened the royal gates, Chandaka, having decorated the horse Kaṇṭaka, brought it before the Bodhisattva who mounted. The 4 guardian-kings having lifted him up (to the saddle), themselves rose up to the skies. Brahma and Indra showed the way, a light, dispersing the gloom, appeared, and, with various sounds of music and hymns of praise, they passed the place where the armed men were encamped (and fast asleep)¹⁶⁹⁾.

When the Bodhisattva had arrived at the Perfectly Pure Sanctuary, he gave back to Chandaka the horse and the ornaments and bade him return. And at that place a monument was erected which was known as "The monument in memory of Chandaka's return"¹⁷⁰⁾. Thereafter, at the foot of the Perfectly Pure Sanctuary he cut off the locks on the crown of his head, and the gods seized these locks and carried them off (as an object of worship). And at that place a monument was likewise erected in memory of this¹⁷¹⁾.

Then the Bodhisattva considered that the rich garment of Benares linen ill suited the custom of a monk, and that it would be right if he obtained a garment befitting one who has embraced religious life. [71. a.] And accordingly one of the gods of the Pure Region¹⁷²⁾, having assumed the form of a huntsman, offered him a garment of a reddish hue¹⁷³⁾. The Bodhisattva, in his turn gave him his clothes of Benares linen, and the Devaputra seized them with both hands, placed them on the crown of his head and

¹⁶⁷⁾ Yañ-dag-par-bskul-ba-po.

¹⁶⁸⁾ Lal.-vist. 220. 1—4.

¹⁶⁹⁾ Ibid. 222. 1—8.

¹⁷⁰⁾ Ibid. 225. 10—14. — *adyā' pi tac caityaṁ Chandaka-nivartanam iti jñāyate.*

¹⁷¹⁾ Ibid. 225. 15—19. — *adyā' pi ca tac cūḍā-pratigrahaṇam iti jñāyate.*

¹⁷²⁾ *gnas-gsañ-maḥi lha = śuddha-āvasikā devatā.*

¹⁷³⁾ *gas śur-amrig = kāṇya-vastra.*

departed to the realm of the gods in order to worship (these relics). All this was seen by Chandaka who erected there a monument which is called "The monument in memory of (the Bodhisattva's having put on) the religious robes"¹⁷⁴). At that moment (all the Devaputras) exclaimed aloud: — Siddhārtha has embraced religious life! — And this their exclamation was heard as far as Akaniṣṭha¹⁷⁵).

Thereafter Chandaka brought home the horse and the ornaments, and, having related all that had happened, appeased the grief of the king and the harem¹⁷⁶).

The Bodhisattva, having cut off the locks on the crown of his head and put on the reddish garments of an ascetic, assumed the character of a mendicant monk and went first to the abode of the Brāhmaṇa Raivata¹⁷⁷) and other hermitages. Finally, he attained Vaiṣali¹⁷⁸) and came to the place where Ārāḍa-Kālāma¹⁷⁹) was teaching about the (mystic absorption in) the Sphere of Nothingness¹⁸⁰) to his 300 pupils. The Bodhisattva expressed the wish to become likewise a pupil (of Ārāḍa) and, having undergone the necessary training, attained the state of the mind absorbed in the Sphere of Nothingness. He then said to Ārāḍa: — Have you attained only this degree of concentration? — Yes, — replied Ārāḍa. — The Bodhisattva said: — I too have attained it now. — To this Ārāḍa said: — What thou knowest — I know, and what I know—thou knowest. Accordingly, we shall teach the assembly of disciples both together! — Thereupon the Bodhisattva thought: — By this (degree of concentration only) deliverance is not to be attained. One must seek for something more efficient than this¹⁸¹). (Accordingly, he departed and) gradually made his way through Magadha. Finally he reached the mountain Pāṇḍava¹⁸²) and rested there. Thereupon he entered Rājagṛha¹⁸³) by the Tapoda¹⁸⁴) gate. The citizens and their king Bimbisāra¹⁸⁵), full of faith, [71. b.] offered him a part of the kingdom, but he refused.

¹⁷⁴) Lal.-vist. 226. 6—13.

¹⁷⁵) Ibid. 226. 14—227. 2.

¹⁷⁶) Ibid. 237. 18—20.

¹⁷⁷) Sic acc. to Lal., Tib. Rigs-Idan.

¹⁷⁸) Yans-pa-can.

¹⁷⁹) Rgyu-rtsal-ṣes-kyi bu Rin-lphur.

¹⁸⁰) *ci-yañ-med-paḥi skye-mched* = *ākinācanya-āyatana*.

¹⁸¹) Lal.-vist. 238. 14—239. 16.

¹⁸²) Skya-bo.

¹⁸³) Rgyal-poḥi-khab.

¹⁸⁴) Chu-dron-can-gyl sgo.

¹⁸⁵) Gzugs-can-sñin-po.

Thereafter he met Udraka Rāmaputra¹⁸⁶) who was teaching to his 700 pupils about the concentration of mind in the sphere where there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness¹⁸⁷), and thought: —By such excercises of austerity I shall produce an elevated state of the mind and get rid of every kind of contemplation that is influenced by defiling agencies. Accordingly he declared that he would be one of the disciples (of Udraka) and soon attained the state of the mind absorbed in the sphere in which there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness. Then, having spoken (with Udraka) as before (with Ārāḍa-Kālāma)¹⁸⁸), he left him saying: — This is not conducive to Nirvāṇa. — From that time 5 disciples¹⁸⁹) (who had studied with Udraka) followed the Bodhisattva. And, when they had arrived at the summit of the mountain Gayā, the Bodhisattva had a sudden flash of idea regarding 3 points of resemblance unknown and unheard of before, (referring to the ascetics and Brāhmanas who have not abandoned their desires)¹⁹⁰). Then the Bodhisattva, having come to the shore of the river Nairañjanā, thought as follows: — (I have come into this world) at the time of the 5 kinds of degeneration¹⁹¹), amidst (living beings) who are devoted to teachings of a low order and think to attain purification by incorrect religious observances. In order (to be able to) remove these false views, I must begin the practice of the true form of penance and asceticism.

8. [The Practice of Asceticism.]

Accordingly, after that he abided for 6 years in the state of concentration called “the All-pervading”²⁹²) and during these 6 years underwent the most rigid austerity, feeding upon one grain of

¹⁸⁶) Rañs-byed-kyi-bu Lhag-spyod.

¹⁸⁷) *naiva-saṃjñā-nāsaṃjñā-āyatana*. The tib. has *srid-rtse* = *bhavāgra*.

¹⁸⁸) Lal.-vist. 243. 15—245. 15.

¹⁸⁹) *Līa sde-bzañ-po* = *Pañcakā bhadra-vārgiyāḥ*.

¹⁹⁰) Lal.-vist. 246. 10—247. 4. (First point of resemblance — *prathamā upamā*), 247. 5—11. (Secord point of resemblance — *dvitīyā upamā*), 247. 12—22 (Thlrd point of resemblance — *trītiyā upamā*). — *tisra upamāḥ pratibhānti sma / aṣṭuta-pūrvā anabhijñāta-pūrvāḥ /*

¹⁹¹) *sñigs-ma-līa* = *pañca-kaṣāya*. Cf. M. Vyutp. § 124.

¹⁹²) *nam-mkhaḥ-khyab-kyi tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin* = *āspḥāraka-samādhi* — *ākūṣam ās-pharaṇam akaraṇam avikaraṇam tac ca sarvaṃ spharati*’ *ti hy ākūṣa-samañ tad dhyānañ teno’ eyate āspḥārakam iti* // Lal.-vist. 250. 19—20. The Lal. has *āspḥānaka*.

the jujube, one grain of sesamum, and one grain of rice, and sat suspending his breath. At that time (as he was sitting there immovable), some of the Devaputras said to his mother Māyādevī¹⁹³: Thy son is dead. She came (down) from the realm of the gods, saw the body of the Bodhisattva resembling a corpse and began to lament: — (O my son, said she), immediately after thou wert born, thou hast declared: — This is my last birth. — Now this thy promise has not been fulfilled and the prophecy of the sage Asita (regarding thy future Buddhahood) proves to be untrue. — The Bodhisattva replied¹⁹⁴:

May the sun, the moon, and the multitude of the stars fall
on the ground,
But I shall not die as I am now, an ordinary being.
Therefore thou must not be grieved, for in a short time
Thou shalt witness (my) Enlightenment and attainment
of Buddhahood. —

Thus spoke he, and Māyādevī, delighted, returned to her abode. [72. a.]

(And, as he continued to sit without stirring), the village cowherds and others stuffed cotton into his ears, but he cast it out from his nose, etc.¹⁹⁵) Then the Evil One, (approaching him), addressed him with pleasant-sounding words, saying: — Maintain, cherish thy life, etc. But, although he thus sought an opportunity (to lead the Bodhisattva into temptation), he found none¹⁹⁶).

Then the Bodhisattva thought: — In order to get rid of the incorrect view, that through the practice of asceticism (alone) one can attain Salvation, I shall now take more substantial food¹⁹⁷) and thereafter go to Bodhimaṇḍa¹⁹⁸). And as he said this, the 5 disciples lost their faith in him and went off to Benares. After that the Bodhisattva got the rags¹⁹⁹) in which the body of Rādhā²⁰⁰) the servant of Sujātā²⁰¹) had been wrapped, washed it in a pond

¹⁹³) Lha-mo Sgyu-hphrul-ma.

¹⁹⁴) Lal-vist. 253. 18, 19 — *candrārka-tāragāṇa bhū pateta / prthagjano naiva ahaṃ mriyeyam / yasmān na ṣoko tvayi atra kāryo / na vai ciraḍ draṣṭavyaḥ buddha-bodhim //*

¹⁹⁵) Ibid. 257. 3—12.

¹⁹⁶) Ibid. 260. 17—263. 5.

¹⁹⁷) *śas raga-pe* = *audārika-āhāra*.

¹⁹⁸) Ibid. 263. 21—264. 3.

¹⁹⁹) *pāmsukūlika*. Cf. Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 325.

²⁰⁰) Grub-ma. ²⁰¹) Legs-skyes-mo.

dug out by the gods, on a flat stone put there by Indra. Then, having got tired, he resolved to get out of the pond. The Evil One (in order to hinder him) suddenly, by magical power, produced high rocks (on the banks of the pond). But the nymph of a tree caused the branches of the latter to bend down; the Bodhisattva grasped them and drew himself out. Then, at the foot of the Kakubha tree²⁰²), he stitched together the garment of rags and, having put over the cloths of reddish hue, presented to him by one of the gods of the Pure Region, entered the village (that was in the neighbourhood), in order to get some food. And, summoned by the gods, Sujātā prepared (food for him), having taken 7 times the cream from the milk of a thousand cows and cast into it fresh grains of rice. And, as in this food prepared by her, the Çrīvatsa²⁰³) and other lucky signs were to be seen, she became delighted, and the sooth-sayers prophecied that she would obtain the nectar of immortality. Then she invited the Bodhisattva to eat and, having filled a golden vessel with honey and with the broth of milk (she had prepared), she presented it to him²⁰⁴). And he, having accepted it, went to the bank of the Nairāṇjanā. There he deposited the food and his garments likewise and began to wash. The gods worshipped him and poured water (upon his body). His hair and beard were carried off by Sujātā (as relics). [72. b.] Thereafter he seated himself on a seat supported by lions which was presented to him by the Nāga maiden of that river, and took his meal. And (having eaten), he cast the golden vessel into the water, and it was carried away by Sāgara, the king of the Nāgas²⁰⁵). But Indra, having obtained it from him, brought it to the realm of the 33 gods, worshipped it there, and celebrated a feast in its honour²⁰⁶).

9. [The Victory over the Evil One.]

Then the Bodhisattva, having washed and taken his meal, grew full of strength and with superhuman energy set off toward the Bodhi tree, in order to vanquish Māra. The deities of the rain and wind moistened his path and strew flowers upon it. And all

²⁰²) *cin sgrub-byed-kyi druñ-đu*. Lal.-vist. 267. 6—8.

²⁰³) *dpal-beñu*. ²⁰⁴) Lal.-vist. 268. 22, 22.

²⁰⁵) Kluṇi-rgyal-po Rgya-mtsho = Sāgara-Nāgarāja.

²⁰⁶) Lal.-vist. 270. 1—12. . . . *nīvā pātri-yātrām nāma parvāṇi pravara-*
sāvān /

the mountains and trees bent down (in the direction of Bodhi-maṇḍa), and even the new-born infants showed him the way with their heads, as they slept with their faces turned in that direction²⁰⁷). And Brahma, the Powerful²⁰⁸), the Lord of the 3000 worlds, summoned all who surrounded him to worship, as the Bodhisattva was to reach Bodhimaṇḍa that evening. Accordingly, inconceivable acts of worship were performed²⁰⁹). And from the body of the Bodhisattva there came forth a light, through which all suffering and turmoil was pacified and the spirits of the converts rendered pure. (Seeing this), Kālīka the king of the Nāgas²¹⁰) likewise worshipped the Bodhisattva²¹¹). Thereafter the latter, seeing to the right side of the road a tuft of the Svastika grass²¹²), addressed it as follows²¹³):

O give me quickly a bundle of grass,
To-day such grass will be of great use to me:
Having vanquished Māra and his hosts,
I shall attain Supreme Enlightenment and Quiescence.

And it presented him with a bundle of grass, green, soft, and pleasant to feel. Having taken it, he thrice walked round the Bodhi tree, spread the grass with the tops inward and the roots outwards, and, looking toward the east, sat down, erected himself, and, concentrating his mind, said²¹⁴):

May, as long as I sit here, my body wither away,
May the skin, the bones and the flesh decay,
But until I have not attained Enlightenment
Which is hard to be secured even during many aeons, —
I shall not move from this spot. — [73 a.]

Such was the powerful oath he uttered.

At that time the gods, in order to protect the Bodhisattva, placed themselves at the 10 quarters of the skies. And the Bodhi-

²⁰⁷) Ibid. 273. 9—15.

²⁰⁸) Tshañs-pa dbañ-bsgyur = Brahmā vaçavartī.

²⁰⁹) Lal.-vist. 274. 16—278. 5.

²¹⁰) Klu Nag-po. ²¹¹) Lal.-vist. 278. 20—281. 9. sqq.

²¹²) *bkra-çis-rtswa brja-ba* = *svastika-yāvasika*.

²¹³) Lal.-vist. 287. 3—4. — *trāṇu dehi mi svastika çighraṁ / oḍya samārthu trāṇiḥ sumahantaḥ / sabalaṁ namuciṁ vihanitvā / bodhim anuttara-çānti spṛçaye.*

²¹⁴) Lal.-vist. 289. 19—20. — *ihā' sane çuṣyatu me çarīraṁ / tvag-aṣṭhi-māṁsaṁ praleyaṁ ca yātu / aprāpya bodhim bahu-kalpa-dullabhāṁ / naivā-sanāt kāyam atae çaliyate //*

sattva caused a light to issue from his body, called "the light summoning the Bodhisattvas"²¹⁵). This light was seen throughout innumerable regions, and many Bodhisattvas, having assembled, worshipped him²¹⁶). Then he thought: — It is not proper for me to attain Enlightenment, without having made it known to Māra. — And, accordingly, he let a light called "the Destroyer of all the realms of Māra"²¹⁷) issue from his forehead. This light caused all the abodes of the Evil One to be seen, made them tremble, and darkened them. And the following words were to be heard²¹⁸):

The purest living being who has practised virtue during
numerous aeons,
The son of Çuddhodana, having renounced his royal power,
Has departed (from home) in the wish of helping others
and striving for the nectar of immortality,
And has now come to the Bodhi tree. Take care, therefore
now, (O Māra)! —

and so on.

And Māra, the Evil One, had 32 dreams, that his abode was covered with darkness and the like, and made this known to his adherents. Māra's son, Sārthavāha²¹⁹), tried to divert him (from going to encounter the Bodhisattva), but in vain. —

In the forms of Yakṣas, vampires, and great serpents,
Of cannibal demons, ghosts, and fiends,
Terrifying, hideous and fierce, —
Did Māra cunningly transform all his hosts²²⁰).

But, although he beheld such and many other frightful forms, —
The son of the Çākya, having cognized
That all the elements are relative and essentially unreal,

²¹⁵) *byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ bskul-ba ḥes-bya-baḥi ḥod.* = *bodhisattva-saṃcoda-nā nāma raḥmi.*

²¹⁶) Lal.-vist. 290. 5—299. 7.

²¹⁷) *bdud-kyi-dkyil-lkhor thams-cad ḥjoms-par-byed-pa ḥes-bya-baḥi ḥod* = *sarva-māra-maṇḍala-vidhvamsana-kari-nāma raḥmi.*

²¹⁸) Lal.-vist. 300. 13—15. — *kalpogha-cirṇa-carito hy aṣṣuddha-sattvaḥ / Çuddhodanasya tanayaḥ pratijahya rājyaṃ / so nirgato hitakaro hy amṛtā-bhilāṣī / bodhi-drumaṃ hy upagato' dya kuru prayatnam.* //

²¹⁹) Ded-dpon.

²²⁰) Lal.-vist. 307. 18, 19. — *yakṣa-kumbhāṇḍa-mahoraga-rūpāḥ / rākṣasa-preta-piṣācaka-rūpāḥ / yattaka loki virūpa-suraudrāḥ / sarvi ta nirmita tatva gaṭhebbhiḥ* //

And being endowed with a mind (all-pervading and quiescent) like space,
Did not become deluded on seeing all the cunning of the
Evil One's hosts²²¹).

Thereafter Māra was persuaded by those of his adherents who stood to the right side and sympathized with the Bodhisattva, to abstain (from further contest). On the contrary those to the left who were hostile to him, urged (Māra to continue the strife). [73. b.] And Māra hurled various weapons at the Bodhisattva, but these were all transformed into flowers. Then the Evil One said: — How canst thou attain Salvation only by these thy merits? — The Bodhisattva replied: — Thou hast performed one unimpeded sacrifice²²²) and hast by the virtue of it become the Lord of the World of Desire. I, in my turn have made many unimpeded sacrifices. — The sacrifice performed by me, said Māra, was unimpeded and irreproachable. Thyself, thou art the witness of it. But for thy deeds there is no witness whatever; therefore all thou sayest is useless: thou art defeated. — To this the Bodhisattva said: — This earth is my witness. And, striking the earth with his right hand²²³): —

This earth is the support of all the living beings,
It is equal and it is impartial
With regard to all, that does and does not move.
May it bear evidence that I do not lie,
And may it be the witness before you.

And, as he said this, the earth trembled 6 times and out came Sthāvarā²²⁴) the goddess of the earth, showing half of her body and, folding her hands, said: — O highest of beings, so it is. As thou hast said, so is it, perfectly true. It is all evident and clear to me. But, O Lord, thou art thyself the highest witness (of the truth) for all the world, including the gods. — Thus spoke she and disappeared. —

²²¹) Ibid. 308. 13, 14. — *śākya-sutas tu svabhāvam abhāvam / dharma pratītya-samutthita buddhvā / gaganopama-cittu suyukto / na bhramate sabalaṃ śaṭha dṛṣtvā //*

²²²) *gian-pa-med-paḥi mchod-sbyin* = *nirargaḍa-yajña*.

²²³) Lal.-vist. 318. 18, 19. — *iyam mahī sarva-jagat-pratiṣṭhā / apakṣa-pātū sacarā' care samā / iyam pramāṇā mama nāsti me mṛṣā / sāksitvam asmin mama saṃprayacchatu //*

²²⁴) Brtan-ma.

And the Cunning One with his hosts,
 Having heard this voice of the earth,
 Like jackals hearing the lions roar
 In the forest, and like ravens at the sound of a missile,
 Fleed with hearts full of wrath and fear²²⁵).

Thereafter the Evil One, disappointed, sent his own daughters to disturb (the Bodhisattva). These tried in 32 different ways to seduce him, by covering half of their faces etc. [74 a.] But (all these efforts) were unable to delude (the Bodhisattva), to the great distress of the Evil One²²⁶). Then *Çrī*²²⁷) and other tree-nymphs, 8 in number, praised the Bodhisattva in 16 different ways, saying: — Thou art beautiful, like the disc of the ascending autumn moon, — and so on²²⁸). In 16 forms likewise did these deities scorn Māra: — O Evil One, thou art feeble like an old elephant fallen into a mire, etc.²²⁹) And in 16 different ways did the gods try to divert Māra, but in vain. He again hurled different missiles (at the Bodhisattva) and showed many miraculous apparitions, but gained no ground by this. The host of demons dispersed in confusion, and for 7 days they could not meet together again. And many demons at that time made the Creative Effort for Supreme Enlightenment.

10. [The Attainment of Supreme Enlightenment.]

Thereafter the Bodhisattva became absorbed in the 4 degrees of trance²³⁰) and obtained the 3 kinds of Highest Knowledge. Then, from the last part of the night, before sunrise, and within the space of time of the beating of a drum he came to the cognition of the 12 members of the causal chain and the 4 Truths of the Saint. And after that, by the force of momentary Highest Wisdom²³¹), he attained the full Enlightenment, grew to the height of 7 palm-

²²⁵) Lal.-vist. 319. 13—16. — *taṁ śrutvā medi-niravaṁ sa śaṭhaḥ sasainyaḥ / uttrasta bhinna-hṛdayo prapālāna sarve / śrutvāḥ va siṁha-naditaṁ vane hi śṛṅgālāḥ / kākā va loṣṭu-patane sahasā prapaṣṭāḥ //*

²²⁶) Ibid. 320. 1—331. 19. ²²⁷) Dpal-ldan.

²²⁸) Lal.-vist. 332. 3—4. — *upaśobhase tvaṁ viśuddha-sattva candra iva śukla-pakṣe / abhivirocase tvaṁ viśuddhabuddha sūrya iva prodayamānaḥ //*

²²⁹) Ibid. 333. 2. — *durbalas tvaṁ pāpiyan jirṇa-gaḥ iva paṅka-magnaḥ //*
²³⁰) *bsam-gtan* = *dhyāna*.

²³¹) *skad-cig gcig dan ldan-paḥi ṣes-rab-kyis* = *eka-citta-kṣaṇa-samyuktayā prajñayā*. Is the same as *eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha*.

trees and made the following solemn utterance²³³): — “Finished is the course of my Path”, — and so on²³³).

And the gods strewed flowers which covered his feet up to his knees and worshipped him. The world grew full of light, the earth trembled, and all the Buddhas in the 10 quarters of the sky became full of highest delight and saluted him, saying²³⁴):

Just as we have attained Enlightenment (before),
In the same way thou hast likewise come to Buddhahood,
(Being pure) like clarified butter and its essence. —

And the daughters of the gods likewise praised him. The Teacher in his turn made another solemn utterance²³⁵):

The fruit of virtue is bliss and the removal of all suffering,
The projects of a virtuous being meet with success.

[74 b.] Having vanquished Māra he attains Enlightenment

And the cool quiescent essence of Nirvāṇa at an early date. —
And then, after the gods had again greatly praised him, he remained for a week, sitting immovably in a cross-legged posture and contemplated the Bodhi tree²³⁶). On the second week he made his journey through the 3000 thousands of worlds. On the third he again contemplated the Bodhi tree without shutting his eyes. And, on the fourth week he made another walk, not so long (as the first) to the eastern and the western (seas). Thereafter Māra, the Evil One, entreated him to depart into Nirvāṇa, but, as the Buddha declared that, before having accomplished the aim of all the converts, he would not pass away, Māra was again disappointed. His daughters, Rati²³⁷) and the rest approached the Buddha (in order to seduce him), but he transformed them into old hags. On the fifth week there was rainy and stormy weather, and at that time the Buddha abided in the realm of the Nāga king Mucilinda²³⁸). On the sixth week he went to the Nyagrodha-tree of Ajapāla²³⁹) and addressed the Parivrājakas²⁴⁰) as follows²⁴¹):

²³³) *ched-du-brjed-pa* = *udāna*. ²³³) Lal.-vist. 351. 1, 2.

²³⁴) Ibid. 353. 7, 8. — *bodhir yathāmanugatā bhavatā viśuddhā / tulyaḥ samo'si yathā sarpiṇī sarpa-maṇḍaiḥ //*

²³⁵) Ibid. 355. 19—22. — *puṇya-vipāku sukha sarva-duḥkhāpaneti / abhi-prāyu sidhyati ca puṇyavato narasya / kṣīpram ca bodhi spṛṣate viniḥatyā mārām / cāntāpaṭho gacchati ca nirvṛti(sic)-cīti-bhāvam //*

²³⁶) Ibid. 369. 9—11.

²³⁷) *Dgaḥ-ma*.

²³⁸) *Btañ-bzuñ*.

²³⁹) *Ra-skyoñ*.

²⁴⁰) *Kun-tu-rgyu*.

²⁴¹) Lal.-vist. 380. 16—19.

Blissful is the solitary life of him
 Who has heard the Doctrine and perceived the Truth,
 And full of uninterrupted bliss is the life
 Of him who has subdued the animate beings,
 But has not done harm to anybody, —

and so on. On the seventh week he abided at the foot of a sacred fig-tree.²⁴³). The merchants Trapuṣa²⁴³) and Bhallika²⁴⁴) offered him honey, rice-gruel, and sugar-cane, the bark of which had been taken off. But he thought: — It is not suitable to take (this food) with one's hands. With the previous Buddhas it was a bowl in which they accepted (the offerings). — And the 4 guardian kings offered him vessels made of gold etc., but he did not take them (knowing that the bowls of the former Buddhas had been made of stone). Accordingly, each of the 4 kings took one of the 4 vessels that were presented to Vaiṣṭhavya²⁴⁵) by the deities of the Blue Region²⁴⁶), filled them with flowers, offered them and made their salutations. [75. a.] The Lord said²⁴⁷): —

Give the mendicant's bowl to the Buddha,
 And thou shalt be thyself the vessel of the Highest Doctrine.
 He who offers the bowl to such like me,
 Will never be deprived of wisdom and memory.

Such and similar words he uttered, accepted (the 4 vessels) and pronounced a blessing by the force of which they were transformed into one. Then Trapuṣa and Bhallika prepared cream taken from the milk of a thousand cows, poured it into a trough made of precious stones and offered it to him. And (the Buddha), after having taken this meal, cast away the trough which was carried off by Brahma. Then the Teacher granted the following benediction to Trapuṣa and Bhallika²⁴⁸):

The blessing of the Divine bring fortune to all the countries,
 And bring to accomplishment all the desired aims.
 All your projects are to be fulfilled,
 And everything will soon be favourable to you. —

²⁴³) *śiñ sgrol-rgyuhi druñ-du = śārāyaṇa-mūle.*

²⁴³) Ga-gon. ²⁴⁴) Bzañ-po (? Bhadrīka).

²⁴⁵) Rnam-sras.

²⁴⁶) *nīla-kāyika-devaputra.*

²⁴⁷) Lal.-vist. 384. 8, 9. — *upanāmayasva sugatasya bhājanam / tvam bheṣyase bhājanam agra-yāne / asmad-vidhebhya hi pradāya bhājanam / smṛtiḥ matiḥ caiva na jātu hīyate //* ²⁴⁸) Ibid. 387. 12—391. 18.

This and the following he said and prophesied them to be the Buddhas known by the name of Madhusambhava²⁴⁹).

11. [The Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine.]

Thereafter the Teacher seated himself, intending to abide in silence and indifference, and said²⁵⁰):

I have secured the cognition of the Truth, profound,
Free from defilement, illuminating, eternal, and like nectar.
But, if I should demonstrate it to others, they will not understand.

Therefore I shall abide in solitude in the forest.

But then he thought²⁵¹):

Infinite is my Commiseration with regard to all that lives,
And I must not hesitate when others pray me.
These living beings are devoted to Brahma; so
If he prays me I shall swing the Wheel of the Doctrine. —

Accordingly he caused a light to issue from his body, and Brahma, the crested²⁵²), the lord of the 3000 worlds, came to know this, summoned his adherents and, with 6 800 000 other deities of the Brahmaloка entreated the Buddha with folded hands, saying²⁵³):

Thou hast attained the sphere of Sublime Divine Wisdom,
And, the rays of this Wisdom, expanding through the 10
quarters of the sky,
Cause to open those lotuses who are the living beings.
O Thou, sun of Sublime Speech, why dost Thou now remain
indifferent? —

With such and similar words did he summon the Buddha. And, as the latter expressed his consent by silence [75 b.], Brahma departed, and the Buddha, in his turn, remained sitting as if he was quite indifferent (to Brahma's exhortation).

²⁴⁹) *Sbran-rtsi-hbyun-ba zes-paḥi rgyal-bar lun-bstan-no.* — Lal.-vist. 391. 22.
— *Madhusambhava nāma jinā bhaviṣyatha* //

²⁵⁰) Ibid. 393. 1, 2. — *gambhīra cūṇto virajaḥ prabhāsvaraḥ / prāpto mi dharmo hy amṛto' saṁskṛtaḥ / deṣeya cā haṁ na parasya jāne / yan nūna tūṣṇī pavane vaseyam* //

²⁵¹) Ibid. 393. 13, 14.

²⁵²) *Tshañs-pa gtsug-phud-can* = Çlkhī Mahābrahmā.

²⁵³) Lal.-vist. 394. 17, 18.

Thereupon Indra likewise entreated him saying²⁵⁴):

Thy mind has obtained complete deliverance
Like the full moon delivered from the jaws of Rahu,
I pray thee, rise up, Thou who hast conquered in battle,
And let the light of Thy Wisdom appear in the darkness
of this world. —

Thus spoke he, but Buddha did not answer a word. Then Brahma again addressed him²⁵⁵):

O Great Sage, I pray Thee to expound the Doctrine, —
For there are such who are desirous (of hearing it). —

The Teacher replied²⁵⁶):

The living beings are fettered by the bonds of Desire,
And are carried by the stream (of Phenomenal Life).
I, in my turn, have come to the intuition of the Truth with
great difficulty,
For this reason there is no use of teaching it. —

Again the Teacher gave up his mind to indifference. And various unlucky signs appeared: — The fire did not blaze forth, and so on²⁵⁷). (Having seen this), Brahma said²⁵⁸): —

In this country of Magadha an impure teaching,
Produced by defiled thoughts has been preached.
Therefore, O Sage, I pray Thee to admit us to the nectar,
And may the immaculate Doctrine of the Buddha be heard.

As he thus insisted, Buddha looked upon the living beings who were unsteady (as regards the means of deliverance) and gave his consent, saying²⁵⁹):

²⁵⁴) Ibid. 397. 1, 2. — *uttiṣṭha vijjita-saṅgrāma prajñakārā timirā vivara loke / cittaṁ hi te vimuktaṁ ṣaṣir iva pūrṇo graha-vimuktaḥ //*

²⁵⁵) Ibid. 397. 11. *deṣaya tvaṁ mune dharmāṁ ājñātāro bhaviṣyanti //*

²⁵⁶) Ibid. 397. 18, 19. — *anusrotaṁ pravāhyante kāmeṣu patitāḥ prajāḥ / kṛcchrena me' yaṁ saṁprāptam alaṁ tasmāt prakāṣitum //*

²⁵⁷) Ibid. 398. 2—8.

²⁵⁸) Ibid. 398. 16, 17. — *vādo babbhūva samalair vicintito dharmo' viśuddho Magadheṣu pūrvam / amṛtaṁ mune tad vīṛṇiṣva dvāraṁ ṣṇvanti dharmāṁ vimalena buddham //* Cf. Yaçomitra, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, II. Koṣa-sthāna, B. B. 16. 15—17. 4.

²⁵⁹) Ibid. 400. 18, 19. — *apāvṛtās teṣāṁ amṛtasya dvārā / brahmanti satatam ye śrotavantaḥ / praṣiṅganti śradhdhā naviheta-saṁjñāḥ, etc.*

I shall admit to the nectar those of the living beings,
Who have ears to hear, are possessed of faith,
And always listen to the Doctrine, free from sinful thoughts.

Thereafter the deities of the Bodhi tree, Dharmaruci²⁶⁰), and others asked: — Where shalt thou turn the Wheel of the Doctrine? — He replied: — In Benares. — To this they said: — There are few people in that place and there is no shade; it will be better to preach elsewhere. — O ye, fair-faced, do not say so, — returned he. Then he reflected, as to who could be those disciples who were easy to convert, and to whom he was to teach the Doctrine first of all. And, knowing that Udraka had died a week before and Ārāḍa-Kālāma had likewise passed away 3 days ago, he resolved to teach the Doctrine to the 5 disciples. [76 a.] Accordingly, from Magadha, he went to Benares. And on the way he met a beggar²⁶¹) who addressed him as follows: — Thy faculties are acute and Thy skin is pure; — from whom hast Thou learned to live in virtue? The Lord replied²⁶²):

There is none who could be my teacher, and none who could be equal to me.

I am the Unique Buddha, perfectly calm and free from defilement. —

Thereupon (the beggar) asked: — Doest thou call thyself an Arhat? — (The Lord) replied²⁶³):

I am the Arhat in this world, —

I am the Teacher, greater than whom there is none.

There is not a being that could be like me,

Including the gods, the Asuras and the Gandharvas. —

The beggar asked again: — Doest thou say that thou art a Buddha, one who is called “the Victorious”? — The Teacher said²⁶⁴):

“The Victorious”²⁶⁵) (the Buddhas) are those

Who like myself have come to the extirpation of defilement;

²⁶⁰) Chos-sred.

²⁶¹) *ḥiśho-ba-pa* = *ājīvaka*.

²⁶²) Lal.-vist. 405. 20, 21. — *ācāryo na hi me kaṇṇit sādṛṣo me na vidyate / eko' ham asmi sambuddhaḥ cūṭi-bhūto nirāsravaḥ //*

²⁶³) Ibid. 406. 2, 3. — *aham evā' rahan loka cātā hy aham anuttaraḥ / sa-devāsura-gandharva nāsti me pratipudgalaḥ //*

²⁶⁴) Ibid. 406. 6, 7. — *jinā hi sādṛṣā jñeyā ye prāptā āsrava-kṣayam / jñā me pāpakā dharmās teno' paka jino hy aham //* ²⁶⁵) *rgyal-ba* = *jina*.

I have vanquished all that is sinful,
 Therefore, O Upaka²⁶⁶), I am "the Victorious". —
 Whither art thou going? — inquired the beggar. —
 To Benares I intend to go;
 Having come to that illustrious city,
 I shall produce an unsurpassable light,
 For the sake of the world that is like blind²⁶⁷).

The beggar said: — May it be so, — and departed to the south. The teacher in his turn, went northward, reached the mountains Gayā, Rohitavastu²⁶⁸), Uruvilvākalpa²⁶⁹) and Aṇāla²⁷⁰), went from there to the city called Sārathipura²⁷¹), and finally came to the shores of the Ganges. There the ferryman asked him the passage-money. — I have none, — replied the teacher, rose up into the air and passed over the river. This came to be known by the king Bimbisāra who forbade after that to take any loan from the monks. Buddha then came to Benares, collected alms, took his meal, and then went to the place called Rṣipatana²⁷²). The 5 disciples (who had left him) saw him coming and said: — The ascetic Gautama who has slackened (in his austerities), has eaten plentifully, and has neglected the removal (of all that is worldly), is now coming here. [76 b.] No one need to rise up and to present him the religious robes and the bowl. If he wants, he may seat himself on the seat that is left. Such was the agreement they made²⁷³), but Ājñāta-kauṇḍinya did not approve it in his mind. The Teacher arrived, but the 5 were not able to fulfill their intention (of showing disrespect to him). They broke their agreement and rose up from their seats. — One went to meet the Teacher, another prepared the seat (for him) and water to wash his feet, etc. Welcome, they said, — pray to sit thyself on this seat. — The Teacher seated himself and spoke many a word to the 5 disciples that excited their joy²⁷⁴). The five said: — O long-lived Gautama, thy senses are

²⁶⁶) Ñer-ḥgro.

²⁶⁷) Lal.-vist. 406. 10, 11. — *Vārāṇasīm gamiṣyāmi gatvā vai Kāçinām purīm / andhabhūtasya lokasya kartāmy asadṛçām prabhām //*

²⁶⁸) Lteñ (?) ²⁶⁹) Rgyas (?) ²⁷⁰) Tsan-dan-la (?)

²⁷¹) Groñ-khyer Kha-lo-bsgyur.

²⁷²) Drañ-sroñ-ltuñ-ba.

²⁷³) *ḥog-khrims bcas = kriyābandham akāraṇaḥ*. Lal.-vist. 407. 18 sqq.

²⁷⁴) Ibid. 409, 1.

acute and thy skin (body) is pure²⁷⁵). Hast thou made manifest the special intuitive knowledge (of a Saint)? — (The Buddha replied): — You must not call the Buddha “long-lived”. A long period of life-time does not bring happiness. — I have obtained the nectar, have become a Buddha, and am omniscient²⁷⁶). Have you not made just now a bad agreement (in order to show disrespect to me)? — And, as he spoke thus, they became monks (under his orders), fell to his feet, confessed their sins, and became full of reverence. After the Teacher had refreshed his body, he thought: — Where am I to turn the Wheel of the Doctrine? — And at that place there appeared 1000 seats made of the 7 kinds of jewels²⁷⁷). (The Teacher) circumambulated 3 of these (that had belonged to the previous Buddhas) and then seated himself on the 4th. And, after he had done this, a light issued from his body, illuminating the 3000 thousands of worlds. The earth trembled, and the living beings became purified. Thereupon the gods presented him a golden wheel with a 1000 spokes and prayed him to swing the Wheel of the Doctrine. During the first quarter of the night, he did not utter a word; then at midnight he spoke so as to gladden (the disciples). [77 a.] And, finally, from the last quarter of the night he began to preach (to the five): — O monks, there are 2 extremities which are to be avoided by him who has embraced religious life. These are: — The extremity of licence²⁷⁸) and that of self-torture²⁷⁹). The Buddha teaches the Doctrine as being the middle way²⁸⁰) shunning both these extremities. (This middle way) is the 8 fold Path of the Saint²⁸¹). O monks, these are the 4 Truths (or cardinal principles)²⁸²) of a Saint. There is the uneasiness (of Phenomenal Life)²⁸³), there is the cause of it²⁸⁴), its Extinction²⁸⁵), and the Path that leads to this Extinction²⁸⁶).

²⁷⁵) Ibid. 409. 2, 3. — *viprasannāni te āyusman Gautama indriyāṇi paripuṇḍ-dhaṣ chavi-varṇaḥ* etc. ²⁷⁶) Ibid. 409. 8, 9.

²⁷⁷) Ibid. 410. 6. — *sapta-ratna-mayam āsana-sahasraṃ prādurabhūt /*

²⁷⁸) *ḥḍod-pa bsod-nams-kyi mīhaḥ = kāma-sukhallika-anuyoga-anta.*

²⁷⁹) *nal ḥiḥ dub-paḥi mīhaḥ = ātma-klamatha-anuyoga-anta.*

²⁸⁰) *dbu-maḥi lam = madhyama-pratipad.*

²⁸¹) *ḥphags-paḥi lam yan-lag-brgyad = ārya-aṣṭāṅga-mārga.*

²⁸²) *ḥphags-paḥi bden-pa bḥi = catvāri ārya-satyāni.*

²⁸³) *sdug-bsḥal = duḥkha.*

²⁸⁴) *kun-ḥḥyuuḥ = samudaya.*

²⁸⁵) *ḥgog-pa = nirodha.*

²⁸⁶) *lam = mārga or nirodha-gā minī pratipad.*

— Then: — Phenomenal Existence is to be cognized²⁸⁷, its cause is to be removed²⁸⁸, and so on. And: — Phenomenal Existence is cognized, its cause is removed, — etc. In such a way he thrice entered upon the subject of the 4 Truths and turned the Wheel of the Doctrine in 12 ways²⁸⁹. The consequence was, that Kauṇḍinya became an Arhat and came to the full realization (i. e. the cognition) of the 3 Jewels. —

Thus, in 12 forms did the Buddha swing the Wheel of the Doctrine,

And Kauṇḍinya came to the full cognition

And the realization of the 3 Jewels²⁹⁰.

In regard of this swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine, we must distinguish 5 points, viz. the place (1), time (2), hearers (3), the Doctrine itself (4), and its aim (5). The first was Benares. The time was, according to some, 6 years and 6 months, according to Chimpa²⁹¹ — 7 years, and according to Chag — 7 years without 2 months. The hearers were Kauṇḍinya, Aṣvajit²⁹², Bāṣpa²⁹³ Mahānāman²⁹⁴, and Bhadrīka²⁹⁵, — 5 men and a numerous assembly of gods. The Doctrine was that of the 4 Truths, repeated 3 times, thus representing the swinging of the Wheel in 12 forms. In the *Abhidharmakośa*²⁹⁶ it is said: —

The Wheel of the Doctrine represents (the Teaching of) the Path of Illumination²⁹⁷.

(The latter resembles a Wheel) by its swift movement, etc.

And by its component parts²⁹⁸ likewise. — [77. b.]

Thus the Path of Illumination is called the “Wheel of the Doctrine”, since it has a resemblance with a wheel by its swift movement, sweeping away, turning, subduing that which has not been subdued, fixing that which has been subdued, ascending and descending. The venerable Ghoṣaka²⁹⁹ says: — Of the eightfold Path

²⁸⁷ *sdug-bśaṅṅal yonś-su-ṣes-par-byā = duḥkhaṁ parijñeyam.*

²⁸⁸ *kun-ḥbyuṅ spaṅ-bar-byā = samudayaḥ prahātavyaḥ.*

²⁸⁹ *triparivarta-dvādaśākāra-dharma-cakra-pravartana.* Cf. M. Vyutp. § 64.

²⁹⁰ Lal. -vist. 421. 1, 2. — *evaṁ hi dvādaśākāraṁ dharma-cakraṁ pravartitaṁ / Kauṇḍinyena ca ājñātaṁ nirvṛtā ratanās trayāḥ* (sic) //

²⁹¹ Mchims-pa.

²⁹² Rta-thul.

²⁹³ Rlaṅs-pa.

²⁹⁴ Miñ-chen.

²⁹⁵ Bzañ-Idan.

²⁹⁶ Transbaikalian (Tsongol Monastery) edition, 89 b. 1—2.

²⁹⁷ *mihon-lam = darśana-mārga.*

²⁹⁸ Lit. “its spokes”. ²⁹⁹ Dbyaṅs-srog.

of the Saint, the correct view³⁰⁰), correct reflection³⁰¹), correct exertion³⁰²), and recollection³⁰³) are the spokes (of the Wheel). Appropriate speech³⁰⁴), acts³⁰⁵), and means of livelihood³⁰⁶) are like the navel. Finally correct concentration is similar to the circumference of a wheel. Owing to all these points of resemblance (the 8 fold Path of the Saint) is called the Wheel of the Doctrine. We have it however usually said that the Path of Illumination is called the Wheel of the Doctrine. The realization of this Path in (the stream of elements) of Kaundīnya, is spoken of as "the Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine". It has been repeated 3 times, viz. 1. "This is the uneasiness of Phenomenal Life", etc., 2. "Phenomenal Existence is to be fully cognized," etc., 3. "Phenomenal Existence has been fully cognized", etc. With regard to each of these 3 "repetitions" it has been said: — The vision (of this) has arisen, and the cognition, full apprehension, and analysis (of it) have been brought about³⁰⁷). — The Path free from impediments³⁰⁸), the Path of Deliverance³⁰⁹), and the Special Path³¹⁰) have been demonstrated, as representing the 12 aspects of the Teaching. — But, may it be said, we shall have altogether 12 "repetitions" and 64 aspects. — There is no mistake in this, since the divisions in 3 and in 12 correspond to each other. According to the Vaibhāṣikas, the 3 repetitions or recurrences (of the Wheel) demonstrate the Paths of Illumination, Contemplation³¹¹), and the Ultimate Path³¹²). But in such a case the swinging of the Wheel of the

³⁰⁰) *yañ-dag-paḥi lta-ba* = *samyag-dṛṣṭi*.

³⁰¹) *yañ-dag-paḥi rtog-pa* = *samyak-saṃkalpa*.

³⁰²) *yañ-dag-paḥi rtsol-ba* = *samyag-vyāyāma*.

³⁰³) *yañ-dag-paḥi dran-pa* = *samyak-smṛti*.

³⁰⁴) *yañ-dag-paḥi ñag* = *samyag-vāk*.

³⁰⁵) *yañ-dag-paḥi las-mīhaḥ* = *samyak-karmānta*.

³⁰⁶) *yañ-dag-paḥi ḥtsho-ba* = *samyag-ājīva*.

³⁰⁷) Lal.-vist. 417. 16, 17. *jñānam utpannam cakṣur utpannam vidyā utpannā medhā utpannā prajñā utpannā ālokaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ*.

³⁰⁸) *bar-chad-med-lam* = *ānantarya-mārga*.

³⁰⁹) *rnam-grol-lam* = *vimukti-mārga*.

³¹⁰) *khyad-par-gyi lam* = *viṣeṣa-mārga*. Cf. Yaçomitra, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā II Koçasthāna, B. B. 31. 20—32. 1. — *ānantarya-mārga utpadyate / sa punar yena kleṣān prajahāti / vimukti-mārgo' py ānantarya-mārgād anantaram utpadyate kleṣa-prahāṇa-prāpter avadhāraḥ / viṣeṣa-mārgas tata uccaṃ viṣiṣṭo mārgaḥ / tena mārgeṇa nava-prakārah kleṣūḥ praheyūḥ /*

³¹¹) *sgom-lam* = *bhāvanā-mārga*.

³¹²) *mi-slob-lam* = *açaiḥṣa-mārga*.

Doctrine could not consist of 3 recurrences and 12 forms, since the Path of Illumination alone would not represent these 3 recurrences and 12 forms. For this reason, just this division of the Doctrine³¹³⁾ is called "The Wheel of the Doctrine". The 3 recurrences are the 4 Truths of the Saint as repeated 3 times. The 12 forms (or aspects) are: — 1) — "This is Phenomenal Existence". 2) — "This is its cause." 3) — "This is the Extinction" (of Phenomenal Existence). 4) — "This is the Path leading to this Extinction." [78 a.] 5) "Phenomenal Existence is to be fully cognized." 6) — "Its cause is to be removed." 7) — "Extinction is to be realized." 8) — "The Path is to be made an object of Concentration." 9) — "Phenomenal Existence has been fully cognized." 10) — "Its cause has been removed." 11) — "Extinction is realized." 12) — "The Path has been made an object of Concentration³¹⁴⁾." The "Swinging" of the Wheel means introducing it or making it intelligible to the mind of another person. The aim attained (by this swinging) was as follows: — At the first recurrence, the Path of Illumination was realized in (the mind of) Kauṇḍinya and the numerous gods. At the second — Kauṇḍinya attained Arhatship and the Path of Illumination likewise became originated in (the minds of) the other 4 disciples. Finally, at the 3^d swinging these 4 likewise became Arhats. This was the direct aim (attained). The indirect, or the special aim was: — To cause the converts, to abstain from views maintaining the reality of the Individual³¹⁵⁾ (as an independent whole) and, thereafter, to make them partake of the 4 Results of saintliness. —

As concerns the Teaching of the Intermediate Period³¹⁶⁾, "the Wheel of the Doctrine of Non-substantiality", — the place (where it was delivered) was the mountain Gṛdhrakūṭa³¹⁷⁾. The duration of time was, according to Tho-lo³¹⁸⁾ 30 years, according to Chim-pa — 27 years, according to Chag — 31 years, and according to others — 12 years. The hearers were 1250 or 5000 monks, nuns, and male³¹⁹⁾ and female³²⁰⁾ devotees of the laity and a multitude of myriads of Bodhisattvas. The Doctrine is that of Non-substantiality, that which is contained in the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the

³¹³⁾ *chos-kyi rnam-graṅs* = *dharma-paryāya*.

³¹⁴⁾ Cf. M. Vyutp. § 64. ³¹⁵⁾ *gañ-sag* = *pudgala*.

³¹⁶⁾ *madhya-cakra*. ³¹⁷⁾ Bya-rgod-phuñ-po.

³¹⁸⁾ Khro-lo. ³¹⁹⁾ *dge-baṅen* = *upāsaka*.

³²⁰⁾ *dge-baṅen-ma* = *upāsikā*.

Scripture of the Intermediate Period. According to Dharmamitra³²¹), the *Prajñāpāramitā* contains a 2 fold subject-matter, viz. the essence of the Doctrine and the process of intuition (of the Truth)³²²). The first is exposed in the *Prajñā-hṛdaya*³²³) etc. These discourses demonstrate the Absolute Truth, i. e. the Non-substantiality (and Relativity) of all the elements of existence and the 3 Media of Deliverance³²⁴). The second is exposed in (the following Sūtras): — The most detailed of all is the *Čatasāhasrikā*³²⁵), the most detailed of the discourses of intermediate compass, — the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*³²⁶), the intermediate of the intermediate, — the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*³²⁷), the most abridged of the intermediate, — the *Daśasāhasrikā*³²⁸), the most detailed of the abridged Sūtras, — i. e. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*³²⁹) and the most abridged of the abridged, [78 b.] — the *Ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya*³³⁰). These all have the same subject-matter which is the Teaching about the 8 forms of intuition (on the Path)³³¹). There is a difference only in the verbal part, the latter being either diffused or abridged. So is it said in the commentary on the verse: —

There is only a difference in the varieties of exposition,
The abridged, etc.

The first 5 have been expounded simultaneously. Indeed, the inquirers³³²) are the same in all these Sūtras. Moreover in the part concerning the methods of purification of the Sphere of Buddhahood³³³), the prophecy granted to the goddess of the Ganges is everywhere the same. This latter fact is a decisive argument, for

³²¹) Prasphuṭapadā, Tg. MDO. VIII.

³²²) *mñon-rtogs* = *abhisamaya*.

³²³) Čer-sñiñ (Čes-rab-sñiñ-po), Kg. RGYUD. XII.

³²⁴) *rnam-thar-sgo-gsum* = *triṇi vimokṣa-mukhāni*. M. Vyutp. § 73.

³²⁵) Stoñ-phrag-brgya-pa.

³²⁶) Ņi-khri-lña-stoñ-pa. Is likewise known by the abridged title Ņi-Khri.

³²⁷) Khri-brgyad-stoñ-pa.

³²⁸) Čes-rab-khri-pa.

³²⁹) Brgyad-stoñ-pa.

³³⁰) Yon-tan-rin-po-che-sdud-pa. According to Tsoñ-kha-pa's Gser-phren this classification is not correct. The Saṃcaya cannot be regarded as an independent Sūtra, the most abridged of all, since it represents the 84th chapter of the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā* (Gser-phren, Labrañ edition, I, 7 a. 4, 5).

³³¹) I. e. the 8 principal subjects of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Cf. vol. I. page 51, notes 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515).

³³²) *ju-ba-po*, i. e. Subhūti, Čāriputra, Ānanda, etc.

³³³) *Žiñ-dag-sbyor-ba* = *kṣetra-cuddhi-prayoga*, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* IV. 61.

it is not proper that one and the same Buddha should foretell the attainment of Enlightenment by one and the same person again and again. But, may it be said, this disagrees with the fact, that several prophecies had been delivered with regard to Nāgārjuna. (To this we answer): — These prophecies were each of a different character. In some it was said that he would be the elucidator of the Doctrine, in others — that he would attain Buddhahood, etc. But the prophecy granted to the goddess of the Ganges is (only) that of future Buddhahood and is everywhere the same.

Now (may it likewise be said), in the introductory chapters³³⁴) it has been said that the hearers were half a hundred and thirteen, and afterwards we have it stated that their number was 5000. — This is contradictory. — (To this we say): — There is a difference here, viz. (in the first case) we have an enumeration of the different congregations, (and in the second) — of the individuals that were present.

In the *Catasāhasrikā* the chapter containing the questions of Maitreya³³⁵), that on Eternity, that which contains the sermon delivered to Dharmodgata, and the summary at the end — these 4 are absent; they have not been brought by Nāgārjuna from the realm of the Nāgas.

It has moreover been said: — Although it (the *Prajñāpāramitā*) has been delivered in one way, it has been differently understood in many different forms. Or, to speak otherwise, the Word is one and it has been communicated in one form, but it can be understood in different forms, so that everyone can apprehend it, (being convinced): — This is intended for me. Accordingly, in conformity with one's own faculty of understanding which can be weak, inter-

³³⁴) *gleñ-gñi* = *nidāna*.

³³⁵) This passage is noteworthy, since just this chapter containing the questions of Maitreya is evidently a later production, as it contains the teaching about the 3 aspects of Reality in accordance with the standpoint of the Yogācāra school. (*kalpitaṃ rūpaṃ* = *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*, *vikalpitaṃ rūpaṃ* = *paratantra-lakṣaṇa* and *dharmatā-rūpaṃ* = *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*). Cf. Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*lokā, MS. Minaev, 41 b. 14. — 42 a. 1. — *kalpitaṃ rūpaṃ grāhya-grāhaka-ākāreṇa kalpitatvāt / vikalpitaṃ rūpaṃ abhūta-parikalpanena jñānam eva tathā-pratibhāsa iti vikalpitatvāt / dharmatā-rūpaṃ tattvato rūpaṃ eva cūnyatā-rūpeṇa pariniṣpannatvāt* // This subject is discussed in detail in Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Legs-bcad-shiñ-po*, where it is directly said, that this part of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* is considered by some to contain the teaching of Yogācāra-vijñānavāda.

mediate and acute, one is made to understand (the Doctrine) in 3 ways — viz. as detailed, intermediate and abridged. So have the compilers written it down. They could not have rehearsed it in such a manner themselves (without any divine assistance). There is however no defect here, for this is a miracle produced by the blessing of the Buddha himself. [79 a.]

This is affirmed by the teacher Trilakṣa (Sthirapāla), as say the translators Tho-phu³³⁶) and Chag. As concerns the *Samcaya*, we read in the commentary thereon³³⁷), that it had been subsequently delivered in the dialect of Magadha, in order to give satisfaction to the 4 varieties of hearers.

The aim of the Teaching was to cause all those who had adhered to false views to abstain from these and, subsequently, to direct them to the unique passage (to Salvation)³³⁸) — the Doctrine of Non-substantiality (and Relativity) and of Monism³³⁹). It is said in the *Lalitā-vistara*³⁴⁰):

(The Buddha) has turned the Wheel of the Doctrine, —
That of Monism and Relativity, (the Teaching)
That there is no substance and no plurality,
That nothing (really) appears and disappears anew,
And that nothing (really) increases or becomes diminished.

The fact that these precepts represent the Scripture of the intermediate period is indicated in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* itself as follows: — And there arose the sound of the murmur of the gods in the skies: O! in Jambudvīpa the second swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine can be witnessed. The 3^a Wheel of the Doctrine is that which ascertains the essence of the Absolute Reality³⁴¹). The

³³⁶) Khro-phu. His name is Jam-pai-pal (Byams-paḥi-dpal). Cf. below.

³³⁷) Tg. MDO VII.

³³⁸) *bgrod-pa-gcig-pa* = *ekūyana*.

³³⁹) *tshul-gcig-pa* = *eka-naya*. Cf. Abhisamayālaṅkāra, I. 62 — *śamato'ka-naya-jñātā*.

³⁴⁰) 436. 11, 12. The version of Lefmann's edition is different — *anūlayaṃ niṣprapañcam anutpādam asaṃbhavam / viviktaṃ prakṛti-śūnyaṃ dharmacakraṃ pravartitam //*

³⁴¹) *don-dam rnam-par-nes-paḥi ḥkhor-lo*. This is the name given by the Chinese commentary on the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra of Wen-tshig. (Tg. MDO. XXXIX, XL, and XLI. According to the Tib. tradition it is usually called *legs-par-rnam-par-phe-ba-dan-ldan-paḥi ḥkhor-lo* (*legs-pheḥi chos-ḥkhor*) — the Teaching containing a perfect and correct discrimination (of that which does and does not exist as an Ultimate Reality.) Cf. Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra quoted below and Tson-kha-pa's *Legs-bḥad-sñin-po*, Tsan edition, 13 a. 4—5.

place where it was delivered was Malaya or Vaiçali³⁴²), etc. It is said that the circle of hearers consisted of those devoted to the (3) different Vehicles, but it would be correct if we would take this to mean: "The Bodhisattvas who have entered all the different Vehicles." As concerns the time (during which it was exposed) — Tho-lo says that it was 12 years, — Chim-pa — 10 years, Chag — 7 or 9 years and others — 26 or 27 years. I myself have not seen any authoritative source for these (different varieties) of counting the time.

The Doctrine is that which definitely demonstrates the Absolute Reality. At first, the earliest Teaching completely excluded the nihilistic point of view (i. e. everything, all the elements, were considered to be real in themselves). Owing to this an (incorrect) realistic imputation could easily grow predominant. With a view to this (the Buddha) has expounded the intermediate Teaching in which a negativistic standpoint predominates. But this (Scripture of the latest period) introduces different (degrees of Reality) demonstrating (the elements in their) imputed aspect³⁴³) as totally non-existing³⁴⁴), (the elements in) the causally dependent aspect³⁴⁵) as having a real existence from the standpoint of the Empirical Reality³⁴⁶), and the 2 forms of the Ultimate Aspect^{346 a}), as representing the Absolute Reality. [79 b.] It is accordingly that which puts an end to the 2 extreme points of view, contains the direct meaning³⁴⁷) and cannot be an object of dispute. On the contrary, the other 2 (Swings of the Wheel of the Doctrine)

³⁴²) Yañs-pa-can.

³⁴³) *kun-tu-brtags-poñi mtshan-ñid (kun-brtags) = parikalpita-lakṣaṇa.*

³⁴⁴) Tsoñ-kha-pa and his school object to this statement of Bu-ton that the imputed aspect is totally non-existing.

³⁴⁵) *gžan-dbañ-gi mtshan-ñid (gžan-dbañ) = paratantra-lakṣaṇa.*

³⁴⁶) *kun-rdzoḅ = saṃvṛti.*

^{346a}) *yoñs-su-grub-pañi-mtshan-ñid (yoñs-grub) = pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa.*

The 2 forms of this aspect are: 1. The Absolute as the pure and non-illusory consciousness, as for instance the concentrated transcendental wisdom of the Mahāyānist Saint perceiving the separate unreality of the elements, and 2. the Absolute as the true and unalterable essence of existence, Cf. Khai-qub (Mkhas-grub), Stoñ-thun-bskal-bzañ-mig-hbyed, Vol. I of Khai-qub's works, Tsan edition 31 a. 1—2. — *dbye-na theg-chen-hphags-pañi chos-kyi-bdag-med rtogs-pañi mñam-bžag-ye-ces-lta-bu phyin-ci-ma-log-pañi yoñs-grub (= dharma-nairātmya-bodhaka-samāhita-jñāna-bhūta-aviparīta-pariniṣpanna) dañ chos-ñid hgyur-med yoñs-grub (= avikāra-dharmatā-bhūta-pariniṣpanna) gñis-te.*

³⁴⁷) *ñes-don = nītārtha.*

are of conventional meaning and can be made an object of controversy. This is the opinion of the Vijñānavādins. It is said in the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*³⁴⁸): —Thereafter Paramārthasamudgata³⁴⁹) addressed the Buddha as follows: —The Lord has first of all, in the country of Benares, at Rṣipatana³⁵⁰), in the grove of the antelopes³⁵¹), swung the Wheel of the Doctrine, demonstrating the 4 Truths of the Saint to those who had entered the Vehicle of the Ārāvakas. It was a marvellous and wonderful Teaching, similar to which none in this world, whether gods or men, had expounded before. But nevertheless, this Wheel of the Doctrine, swung by the Lord, (was not the highest form of the Teaching, expounded by him). There were (other Teachings to follow) that were more sublime than it³⁵²). (This earliest Teaching of the Buddha) left an opportunity for controversy, was of conventional meaning³⁵³) and an object of dispute³⁵⁴).

Thereupon the Lord, having begun with (the Teaching that) all the elements are devoid of a real essence of their own³⁵⁵), that they neither become originated³⁵⁶) nor disappear³⁵⁷), that they are quiescent from the outset³⁵⁸) and by their very nature merged in Nirvāṇa³⁵⁹), has swung the second Wheel of the Doctrine for the sake of those who had entered the Great Vehicle³⁶⁰), — (the Teaching) marvellous and wonderful as it demonstrates the principle of Non-substantiality (and Relativity). But, as regards this Wheel of the Doctrine swung by the Lord, there are likewise other Teachings superior (to it). It is of conventional meaning, presents an opportunity (for controversy) and can be an object of dispute.

Finally, the Lord has (again) started with the Teaching about

³⁴⁸) Kg. MDO. V. 24 b. 5—25 a. 4.

³⁴⁹) Don-dam-yañ-dag-ḥphags.

³⁵⁰) Drañ-sroñ-ltuñ-ba (or lhuñ-ba).

³⁵¹) Ri-dvags-kyi-nags = Mṛgadāva.

³⁵²) bla-na-mchis-pa. Is explained by Wen-tshig as: "their being other teachings superior to it" and by Tsoñ-kha-pa "as their being other teachings higher than it, viz. those of direct meaning". Legs-bḥad-sñiñ-po 12 a. 1—3.)

³⁵³) drañ-don = *neyārtha*.

³⁵⁴) rtsod-pahi-gñi = *vivāda-adhikaraṇa*.

³⁵⁵) ño-bo-ñid-ma-mchis-pa = *niḥsvabhāvatā*.

³⁵⁶) sbye-bo-ma-mchis-pa = *anutpanna*.

³⁵⁷) ḥgag-pa-ma-mchis-pa = *aniruddha*.

³⁵⁸) gzod-ma-nas-ñi-ba = *ādi-ñānta*.

³⁵⁹) rañ-bñin-gyis-yoñs-su-mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-pa = *prakṛti-parinirvṛtta*.

³⁶⁰) theg-pa-chen-po-la yañ-dag-par-ñugs-pa = *mahāyāna-saṃprasthita*.

the absence of a real essence with the elements and (the demonstration of the latter) as neither becoming originated, nor disappearing, as quiescent from the outset [80 a.] and as being, by their very nature, merged in Nirvāṇa. He has then swung the third Wheel of the Doctrine for the adherents of all (the 3) Vehicles, (the Teaching) miraculous and wonderful, as it gives a perfect discrimination (of that which is and is not an ultimate reality). And this swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine by the Lord is to be regarded as unsurpassable, it gives no opportunity (for ascribing faults), is of direct meaning and cannot be an object of dispute. —

The aim of this (Teaching) was to remove the 2 extreme imputations³⁶¹⁾ and to cause (the converts) to adopt the middle way³⁶²⁾.

According to the Mādhyamikas, the earliest and the latest Scripture are both conventional³⁶³⁾, and (only) the intermediate contains the direct meaning. The passage (of the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*) just quoted, is explained (by them) as being itself of conventional meaning. Some say that (the Teaching of the latest period) is that which removes the contradiction between the first 2 divisions of Scripture. (These authorities) try to establish this on the foundation of the *Lankāvatāra* where it is said³⁶⁴⁾: —

From the Empirical Standpoint everything exists,
But from that of the Absolute there is no (separate) reality;
Therefore, existence and non-existence with regard to one
and the same thing,

Must not be regarded as a mutual contradiction. —

So they say, (but we answer to this): — The text quoted expresses the point of view of the Mādhyamikas, but not that of the Vijñānavādins³⁶⁵⁾. The latter are not of the opinion that something which does exist, could at the same time be unreal as an ultimate reality³⁶⁶⁾.

³⁶¹⁾ Realism or Eternalism (*rtag-mthaḥ* = *śāṅvata-anta*) and Nihilism or Materialism (*chad-mthaḥ* = *uccheda-anta*).

³⁶²⁾ *dbu-maḥi-lam* = *madhyama-pratipad*.

³⁶³⁾ *dgoṅs-pa-can* = *ābhīprāyika*. ³⁶⁴⁾ Ed. Bunyiu Nanjio, p. 280.

³⁶⁵⁾ According to the Vijñānavādins, the existence of ultimate realities (*paramārthasat*) is admitted.

³⁶⁶⁾ According to the Vijñānavādins, there is a distinction to be made between "an ultimate separate reality" (*paramārtha-sat*) which is identical with the idea of the separate element in the causally dependent aspect (*paratantra*), and the Absolute (*paramārtha-satya*) which is the same as *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*. Khai-dub, Stoñ-thun, 19a. 2.

And the Vijñānavāda is not capable of removing the contradiction between the views of the Hinayānists and those of the Mādhyamikas. Some call the earlier Scripture "the Wheel of the Doctrine demonstrating the 4 Truths of the Saint", that of the second period — "the Wheel of the Doctrine demonstrating the 2 Truths"³⁶⁷, and that of the third — "the Wheel of the Doctrine in which the distinction of the Truths has not been made at all". (This is incorrect,) since we have undeniable proofs that in this latest division of Scripture the 4 or the 2 Truths have been frequently mentioned.

According to some, the latest Scripture is "that of the different Vehicles", since it demonstrates different Teachings that relate to the (3) Vehicles, as it is said in the *Lalita-vistara*³⁶⁸: —

In different forms, (demonstrating) the resemblance
With an illusion, a mirage, a dream,
With the moon's reflection in the water, and the echo,
The Lord has swung the Wheel of the Doctrine. — [80 b.]

The Paṇḍit Parahitabhadra³⁶⁹ says: — He has swung the Wheel of the Doctrine, the Teaching about the attainment of a blissful existence for those deprived of the element of (the saintly) lineage³⁷⁰. — And, according to Sajjana: — It is the Wheel of the Doctrine of the Pratyekabuddhas demonstrated to the members of that spiritual family. (As concerns this last statement), Chag says that it is contradictory to that which is said about the 3 Wheels of the Doctrine (i. e. that the first is intended for the Hinayānists, the second for the Mahāyānists, and the third — for the adherents of all the Vehicles). This is quite clear, since no such separate Code (of the Pratyekabuddhas) exists³⁷¹.

Now, (in reality) the Lord, having extirpated the force which calls forth speech³⁷², has attained Enlightenment in perfect silence and then, up to the time of his attaining Nirvāṇa, has not uttered a single word. But, in accordance with the thoughts (and the

³⁶⁷ I. e. the Empirical (*saṃvṛti*) and the Absolute (*paramārtha*) reality.

³⁶⁸ 436. 15, 16. — *māyā-marici svapnam ca dakacandra (sic) pratiṣṭhā / yathā'te tathā tac cakram loka-nāthena varṇitam //*

³⁶⁹ Gžan-phan-bzan-po.

³⁷⁰ *rigs-med-pa* = *agotraka*.

³⁷¹ Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, XI. 1. and commentary — *hinayāna-agrayāna-bhedena dvayam bhavati śrāvaka-piṭakam bodhisattva-piṭakam ca*.

³⁷² *rig kun-nas-sloṅ-boḥi bag-chags* = *vāk-samutthāna-vāsanā*.

needs) of the living beings, he appears as if teaching (the Doctrine) in various forms³⁷³), as it is said³⁷⁴): —

A cymbal on a magic circle
Issues its sounds, being agitated by the wind,
And although there is nothing with which it is beaten,
Its sound is nevertheless heard.
Similar is the voice of the Buddha which arises,
Being called forth by the thoughts of the living beings,
And owing to their previous virtuous deeds.
But the Buddha (himself) has no constructive thought
(By which his words could be conditioned).

The voice of the Buddha is therefore something inconceivable for our mind.

The Teacher has thus perceived the living beings subjected to suffering, being obscured by the pellicule³⁷⁵) of ignorance, tied by the knot of egocentric views, suppressed by the mountain of pride, consumed by the fire of desire, wounded by the weapons of hatred, cast into the wilderness of Samsāra, and unable to cross the streams of birth, old age, illness, and death. And, in order to deliver them (from this suffering), from between his teeth resembling a beautiful sonant conch-shell, he stretched forth his tongue endowed with miraculous power, ejected his voice, similar to that of Brahma, and thus expounded the whole of the Doctrine.

12. [The Buddha's Attainment of Nirvāṇa³⁷⁶].

Thereafter we have (the last) act (of the Buddha), viz. his departure into Nirvāṇa. — The Lord addressed Ānanda in order that the latter should pray him not to depart into Nirvāṇa. [81 a.] He said: — O Ānanda, he, who on the foundation of the 4 miraculous powers³⁷⁷) has repeatedly practised profound meditation, can, if

³⁷³) Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 210. (quotation of the Tathāgata-guhyā in the XXV. Chapter of the Mādhy. vṛtti).

³⁷⁴) The same idea is frequently expressed in the Uttaratāntra. Cf. my translation, chapter IV. "The Acts of the Buddha."

³⁷⁵) *liñ-tog* = *kāca*.

³⁷⁶) The narrative of the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa and the following, i. e. the burial of the Buddha, the first and the second council is taken from the Vinaya-kṣudraka, Kg. HDUL. XI.

³⁷⁷) *rdzu-ḥphrul-gyi rkañ-pa bñi* = *catvāra ṛddhi-pādāḥ*.

he wishes, remain living for an aeon or even longer than that³⁷⁸). The Buddha has taken recourse to the 4 miraculous powers and has practised meditation again and again. Therefore, if the Buddha wishes, he can live during an aeon and longer than that. So he spoke to him twice and thrice, but Ānanda, being obscured by Māra, did not answer a word³⁷⁹). Then Māra the Evil One (in his turn) prayed (the Buddha) to pass away into Nirvāṇa, and the Buddha consented, saying that he would do so after 3 months³⁸⁰). Thereupon the Buddha mastered the force of life and cut away the force of life-time³⁸¹). And, the moment he did this, the earth trembled, the stars fell down, in the 10 quarters of the sky there burst forth flames, and the gods residing in the atmospherical space, beat their drums³⁸²). (Ānanda) asked the cause of this and the Buddha explained to him the 8 causes owing to which the earth trembled etc.³⁸³) And Ānanda then understood, that the Lord had cut away the force of life-time and prayed him (to continue to live), but the Buddha did not consent³⁸⁴). Thereafter, having delivered his instructions to the congregation of Capala³⁸⁵), the Lord departed in the direction of Vaiṣālī. And, looking all the while to the right, he finally reached the grove of Čimṇapa trees situated to the north of the villages of Vriji. There he spoke to the monks about the 3 disciplines, and after that he gradually came to another Čimṇapa grove to the north of the village of Upabhoga. And, having demonstrated (to the monks) that the trembling of the earth was the sign, that he would soon pass away into Nirvāṇa, he said: — If (the Teaching which you intend to follow) is contained in the Sūtras, is to be found in the Vinaya and is not in conflict with the true state of things, you are to accept it as (my) Doctrine. If this is not the case, then (a teaching of some other kind) is not to be accepted³⁸⁶). [81. b.]

³⁷⁸) *kalpaṃ kalpāvaṣeṣaṃ ca. (bskal-pa-ḥam bskal-ba-las lhag-gi bar-du).*

Cf. Yaçomitra, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, BB. II. 19. 15.

³⁷⁹) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 247 a. 5—6.

³⁸⁰) Ibid. 248 b. 1—249 a. 3.

³⁸¹) Ibid. 249 a. 4—5. Cf. Yaçomitra, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā BB. II. 20. 3, 4. — *jīvitā-saṃskārān adhiṣṭhāya (ḥiṣho-baḥi-ḥdu-byed byin-gyis brlabs-nas) āyuh-saṃskārān utsṛṣṭvān /*

³⁸²) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 249 a. 6.

³⁸³) Ibid. 249 b. 1—250 a. 7. ³⁸⁴) Ibid. 250 a. 7—b. 6.

³⁸⁵) Xyl. *rtsa-ba-liḥi dge-ḥdun.* The Kg. has *tsa-pa-laḥi.*

³⁸⁶) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 250 b. 6—256 a. 6.

Thereafter the Buddha accepted his last alms from Cunda, the son of a blacksmith in the village of Pāpā and, having preached the Doctrine, departed to Kuṣanagara³⁸⁷). (On the way) he laid himself to rest between Pāpā³⁸⁸) and the river Vasumatī³⁸⁹). Ānanda got some muddy water from the stream Kakuta and brought it (to the Buddha). The latter washed his mouth and feet and, having refreshed himself, rose up³⁹⁰). From Paṇḍaka³⁹¹) who belonged to a great community of the Mallas and who had been converted by the Buddha, the Lord accepted 2 new pieces of cloth of the colour of gold. And, as he put them on, having cut off the fringes, his body shone brilliantly. Being asked the cause of this, he replied: — The reason is, that I am to attain Nirvāṇa this evening³⁹²). Then he washed himself in the river Vasumatī³⁹³) and, as a means of removing the grief of Cunda, said that he whose alms (the Buddha accepts) will reap merit equal to that of attaining Buddhahood and Nirvāṇa³⁹⁴). Ānanda then asked him how to pacify desire, and he said: — One must wash it away with the rain of moral purity and then arouse aversion (to this worldly life). Thereafter he gave his instructions to Kātyāyana how to deliver the precepts of the Doctrine. Then, on the way to Kuṣanagara, he grew tired and lay down. Ānanda then spoke to him about the component parts of Enlightenment³⁹⁵), whereupon the Buddha rose up, went to Kuṣanagara and there, in the neighbourhood of the dwellings of the Mallas, he caused a seat to be erected betwixt two Sāla-trees³⁹⁶). And, with his back to the north, he bent down on the right side, crossed his legs and lay down, having given himself up to the thoughts about the illumination³⁹⁷) (of the living beings) and to intense concentration, and having become possessed of the idea that he was now to pass away into Nirvāṇa³⁹⁸). And, as Ānanda, having grasped the seat, wept and lamented, (that he was to be separated from the Teacher), the latter appeased his grief by

³⁸⁷) Gron-khyer Rtsva-can. Ibid. 256 a. 6—258 a. 4.

³⁸⁸) Sdig-pa-can.

³⁸⁹) Dbyig-Idan. Ibid. 258 a. 4. sqq.

³⁹⁰) Ibid. 258 b. 1—6.

³⁹¹) Gyuñ-po.

³⁹²) Ibid. 260 b. 5—261 a. 2. ³⁹³) Ibid. 261 a. 2—4.

³⁹⁴) Ibid. 261 a. 6—7. ³⁹⁵) Ibid. 262 a. 2, 3. sqq.

³⁹⁶) Ibid. 262 b. 7—263 a. 1.

³⁹⁷) *śaṇḍ-baḥi ḥdu-ṣes* ≈ *āloka-saṁjñā*.

³⁹⁸) Ibid. 263 a. 5.

speaking of the 4 miraculous attributés (with which Ānanda was to become endowed in future)³⁹⁹). [82 a.] Ānanda then asked him the reason why he was to attain Nirvāṇa here in this place⁴⁰⁰). The Buddha replied: — Six universal monarchs, Mahāsudarṣana⁴⁰¹) and the rest have passed away here, and with the Buddha, there will be altogether seven⁴⁰²). — At that moment the gods were unable to sustain the splendour of (the Buddha), the anchorite endowed with the special marks (of the super-being) and fled⁴⁰³). Ānanda then asked: — How are thy relics to be worshipped? — The Buddha replied: — Like those of a universal monarch. The body is to be wrapped in a cloth of cotton-wool and covered with 500 pieces of cloth. It is to be put into an iron coffin filled with oil. (This coffin) is to be closed with 2 iron lids, and (the whole) must be burnt on a pile of fragrant wood. The fire is to be quenched with milk, and the bones are to be put into a golden urn. Then, at the meeting-place of 4 roads, a monument is to be erected, and after that one must worship and feast⁴⁰⁴). Thereafter it was made known to the Mallas of Kuṣanagara that the Buddha was to pass away that evening, and the Mallas accordingly came into the presence of the Lord. The latter preached the Doctrine to them, and Ānanda prescribed for them the obeisances that are to be kept by the devotees of the laity⁴⁰⁵).

Then there remained for the Teacher two disciples whom he had to convert personally, — Subhadra⁴⁰⁶) and Sunanda⁴⁰⁷). In order to subdue the latter, the Lord took a lute with 1000 strings and a frame of Vaiḍūrya stone. Then, having transformed himself into a Gandharva, he appeared before the doors of Sunanda and proposed a match in the skill of music. He gradually cut off all the strings with the exception of one, but the sound nevertheless remained the same. Finally, the Buddha cut off the single string that remained, likewise. But in the empty space the sound continued to ring as before. The pride of Sunanda was thus humiliated [82 b.] and he was greatly astonished. The Teacher then appeared in his true form, and Sunanda, full of faith, made his salutations and sat down in order to hear the Teaching. And, as the Lord

³⁹⁹) Ibid. 264 a. 3—b. 1. sqq.

⁴⁰⁰) Ibid. 264 b. 5—6.

⁴⁰¹) Legs-mthoñ-chen-po.

⁴⁰²) Ibid. 264 b. 7—274 a. 7.

⁴⁰³) Ibid. 275 b. 4, 5.

⁴⁰⁴) Ibid. 275 b. 5—276 a. 3.

⁴⁰⁵) *dga-bañen-gyi sdom-pa* = *upāsaka-saṃvara*.

⁴⁰⁶) Rab-bzañ.

⁴⁰⁷) Rab-dgañ.

preached the Doctrine to him, Sunanda came to the intuition of the Truth⁴⁰⁸). At that time there was in Kuṣanagara a Parivrājaka, named Subhadra, who, as it was said, had attained the state of an Arhat. This one heard that on the bank of the Mandakīnī⁴⁰⁹) pond the flowers of the Udumbara garden had withered and that the cause of this was that the Buddha was about to pass away into Nirvāṇa. Thinking that it was the time to get his doubts cleared, he went to Ānanda and asked 5 times, but was not admitted (into the presence of the Buddha). The Teacher, as he knew about this, said: — This is the last time that I have to speak with a heretic. Therefore, let him come⁴¹⁰). And, after he had spoken many a word to the delight of Subhadra, he said; — O Subhadra, when I attained the age of 29 years, I became a monk and then, for one-and-fifty years, have practised every possible virtue. O Subhadra, the religious discipline in which the 8-membered Path of a Saint⁴¹¹) is wanting, does not bring about the 4 results attained by an ascetic⁴¹²). But if the eight-fold Path does exist, then these results are realized. Apart from this (eight-fold Path) there can be no real attainment of saintliness. — And as he spoke thus (Subhadra) came to perceive the Truth, became ordained by being addressed with the summons: — Come here!⁴¹³), and attained Arhatship. And then, thinking that he ought not to witness the Teacher's departure, he blessed the 5 sacred places and passed away into Nirvāṇa himself⁴¹⁴).

Thereafter the Teacher delivered the following precepts: — One must not introduce into the religious order the heretics, with the exception of the Čākhyas and⁴¹⁵) †. The 12 classes of sacred texts are to be recited for the sake of bringing about happiness and welfare of the fourfold congregation. The teacher must be subjected to the rules of the Prātimokṣa. The old must keep together the young by providing for them necessities of life. The young must not call the elders by name. To those who are possessed of

⁴⁰⁸) Vin.-ksūdr. Kg. ȦDUL. XI. 278 a. 5—279 b. 2. sqq.

⁴⁰⁹) Dal-Ȧbbab.

⁴¹⁰) Vin.-ksūdr. Kg. ȦDUL. XI. 279 a. 6—280 a. 5.

⁴¹¹) *Ȧphags-paȦi-lam-yan-lag-brgyad* = *Ȧrya-aȦṣāṅga-mȦrga*.

⁴¹²) *dge-sbyoȦn-gi Ȧbras-bu* = *ȦramaȦa-phala*. Cf. M. Vyutp. § 46.

⁴¹³) *Ȧshur-Ȧog-gis baȦṣen-par-rdzogs-pa* = *chitvena-upasaȦmpannaȦ*.

⁴¹⁴) Vin.-ksūdr. Kg. ȦDUL. XI. 280 a. 5—282 b. 1.

⁴¹⁵) Me-pa ral-pa-can = AgniȦjȦtilas (?).

faith one must speak about the following 4 subjects, viz. the apparition of the Buddha in this world, his attainment of Enlightenment, [83 a.] his teaching of the Doctrine, and his departure into Nirvāṇa⁴¹⁶). — O monks, if you have doubt as regards the 3 Jewels and the 4 Truths, then ask now!⁴¹⁷) Then he took off the garment that covered the upper part of his body and said: — O monks, it is very difficult to meet with the apparition of the Buddha. Perceive therefore now the body of the Buddha⁴¹⁸). O monks, henceforth I shall speak no more: — This is the last word of the Buddha — all the elements of existence, that are caused and conditioned are liable to destruction⁴¹⁹). — And, having uttered this, he became absorbed in the 4 degrees of trance (of the ethereal sphere)⁴²⁰), the 4 degrees of the immaterial sphere⁴²¹), and the Cessation-Trance⁴²²) in the direct and the reverse order⁴²³). After that he again entered the (first 4) degrees of trance. And then, after attaining the culminating point (of the last of these)⁴²⁴), he passed away into Nirvāṇa.

The teacher Ālapālita⁴²⁵), in his commentary on the Vinaya-kṣudraka, gives the following explanation which agrees with the point of view of the Kashmirian (Vaibhāṣikas): — After the (attainment of) the culminating point (in the 4th degree of trance), one comes to a neutral⁴²⁶) state of the mind, which is followed by Nirvāṇa. This neutral state, being near to the culminating point before said, is called itself “the culminating point”.

Immediately after (the Lord had passed away into Nirvāṇa) the earth trembled, the stars fell down, from the 10 quarters of the sky there burst forth flames and sounds of celestial music were heard⁴²⁷).

⁴¹⁶) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 287 b. 2—289 a. 2.

⁴¹⁷) Ibid. 289 a. 3 sqq. ⁴¹⁸) Ibid. 289 b. 1, 2.

⁴¹⁹) Ibid. 289 b. 2—290 a. 5.

⁴²⁰) *bsam-gtan-bñi* = *catvāri dhyānāni*.

⁴²¹) *gsugs-med-bñi* = *catvāra ārupya-samāpattayaḥ*.

⁴²²) *hgog-sñoms* (i. e. *hgog-paḥi sñoms-par hjug-pa*) = *nirodha-samāpatti*.

⁴²³) *lugs-ñbyuñ-lugs-slog* = *anuloma-viloma*.

⁴²⁴) *rab-mthaḥ*. ⁴²⁵) Tshul-khrims bskyas.

⁴²⁶) *luñ-ma-bstan-pa* = *avyākṛta*.

⁴²⁷) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 290 a. 5, 6.

[The Burial of the Buddha.]

At that time Mahākācyapa⁴²⁸) was abiding in Rājagṛha⁴²⁹). Having come to know that the Teacher had passed away, he thought: — Such is the nature of all the Phenomenal Elements. If the king Ajātaśatru hears this, he shall certainly die. Therefore one must find a means (of preventing this). — Accordingly, he said to the Brāhmaṇa Varṣaka⁴³⁰): — Go thou to the garden without delay and draw pictures (illustrating the acts of the Buddha), — how he became conceived in the womb, how he attained Enlightenment, how he swung the Wheel of the Doctrine, how he demonstrated his miraculous apparitions⁴³¹) at Ćrāvastī [83 b.], how he descended from the abode of the gods at Keçavati and how he went to take his last rest at Kuçanagara⁴³²). Then place 7 wooden troughs filled with fresh butter and one — the eighth, — with finest sandal wood. And then gradually demonstrate (to the king the events in Buddha's life). Thereafter, when the king faints, thou must put him into the 7 troughs with fresh butter and the eighth with sandal wood and make him recover. — Varṣaka acted according to these instructions and gradually showed to the king (the acts of the Buddha). — This, said he, — is the arrival of the Teacher at Kuçanagara to take his last sleep. — And, as the king asked: — Has the Buddha passed away? — he did not answer a word. The king fell down in a swoon, but Varṣaka made him recover according to the instructions which he had received. And, at that moment, a certain monk who had come, uttered the following verse⁴³³): —

In that grove where a pair of Sāla, —
Those most beautiful of all the trees do grow,
The Teacher has passed away into Nirvāṇa,
And we have strewed flowers in that place. —

Indra said⁴³⁴): —

Alas, the phenomenal elements are evanescent,
They are subjected to origination and destruction.
The pacification (of these elements) is the true bliss!

⁴²⁸) Hod-sruṅs-chen-po.

⁴²⁹) Rgyal-poñi-khab.

⁴³⁰) Dbyar-byed. ⁴³¹) *cho-ñphrul* = *prātihārya*.

⁴³²) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 290 a. 6—b. 6.

⁴³³) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 291 b. 1.

⁴³⁴) Ibid. 291 b. 2.

And Brahma⁴³⁵): —

This is the culmination of all the virtue,
That can be accumulated by the living beings
And can be desired for in this world.
Here an individual, higher than whom there are none,
The Buddha who has attained the (10) powers
And is possessed of divine sight, —
This Teacher has passed away into Nirvāṇa! —

Aniruddha⁴³⁶) said⁴³⁷): —

He who, with a firm and steady mind,
Has protected (the living beings)
And has attained the motionless quiescent state,
He who was endowed with the faculty of divine vision,
Has now passed away into Nirvāṇa,
Having emitted and suspended his breath! —

And at that time some of the monks were rolling on the ground in despair, some lamented loudly, others sat (in silence) tormented by sorrow, and still others were reflecting over the essence of the Doctrine⁴³⁸).

The next day [84 a.] Ananda summoned the Mallas of Kuṣānagara, who up to the 7th day made the necessary arrangements⁴³⁹). Then, on the 7th day, the wives and daughters of the Mallas spread a canopy, and the Malla youths made a bier. The gods worshipped, offering perfumes, wreaths of flowers, incense and the like. They all entered Kuṣānagara by the western gate, came into the middle of the city, then went out through the eastern gate and crossed the river Vasumatī. Thereafter the Mallas prayed to make halt at a sanctuary where they deposited the ornaments of their heads. The gods in their turn strewed flowers, so that (the feet and the legs of the body) were covered up to the knees⁴⁴⁰). A certain Ājīvaka, having gathered many of these flowers, went to the city of Pāpā and met with Mahākācyapa whose grief was not appeased and who had come in order to worship (the relics of the Buddha). And, as this Ājīvaka related about the Teacher's attainment of Nirvāṇa, an old monk said: — O monks, you are now released from him who has said: — This you may do and this you may not.

⁴³⁵) Ibid. 291 b. 3. ⁴³⁶) Ma-ḥgags-pa. ⁴³⁷) Ibid. 291 b. 4.

⁴³⁸) Ibid. 291 b. 5—7. ⁴³⁹) Ibid. 292 b. 1. sqq.

⁴⁴⁰) Ibid. 294 b. 7—295 a. 2.

I tell you: — Do what is in your power to do and do not, what you can not. — But the gods cast a veil on his words and made them unheard (to the assembly) with the exception of Mahākāçyapa⁴⁴¹). Then the latter summoned the congregation: — Let us go quickly in order to see the relics of the Buddha, as long as they have not been destroyed by the flames⁴⁴²).

At that time the Mallas began to perform the funeral rites, as becoming a universal monarch. They tried to set the pile on fire, but the flame did not blaze up. Aniruddha knew that this was because Kāçyapa had not come, and said this⁴⁴³). Kāçyapa then came, opened the coffin, took off the pieces of cloth and the cotton-wool and made his salutations to the body, as it was still untouched (by the flames)⁴⁴⁴). Thereupon Mahākāçyapa, being the wisest and the most virtuous of the 4 great Çrāvakas, — the others being Ājñātakaunḍinya, Cunda⁴⁴⁵) and Kāçyapa with the 10 powers⁴⁴⁶), — [84 b.] wrapped the body in new cotton-wool and in 500 new pieces of cloth, put it into the iron coffin, filled the latter with oil, covered it with 2 iron lids, and piled up the fragrant wood. And the fire then blazed forth itself⁴⁴⁷). Ānanda then said⁴⁴⁸):

The Great Leader endowed with a precious body
And possessed of miraculous powers,
Has departed into the world of Brahma.
The worldly frame of the Buddha has been covered
By 500 pieces of cloth and 1000 religious garments.
By its own lustre this body, though well-wrapped,
Has become perfectly consumed;
But two of the robes have not been burned,

The most inward and the most outward, these two. —
Thereupon the Mallas quenched the fire with milk, and from that milk there sprung forth 4 flowers: — a Javā⁴⁴⁹), a Pāṇḍura⁴⁵⁰), an Açvattha⁴⁵¹), and an Udumbara⁴⁵²). The relics were then deposited into a golden urn which they placed in the middle of the town and worshipped⁴⁵³).

⁴⁴¹) Ibid. 295 a. 2—295 b. 1. ⁴⁴²) Ibid. 295 b. 1—3.

⁴⁴³) Ibid. 295 b. 3—296 a. 3. ⁴⁴⁴) Ibid. 296 a. 3—7.

⁴⁴⁵) Skul-byed. ⁴⁴⁶) Stobs-bcuñi Ḥod-sruñs.

⁴⁴⁷) Vin.-ksudr. Kg. ḤDUL. XI. 296 a. 7—b. 5.

⁴⁴⁸) Ibid. 296 b. 5—7. ⁴⁴⁹) gser-can. ⁴⁵⁰) ser-skye.

⁴⁵¹) rta-don. ⁴⁵²) Vin.-ksudr. Kg. ḤDUL. XI. 296 b. 7—297 a. 1.

⁴⁵³) Ibid. 297 a. 1—3.

Thereafter the Mallas of Pāpā, having heard that the Teacher had passed away 7 days before, collected a 4 membered army and declared to the Mallas of Kuṣanagara: — This Teacher has a long time been dear to us. He has now passed away in the neighbourhood of your town. You must give us our portion of the relics, that we could erect a monument in our town, worship and feast. But if you do not give us (our part) we shall take it by force. — Do so, — replied the Mallas of Kuṣanagara⁴⁵⁴). In a similar manner the members of the Kṣatriya family Puluka of Calakalpa⁴⁵⁵), the Krodhavas of Rāvaṇa, the Brāhmaṇas of Vaiṣṇavadvīpa⁴⁵⁶), the Ćākyas of Kapilavastu and the Licchavis of Vaiṇālī, demanded their share⁴⁵⁷). [85 a.] Ajātaśatru of Magadha in his turn heard that all these had gone to take their part of the relics. So he likewise set out, having mounted his elephant. But, as he thought about the merits of the (deceased) Teacher, he fell down in a swoon (from grief). Thereafter, having recovered, he sent Varṣaka, having said to him: — Ask thou in my name the Mallas, whether they are unharmed and not subjected to danger, whether they are in troubles, how they live, whether they are powerful and enjoy happiness. Then tell them as follows: — The Teacher has for a long time showed his benevolence to us and has been our preceptor. At present he has passed away in the neighbourhood of your town. Therefore give us a part of his relics. We shall erect a monument at Rājagṛha, worship and feast. — Varṣaka did as he was ordered. The Mallas said in return: — We intend to do the same. — But, — said Varṣaka, — if you shall not give us our part, we are going to fight for it. — Do so, — was the answer⁴⁵⁸). The wives and children of the Mallas learned the skill of archery and, in order to encounter the 4 membered armies of their antagonists, the Mallas, their forces being likewise 4 membered, marched out⁴⁵⁹). At that time a member of the Brahmanical family of Droṇa⁴⁶⁰), knowing that if there would be a struggle, there would be mutual slaughter, — said to the Mallas of Kuṣanagara: — The Teacher, from the very beginning, was endowed with forbearance and has sung the praise of the latter. It is therefore ill-suited that you should kill

⁴⁵⁴) Ibid. 297 a. 3—b. 2.

⁴⁵⁵) Rtog-pa-gyo-ba. ⁴⁵⁶) Khyab-ñjug-gliñ.

⁴⁵⁷) Vin. ksudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 297 b. 2—298 a. 1.

⁴⁵⁸) Ibid. 298 a. 1—b. 6. ⁴⁵⁹) Ibid. 298 b. 6—299 a. 3.

⁴⁶⁰) Bram-zehl-rigs Bre-bo-dañ-mñam-pa.

each other for the sake of his relics. We shall divide them into 8 parts and worship them ourselves in a golden vessel. — Do so, — said the Mallas of Kuṣanagara. Then the same was told to the Mallas of Pāpā and to all the others, up to Varṣaka. [85 b.] And they all said: — Do like that⁴⁶¹). — Accordingly, the relics were divided into 7 parts and each was given his part, beginning with the Mallas of Kuṣanagara and ending with Varṣaka. Each of these then erected a monument in their own country, worshipped and feasted⁴⁶²). The part of the relics which was given to Rāvaṇa⁴⁶³) was carried off by the Nāgas and worshipped by them. The urn in which the relics had (first) been deposited was given to the member of the Brahmanical family of Droṇa who erected a monument in his own city. The ashes of the body fell a lot to Nyagrodhaja⁴⁶⁴), and that youth of Brahmanical caste built a monument in the Nyagrodha country, performed sacrificial rites and made a great feast. At that time there were thus 10 monuments and, with the 4 eye-teeth of the Buddha, altogether 14 (objects of worship)⁴⁶⁵).

There were 8 parts of the relics of the Omniscient
As they were distributed by Droṇa.

Of these, — 7 became objects of worship in Jambudvīpa,
And one of the parts of the Highest Being's relics,
That of the city of Rāvaṇa, was worshipped by the king
of the Nāgas.

There remained, moreover, the 4 eye-teeth of the Highest
Being.

Of these, one tooth was worshipped in the realm of the gods,
The second, — in the delightful city of Gāndhāra⁴⁶⁶),
The third — in the realm of the Kalinga king,
And the fourth tooth of that greatest of men
The king of the Nāgas worshipped in the city of Rāvaṇa.
The king Aśoka, residing in Pāṭaliputra,
Decorated richly the 7 monuments.
And in this land subjected to his power
These 7 monuments became adorned by objects of worship

⁴⁶¹) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. ȦDUL. XI. 299 a. 3—b. 7.

⁴⁶²) Ibid. 299 b. 7—300 a. 7. ⁴⁶³) Sgra-sgrogs.

⁴⁶⁴) Nyagrodha-skyes.

⁴⁶⁵) Vin.-kṣudr. Kg. ȦDUL. XI. 300 b. 1—6.

⁴⁶⁶) Tshig-Ȧdzin.

Thus, the lords of the gods, Nāgas, and men,
 The lords of men, Nāgas and Yakṣas
 Payed their homage and worshipped (the relics).
 (The Lord), endowed with Highest Wisdom and Commi-
 seration,
 And fully possessed of the 10 powers,
 Was born in the Çākya clan and attained Enlightenment
 in Magadha;
 In Kāṣī (Benares) he has swung the Wheel of the Doctrine,
 [86 a.]
 And, within the shelter of Kuṣanagara, he has passed away
 into Nirvāṇa⁴⁶⁷).

As concerns the meaning of "Nirvāṇa", the Hīnayānistic (schools) consider it to be the complete annihilation of the stream of all the elements, the material as well as the mental, just as fire becomes extinguished after the fuel has been consumed⁴⁶⁸). According to some of the Mahāyānists, the Body of Bliss⁴⁶⁹) attains Nirvāṇa, but none of the Buddha's adherents knows about this. (It is said that) this is a case similar to that of Indra whose death is known only to himself, whereas the gods surrounding him have no notion about it. — This is not correct, as it is said that the Body of Bliss is eternal and that the stream (of its existence) is uninterrupted⁴⁷⁰). Two causes of longevity have been mentioned, viz. abstaining from taking away life⁴⁷¹) and giving food to others.

⁴⁶⁷) Ibid. 300 b. 6—301 a. 3.

⁴⁶⁸) The different points of view of the Hīnayānists regarding Nirvāṇa have been thoroughly analysed by Jam-yañ-ñad-pa (Hjam-dbyaṅs-bñad-pa) in his commentary on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Phar-phyin-skabs-brygad-ka, Transbaikalian Chiltai Monastery edition I. 57 b. 3. sqq.). The Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas following Scripture (*āgama-anusāriṇaḥ Sautrāntikāḥ* = *luñ-gi-rjes-hbraṅs-Mdo-sde-ba*) consider Nirvāṇa to be mere annihilation. A part of the Vaibhāṣikas (acc. to Jam-yañ-ñad-pa some of the Vaibhāṣikas following the Abhidharmakośa) and the logician Sautrāntikas (*nyāya-anusāriṇaḥ Sautrāntikāḥ* = *rigs-paḥi-rjes-hbraṅs Mdo-sde-ba*) maintain that the consciousness of the Arhat at the time of final Nirvāṇa does not become annihilated, but that it is followed by other, different states of consciousness which do not relate to the ordinary Phenomenal Existence. This idea is to be found in a more developed form with the Yogācāras who admit an eternal motionless state of the Arhat in the so-called "Unaffected Sphere" (*śūnyatā-dhātu* = *anāsrava-dhātu*).

⁴⁶⁹) *loṅs-spyod-rdzogs-paḥi sku* = *sambhoga-kāya*. ⁴⁷⁰) Cf. vol. I. p. 132.

⁴⁷¹) *srog-gcod-pa-spaṅs-pa* = *prāṇātipātā-virati*.

Now, if the 2 are fully practised, if the 2 accumulations of merit are fully accomplished, and if one has taken recourse to the highest forms of meditation, on the basis of the 4 miraculous powers, it becomes possible, if one desires, to remain living for an aeon and longer. (By such factors the eternal existence of the Body of Bliss is conditioned). It is said in the Commentary to the *Anantamukha-nirhāra-dhāraṇī*⁴⁷²):

Only the Apparitional Body⁴⁷³ and not the other (forms)
Are spoken of as passing away into Nirvāṇa;

(The other 2 forms) are possessed of the factors for an
eternal existence

And it is impossible for them to pass away. —

Accordingly, it is thus said that the Apparitional Body, and not the Body of Bliss does pass away into Nirvāṇa. It has moreover been said that the Apparitional Body has attained Nirvāṇa, but this does not mean that its stream of existence is altogether annihilated. We read in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*⁴⁷⁴): — When the sons of a skilful physician do not drink the medicine, their father, having prepared a remedy, says: — Drink, as long as the remedy is there, for I am about to die. — So saying, he feigns death. The sons know that, the father being dead, there is no other who knows about a remedy. And so, in order to preserve their lives, they drink the medicine. Thereafter, [86 b.] when they have recovered from their illness, they come to know that the father did not really die. Now, (the father) did not commit the sin of lying in doing so. (Similar is the case with the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa which is demonstrated by him as a means of converting the living beings). It is said in the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*⁴⁷⁵): —

The Buddha does not pass away,
And the Teaching does not cease to exist,
But, in order to bring the living beings to maturity,
The Buddha demonstrates his departure into Nirvāṇa. —

⁴⁷²) Sgo mthaṅ-yas-pa-bsgrub-paḥi-gzuṅs-kyl ḥgrel-pa. Tg. RGYUD. LXVIII. 15 b. 5. (N.)

⁴⁷³) *sprul-paḥi-sku* = *nirmāṇa-kāya*.

⁴⁷⁴) BB. 321. 9—323. 1. (Tathāgata-āyus-pramāṇa-parivarta.)

⁴⁷⁵) This verse is quoted in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*lokā, MS. Minaev. 103 a. 12—13. *na buddhaḥ parinirvāṇi na ca dharma' nardhīyate / sattvānāṃ paripākāya nirvāṇaṃ sū' padarçayet //*

The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* says⁴⁷⁶): —

As fire blazes forth in some places,
And becomes extinct in others,
So is the Buddha for the living beings,
Seen (by some) and unseen (by others). —

It is said in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* that the stream of existence of the Apparitional Body⁴⁷⁷) is uninterrupted. Now, (we have to understand this as follows): — If food is given to somebody again and again, we say: The food is given constantly and uninterruptedly. In a similar manner, (the Apparitional Body) manifests itself uninterruptedly and is therefore regarded as having a constant existence, that does not cease. Here it has passed away into Nirvāṇa, but elsewhere it abides without departing. Here it has passed away, since there are no more such beings who could be converted by beholding (the visible form of) the Buddha. (In other places) it does not pass away, since there exist such who are to be converted through the sight of the Buddha's corporeal form, like Indra and the like. It is said in the *Āraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra*⁴⁷⁸): — At present, there is in the east a sphere of Buddhaic activity called "The Perfectly Adorned." There abides the Buddha Vairocana "the king of miraculous powers crowned with rays of light". The duration of his existence is equal to 700 immeasurable periods of aeons. It is said, that this Buddha represents the true form of this our Teacher. He manifests himself in 1 000 000 000 such worlds of 4 continents as ours. In some of these he becomes born, in some he manifests himself as attaining Enlightenment, in others — he swings the Wheel of the Doctrine, and in still others he demonstrates his departure into Nirvāṇa. In accordance (with all that has been said), the Buddha is not to be regarded as not having attained Nirvāṇa, inasmuch as he has removed all the Obscurations. But, on the other hand, he does not pass away, since his work is not accomplished. It is said in the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*⁴⁷⁹): (He has attained Nirvāṇa on one side and has not attained it on the other) [87 a.], since he has removed all the Obscurations, but at the same time has not fully accomplished his

⁴⁷⁶) IX. 17. — *yathā' gñir jvalatē nyatra punar anyatra śamyati / buddheṣu api tathā jñeyam saṃdarśanam adarśanam //*

⁴⁷⁷) *sprul-sku* = *nirmāṇa-kāya*.

⁴⁷⁸) Dpañ-bar-ḥgro-baḥi-tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin-gyi-mdo. Kg. MDO. XI. 309 a. 1 — 310 a. 4. (D.) ⁴⁷⁹) Tg. MDO. LVI. 49 b. 4.

work. Now, it may be asked, what was his age, when he passed away? Some say, that when he was converting the Parivrājaka Subhadra and the Gandharva Sunanda, he spent a year (in converting each). Otherwise (as it is said), having been entreated by Cunda, he consented to live two years more. Thus, according to the said authorities, he passed away when he was 82 years of age. I, however, know no source (that justifies this statement). The latter disagrees with the *Aṣṭa-mahāsthāma-caitya-stotra*⁴⁸⁰) where it is said: — Having been entreated by Cunda, he continued to live for another 3 months. — An authority versed in the Vinaya says that, according to the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*, (Buddha) passed away 84 years of age. It is clear that this authority has not read the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*, for it is said in the latter: O Ānanda, the Buddha has attained the age of 80, and has thus met with old age and infirmity. — Therefore (it will be correct if we affirm) that he passed away when he was 80 years old. Accordingly it is said in the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* that the Lord has attained the age of 80, and in the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarika* — that the Buddha's age was that of 100 years without one fifth. In many other sūtras we likewise have it stated that the Teacher lived 80 years. The *Mahāvibhāṣā* moreover says: —

In the place where he swung the Wheel of the Doctrine,
In Vaiṣali, in Paṇḍubhūmi, in the realm of the gods,
In Balaghna and in Kauṣambī,
In the wilderness, in Uṣṭrayicī,
In the Bamboo Grove, and
In the city of Kapilavastu, —
In each of these places the Lord,
The Highest of living beings abided for a year.
Twenty-three years he resided in Ārāvastī,
Four years in the place abounding with remedies⁴⁸¹),
Two years he spent in Indraçailaguhā,
Five years — in the villages of Rājagṛha,
Six years he underwent the practice of asceticism and
Twenty-nine years he abided in his father's palace. —
Thus the Lord, the holiest and highest of Sages,
Attained the age of 80 and departed into Nirvāṇa. —

⁴⁸⁰) Tg. BSTOD. I. 95 a. 8.

⁴⁸¹) *śman-gyi-gnas*.

As concerns the date of (the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa), [87 b.] it is said in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* that it took place in spring, on the 15th of the month of Vaiçākha, at midnight⁴⁸²). In the commentary to the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*, the work of the teacher Çilapālita⁴⁸³), it is said that it was at the end of autumn in the month of Kārtika on the 8th day of the ascending moon. The great Pandit Çākyaçrī says that it was on the 8th of the ascending moon of Kārtika, at midnight. —

At the time when the moon disappeared behind the mountain
The Highest of Sages passed away into Nirvāṇa. —

According to the Hinayānists, in the evening (the Buddha) subdued the Demon of Carnal Desire⁴⁸³). At daybreak, by force of concentrated trance called the "thunderbolt-like"⁴⁸⁴), he vanquished the Demon of Moral Defilement⁴⁸⁵). When the Evil One prayed the Buddha to pass away into Nirvāṇa, the Lord said that he would not depart, till he had not accomplished all his work for the welfare of the 4 kinds of adherents. In such a manner, some say, he vanquished the Demon of Death⁴⁸⁶). Some are of the opinion that he subdued the Demon governing the 5 groups of elements at the time when he was practising asceticism. Others affirm that he vanquished the Demon of Death and him who governs the groups of elements after having attained Nirvāṇa. Now (we know that) in the Bamboo Grove he observed the Summer Fast and at that time showed how severe and rigid observances were to be kept. Thereafter, having been entreated by the Evil One, he cut away the force of life-time⁴⁸⁷) and mastered⁴⁸⁸) the forces of life⁴⁸⁹). It is clear that by means of this he vanquished the Lord of Death and the Demon governing the groups of elements respectively⁴⁹⁰).

⁴⁸²) Cf. Mahāvamsa III. 2.— *Kusinārāyam yamaka-sālānām āntare vare Vesākha-puṇṇamāyām so dīpo lokassa nibbuto /*

⁴⁸³) Tg. MDO. LXXXI.

⁴⁸³) *lhaḥi-buḥi-bdud* = *devaputra-māra*.

⁴⁸⁴) *rdo-rje-lta-buḥi tin-ñe-ḥdzin* = *vajropama-samādhi*.

⁴⁸⁵) *ñon-moṅs-paḥi-bdud* = *kleṣa-māra*.

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⁴⁹⁰) Cf. Yaçomitra, Abhidharmakoça-vyākhyā, BB. II koçasthāna, 19.

Jñānagarbha⁴⁹¹) says: —

By these and similar words

He demonstrated his mastery over them (the forces of life), —

This because he had vanquished the 2 Demons

And was full of Commiseration with regard to the converts. —

Accordingly, he vanquished the 2 Demons who bore respectively the character of the Lord of Death and of the 5 Groups of Elements and, being full of compassion with those who were to be converted, he pronounced the blessings (through which he made manifest his mastery over the forces of life). [88 a.] In order to show that he had the power over death, he rejected (the force of life-time). And, in order to demonstrate the power over the Groups of Elements, he mastered the vital forces. This is to be taken as a matter of fact.

According to the Mahāyanists, (the Buddha) vanquished the 4 Demons simultaneously as it is said: — Hast thou not attained Enlightenment and, at that very time, vanquished the 4 Demons? —

As concerns these 12 acts of the Buddha, we have different accounts in the *Vinaya*, in the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* and in the *Lalitavistara*, each having its own special version. Here, in describing (the first 11 acts), we have followed the *Lalitavistara*. The act of the Buddha's departure into Nirvāṇa is rendered in accordance with the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*. The hidden meaning etc. of these accounts is to be known in detail from the *Upāyakauśalya-sūtra*⁴⁹²).

IV. Accb₂ c₂.⁴⁹³) Detailed Analysis of the Subjects referring to the Doctrine.

Here we distinguish 3 points: —

a.) The way how the Teaching was rehearsed by the Compilers

b.) The way how it abided after having been compiled.

c.) The way how it will finally undergo destruction and cease to exist.

⁴⁹¹) Satya-dvaya-vibhanga.

⁴⁹²) Thabs-la-mkhas-paḥi-mdo.

⁴⁹³) Cf. Vol. I, p. 127.

IV. Acc₁ b₂ c₃ a₄. The Rehearsals of the Teaching.

Here we have: —

a₅) (The rehearsal of) the Hīnayānistic Teaching.

b₅) (The rehearsal of) the Mahāyānistic Doctrine.

IV. Acc₁ b₂ c₃ a₄ a₅. The Rehearsals of the Hīnayānistic Scripture.

We distinguish 3 periods during which (Hīnayānistic Scripture) was rehearsed. We shall now take in consideration

The first Rehearsal.

After the monuments (harbouring the Buddha relics) etc. had thus been erected and after Ārīputra with his 80 000 followers, Maudgalyāyana with the 70 000 under his orders and the Teacher himself with his congregation of 18 000 monks had passed away⁴⁹⁴), the gods whose life duress many aeons began to show their contempt (toward the Doctrine), saying: — The Word of the Teacher is dispersing like smoke. The monks who possessed authority and power have likewise passed away. Therefore the 3 Codes of Scripture will never come to be expounded⁴⁹⁵). In order to put an end to this manifestation of contempt, Mahākāśyapa resolved to call a council of the clergy and bade Pūrṇa⁴⁹⁶) to assemble the monks⁴⁹⁷). [88 b.] Pūrṇa who was at that time abiding in the culminating state of mystic absorption looked around and beat the wooden gong, whereupon (all the monks), with the exception of Gavāṃpati⁴⁹⁸) assembled⁴⁹⁹). Pūrṇa, having received the order to summon Gavāṃpati⁵⁰⁰), by force of his miraculous power, flew to the palace of Ārīṣaka where Gavāṃpati was abiding, saluted him and said: — The congregation of monks with Mahākāśyapa at their head send their greetings to the reverend Gavāṃpati. There is an affair concerning the Congregation; therefore thou must speedily come. — Now Gavāṃpati was free from passion (and every kind of attachment) but, under the influence of the force of friendship (which remained with him) he asked: — O reverend Pūrṇa! Has not the Lord passed away into another world for the sake of the living

⁴⁹⁴) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 301 a. 3—4.

⁴⁹⁵) Ibid. 301 a. 4—5. ⁴⁹⁶) Tib. Gañ-po.

⁴⁹⁷) Ibid. 301 a. 5—b. 2, 3.

⁴⁹⁸) Ba-lai-bdag. ⁴⁹⁹) Ibid. 301 b. 3—7.

⁵⁰⁰) Ibid. 301 b. 7—302 a. 2.

beings to be converted? Has there not been any strife, dispute and quarrel amongst the clergy, and has not any abusive language been used? Do not the heretics cause to turn back the Wheel of the Doctrine that has been swung by the Lord? Have not (these heretics) assembled and done harm to the Congregation of the Ārāvakas? Have not the (heretical) ascetics, the Brāhmaṇas, the (heretical) mystics, and the Parivrājakas who are overpowered by passion, — have they not reviled the Buddha who is akin to the sun? Have not those whose minds are covered by the darkness of ignorance caused any rupture in the unity of the Congregation? Have not the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lord, as well as the sentences and words corresponding to the Doctrine, and the philosophical teachings likewise, — have they not been rendered impure? Those who were of a virtuous behaviour, have they not got their minds diverted from reading, reciting, and taking to heart (the word of Scripture)? Are they not assembling now for telling obscene tales? With minds possessed of doubt and uncertainty [89 a], do they not consider that which is not the Doctrine to be such, and do they not speak of the real Doctrine as not being it? Do they not speak of that which is not the real Discipline as being such, and depreciate the true Discipline in saying that it is not such? The monks, obscured by the defilement of envy, do they not show contempt with those who are possessed of virtuous behaviour and who have unexpectedly come to them, instead of practising the 6 kinds of virtue that would give pleasure (to the new-comers)? The Brāhmaṇas and householders who were possessed of faith, — have they not been diverted from their belief in the Doctrine by the worthless monks and adopted heretical views? (These bad monks), — have they not taken recourse to wrong means of livelihood? Do they not live on agriculture and traffic, or maintain their life by seeking a support in worldly power? After having commenced the practice of the (12) virtues of rigid asceticism⁵⁰¹, — have they not accepted shelter in the suburbs of cities, thus frustrating their obeisances of ascetics? Those who are not really ascetics, — do they not affirm to be such and by this bring confusion amongst those who are of virtuous behaviour? Now, be this as the case may be, but, O reverend Pūrṇa, (this is especially what I wish to know): — If it is right to say: “the Congregation of

⁵⁰¹) *śbyāns-paṇi-yon-tan* = *dhūta-guṇa*.

monks with Buddha at their head", how is it then that thou sayest: "With Kāçyapa at heir head"? (What does this mean?) —The Teacher who abided in the practice of Highest Commiseration and brought his activity to full accomplishment, — has he passed away and become merged in the plane of the final Nirvāṇa without residue?⁵⁰²) And, as the steersman of all that lives is no more, has not the world (of living beings) become confused? He who was endowed with the 10 powers, — is he not himself overpowered by the force of Evanescence? The Teacher of the living beings, the protector who wakes us, — has he now himself fallen asleep? Has the sun of the Buddha gone down? The moon of the Lord of Sages, — has it not been devoured by Rahu and become invisible? [89 b.] The lordly enchanted tree in the region of the 33 gods, adorned by those fragrant flowers which are the component parts of Enlightenment and bearing the 4 sublime fruits of saintliness, — has it not been broken, by the elephant of impermanence? The Light of Divine Wisdom, — has it not disappeared into Nirvāṇa, — blown out by the wind of evanescence? Such were his questions⁵⁰³). Pūrṇa said in return⁵⁰⁴): —

O Sage, in order to secure a long existence for the Doctrine,
The Congregation of the Çrāvakas has come together,
And, being assembled at that place, they pray thee
To abide with them and join (in their work).
The great ship, the Lord, has met with destruction,
And the moutain of Divine Wisdom has broken down,
But there are still numerous ascetics of 4 kinds,
Possessed of the Highest Sublime Teaching, who are not idle.
From them I have come here as a messenger;
In order that the Teaching might be established,
Thou must come with me in any case. —

Gavāṃpati said⁵⁰⁵): —

Enough of this, O Pūrṇa, it is not the time to go.
I had the intention of going to that place
Where the Protector, the Light of World, abided.
But, as he has now departed to that other world of perfect peace,

⁵⁰²) *lhaḡ-ma-med-paḥi mya-nan-las-ḥdas-paḥi dbyiṅs = anupadhiṣṣa-nir-vāṇa-dhātu.*

⁵⁰³) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 302 a. 4—303 a. 1.

⁵⁰⁴) Ibid. 303 a. 2—3. ⁵⁰⁵) Ibid. 303 a. 4—5.

Who, really wise, will go into this world?
 This alms-bowl and these religious garments of 3 kinds,
 Give thou to the Congregation of the monks.
 I shall go there were I find peace and no further rebirth,
 And pray those possessed of sublime intentions to forgive
 me. —

Having thus said, he manifested his miraculous power and died (on the spot). His body was consumed by fire that sprung forth from it by itself. Four streams of water then issued from it and the following four verses were heard: —

1. At present the times have become evil,
 The living beings rely upon their own actions,
 The Light of the World has passed away,
 Therefore all must now choose their paths themselves.
2. The active elements of life, being accumulated,
 Disappear at once, in a moment [90 a.];
 Subjected to the suffering of birth etc. and possessed of
 passion,
 The ordinary beings indulge in the conception of the Ego;
 You must know that there is no such thing!
3. He who is wise must become attentive through constant
 thought,
 And must be zealous in appreciating all that is virtuous.
 The living beings in their multitude,
 They all pass away and perish,
 And the bloom of life is liable to change.
4. Having by his wisdom duly worshipped the Lord,
 And brought to accomplishment all his aims,
 Full of reverence and highest devotion,
 Gavāṃpati has thus departed, following his Teacher¹⁰⁹.

Thereupon Pūrṇa, by the force of his miraculous power, returned to the place where the Congregation was assembled, made his salutations, presented the mendicant's bowl (of Gavāṃpati) etc. and said: —

He has heard that the Body of the Lord exists no more,
 And, by the force of his virtuous deeds,
 He has passed away to perfect peace.

¹⁰⁹) Ibid. 303 a. 5—b. 2.

Here are his religious garments and his mendicant's bowl;
He prays the Congregation to forgive his intentions⁵⁰⁷).

Thereupon Kāçyapa said⁵⁰⁸): — Harken ye, O monks!

This one has passed away like a Saint,
But the others must not depart to perfect peace in such
a manner;

As long as there is a necessary work to do,
Those who have power must assemble and dare not depart
Like this high-minded Gavāmpati, the receptacle
Of virtuous deeds, who resided in Çiriçaka;
In such a way you must not think,
But assemble and exert your minds
How to act for the sake of mankind. —

Having given this order, he said: — If the precepts of the Doctrine are expounded here, many monks will come. In such a case there may arise confusion. Let us therefore go to Magadha⁵⁰⁹). — Well, — said (the other members of the Congregation). — Then they sent away the monks who were still under discipline⁵¹⁰) and appointed Ānanda verger. Ānanda with the Congregation (in travelling to Magadha) passed through many a country district. [90 b.] But Mahākāçyapa went straightly (without roaming about), came to Rājagṛha and was seen by Ajātaçatru⁵¹¹). The latter, having been reminded of the Teacher, was about to fall from his elephant (in a swoon), but Kāçyapa held him by force, forbade him to do so any more, and said: — We desire to discuss about the precepts of the Doctrine in this godly place⁵¹²). — Well, — said the king, — I shall provide all that is necessary. — Thus they assembled, the king having ordered to prepare seats, couches, and other requisites in the hollow of a Nyagrodha tree. The summer fast was then proclaimed.

Now, Mahākāçyapa, having perfectly examined the state of mind of Ānanda, said to Aniruddha: — Amidst this Congregation who has been praised by the Lord, there are such who are still under the rules of Discipline and are possessed of passion, hatred, infatuation, desire, and egocentric properties. Aniruddha, having

⁵⁰⁷) Ibid. 303 b. 2—5.

⁵⁰⁸) Ibid. 303 b. 5—7.

⁵¹⁰) *slob-pa* = *çaiḥṣa*.

⁵¹²) Ibid. 305 a. 5—6.

⁵⁰⁹) Ibid. 303 b. 7—304 a. 4.

⁵¹¹) Ibid. 304 b. 5—7.

looked over the matter with his supernatural faculty of vision, said: — Thou must know. — The Congregation of the monks is free from all that is worthless, it is pure, possessed of that which is essential, is the field on which virtue grows, and is worthy to receive the gifts of the worldly beings. But as to Ānanda, — he is of the kind which thou hast just mentioned⁵¹³). — By this Kāc̥yapa saw that Ānanda was to be subdued by censure and said to him: — We here are the Highest Congregation and shall not discuss about the Doctrine with such as thee. — Therefore begone! — Ānanda trembled as if he had been struck in the most sensible part of his body. — O great Kāc̥yapa, be merciful! — said he. I have not committed any transgressions as regards morals, views, conduct, and means of livelihood, nor can I be accused of the slightest offence with regard to the Congregation!⁵¹⁴) — To this Kāc̥yapa said: — As thou wert all the time sitting at the Teacher's feet, what great wonder is it that thou hast not committed the 4 transgressions! But now rise up and bear evidence that thou hast not misbehaved with regard to the Congregation. — I shall show thee thy faults⁵¹⁵). — [91 a.] Ānanda then rose up. The 3000 worlds trembled and the gods, full of awe, said: — Alas, Kāc̥yapa, whose words are true and beneficent, is thus bitterly censuring Ānanda, as we see from this elevated place⁵¹⁶). — Kāc̥yapa said: — Thou hast summoned women to embrace religious life, heedless of the Teacher's having said to thee: — Ānanda, do not cause women to embrace religious life and do not tell them that they ought to take orders and become nuns. Why that? Because, if women take orders according to the discipline of this Doctrine, the latter will have no long duration. As, for instance, if hail descends on a field full of wild rice, the latter will be destroyed, similarly if women take orders, the Discipline of this Doctrine is not to abide for long. Has he not said that?⁵¹⁷) — Ānanda replied: — I cannot be accused of want of shame and the like. But (mind thou this): — Mahāprajāpatī was the foster-mother who fed the Teacher with her breast. It would be suitable (to admit women to take orders) out of mere gratitude toward her, and in order that (the Buddha) should become possessed of the 4 kinds of adherents (including the nuns). — Thy gratitude, —

⁵¹³) Ibid. 305 b. 7—306 a. 4.

⁵¹⁴) Ibid. 306 a. 4—7.

⁵¹⁵) Ibid. 306 a. 7—b. 1.

⁵¹⁶) Ibid. 306 b. 3—7.

said Kāṣyapa, — has caused harm to the spiritual Body of the Buddha. The hail has fallen on the abundant field of Buddhist activity; therefore there remains only the short period of 1000 years (for the Doctrine) to abide. In former times, when the passions of the living beings were insignificant, the Congregation of 4 kinds was suitable, but at present it was not the wish of the Teacher that this should be. It is thou who hast prayed him (to allow women to take orders), and this is thy first transgression! Bear evidence in this!⁵¹⁷⁾ — Then thou hast not prayed the Teacher not to pass away into Nirvāṇa. — This was a confusion caused by the Evil One. — Just this is thy fault, — bear evidence!⁵¹⁸⁾ —

Moreover, when asked, thou hast answered otherwise (than it was proper). Bear evidence in this!⁵¹⁹⁾ —

Again: thou hast trampled with thy feet upon (the Buddha's) garment of fine cloth [91 b.]. — There was no companion who could have withdrawn them. — If thou hadst cast them upward into the air, the gods would have taken hold of them. — Bear evidence in this!⁵²⁰⁾ —

Furthermore: Thou hast brought muddy water (for the Teacher)⁵²¹⁾. — This was because 500 vehicles had passed the Kakuta river and its waters were troubled. — Thine is the fault! If thou hadst held up thy hands, the gods would have presented water of 8 different tastes. Bear evidence therefore!⁵²²⁾ — Further on: It has been said: — If one wishes, one may, for the sake of the Congregation, relax the strictest observances of morality and the minutiae of monastic discipline and enjoy a pleasant existence! Here thou hast not inquired about these minutiae. Now there are different indications concerning them. It is said that they consist in abstaining from (those transgressions) which are mentioned directly after: 1. the 5 forms of fall, 2. the (4) transgressions that are to be expiated through confession⁵²³⁾, 3. the 90 transgressions leading to moral fall⁵²⁴⁾, 4. the (30) transgressions requiring absolution⁵²⁵⁾, or 5. after the indeterminate offences⁵²⁶⁾. The consequence was that some have not observed (the minutiae)

⁵¹⁷⁾ Ibid. 306 b. 7—307 a. 5.

⁵¹⁸⁾ Ibid. 307 a. 5—b. 1. ⁵¹⁹⁾ Ibid. 307 b. 1—2.

⁵²⁰⁾ Ibid. 307 b. 2—4. ⁵²¹⁾ Ibid. 307 b. 4—6.

⁵²²⁾ *so-sor-bhaga-pa* = *pratideṣaniya*. M. Vyutp. § 162.

⁵²³⁾ Ibid. § 161. ⁵²⁴⁾ Ibid. § 160.

⁵²⁵⁾ *ma-ñes-pa* = *aniyata*. M. Vyutp. § 159.

with regard to the offences which deserve expulsion⁵²⁶), and others have not observed those indicated subsequently to the indeterminate transgressions. Owing to these circumstances the heretics have got an opportunity to revile (the Doctrine). This is another fault which thou hast committed. — I was overpowered by grief at being separated from the Teacher, — (replied Ānanda). Just this very grief of thine is not to be pardoned. Therefore bear evidence! — Again, thou hast exposed to the sight of laymen and of women the concealed private parts (of the Buddha's Body)⁵²⁷). — I know, that (the women are full of passion, replied Ānanda, but I thought that if they would see the private parts of the Buddha's Body), they would become deprived of the female organ⁵²⁸). — Just (by having such strange thoughts) thou hast committed a fault. — Bear evidence, therefore!⁵²⁹) —

Furthermore, thou hast shown the Body of the Teacher to women and it has become polluted by their tears. — I thought that if such a Body would be seen, the living beings would make the Creative Effort (for Enlightenment). — Just by thinking like that thou hast committed a fault and, being thus, though slightly, possessed of desire, — depart and do not abide amongst the Highest Congregation that is completely dispassionate!⁵³⁰) — Ānanda looked in the 4 directions and, full of pain and grief, spoke in a low voice: — Alas, such is my lot. The Lord has left me. On whom am I to rely, who will be my light and protection? [92 a.] At that moment the gods exclaimed: — O! victory is with the gods and the Asuras are vanquished! The Teaching has prospered! A Ārāvaka who resembles the Teacher has censured another Ārāvaka who is likewise akin to the Teacher!⁵³¹) —

Thereupon Ānanda spoke: — O Kāṣyapa, have patience with me. I shall act in accordance with the Doctrine and shall not do henceforth (as I have done). Consider thou but this. — The Teacher has entrusted me to thy care. — Ānanda, said he, do not be grieved. Thou art confined to the care of Mahākāṣyapa. Kāṣyapa, thou

⁵²⁶) *pham-pa* = *pārājika*. Ibid. § 156.

⁵²⁷) *hdoms-kyi-sba-ba sbubs-su-nub-pa* = *koṣagata-vasti-guhya*.

⁵²⁸) Sic. acc. to Vin. ksudr. — *bdag-gis hdi-sñam-du bsams-so // bud-med-ni ran-bñin-gyis hdod-chags che-bas bcom-ldan-hdas-kyi hdoms-kyi-sba-ba sbubs-su-nub-pa mñhoñ-na mo-mñshan dan-bral-bar gyur-to //*

⁵²⁹) Vin. ksudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 308 b. 2—4.

⁵³⁰) Ibid. 308 b. 4—7.

⁵³¹) Ibid. 308 b. 7—309 a. 3.

must not be intolerant with regard to insignificant defects, but act according to my word⁵³²). (To this Kāçyapa said): — Thou, Ānanda, must not weep. The virtuous elements in thee are to increase and will not be diminished. I have inflicted punishment upon thee in order that thou shouldst be zealous for the sake of the Doctrine!⁵³³) —

Thereupon Aniruddha said to Kāçyapa: If Ānanda is to be absent, how is the word of the Buddha to be compiled?⁵³⁴) — (Kāçyapa replied): — Ānanda, although he is possessed of virtuous properties, may not abide amongst us. Desires and the like are still existing with him. Therefore he must be subjected to Discipline and ought not to discuss (about the Doctrine) with us. After that he said: — Be gone thou, Ānanda! — When, by thy zeal, thou hast become an Arhat, — then we can discuss together!⁵³⁵) —

Ānanda, with his eyes full of tears, and distressed at the thought that he was deprived of the Teacher, departed from that place. He went to the village of the Vriji, and there (one known as) the son of the Vriji tribe⁵³⁶) became his servant. Once, when (Ānanda) was expounding the Doctrine, this offspring of the Vriji tribe, having got a glimpse in his teacher's state of mind, said⁵³⁷): —

O Gautama, if thou doest keep off distraction
And abidest in the dark shadow of a tree,
Thou shalt attain Nirvāṇa.
Concentrate thy mind and practise profound meditation,
And thou shalt attain the state of perfect peace at an early
date. —

Following this advice of the offspring of the Vrijis⁵³⁸), (Ānanda), during the day [92 b] and the first part of the night, walking and sitting, became purified from mental obscurations. At midnight he washed his feet outside the monastery. Thereafter, he sunk down on his right side and, without lowering his head on the

⁵³²) Ibid. 309 a. 3—5.

⁵³³) Ibid. 309 a. 5—6.

⁵³⁴) Cf. Mahāvamsa, III. 10. — *puna Ānanda-thero pi bhikkhūhi abhiyācito / saṁmanni kātum saṁgītiṁ sū na sakkaṁ hi taṁ vinā //*

⁵³⁵) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI, 309. a. 6—b. 2.

⁵³⁶) Acc. to Vin. kṣudr. *tsho-dan-lan-pa Bri-dzihi-bu = āyusmān Vrijiputra*

⁵³⁷) Ibid. 309 b. 6.

⁵³⁸) Bu-ton has here the Tibetan equivalent Spon-byed-kyl-bu.

pillow, attained the state of an Arhat⁵³⁹). Thereafter he returned (to the place of the council) in the hollow of the Nyagrodha tree⁵⁴⁰).

Mahākāçyapa, for the sake of the monks of future times who could forget (the precepts), discussed in the morning briefly in verse, and later on in the afternoon in detail⁵⁴¹). And first of all there was a discussion about the rehearsal of the Sūtras. Kāçyapa asked Ānanda whether he had energy enough and bade him to compile the Sūtras on the foundation of the resolution (of the Congregation), delivered after the vote repeated twice⁵⁴²). Thereafter the 500 Arhats spread their religious garments on the seat supported by lions on which Ānanda seated himself⁵⁴³). — I must expound all the Sūtras I have heard, thought he. — And the gods, knowing his intention, listened with reverence. Then Kāçyapa uttered the following entreaty⁵⁴⁴): —

O reverend Ānanda, expound thou the Sūtras,
The aphorisms which represent the highest form
Of the Doctrine that was delivered by the Lord,

The Teacher whose intention it was to help the world! —

Thereupon Ānanda, recalling into memory the virtues of the Teacher, turned his face toward Bodhimaṇḍa, folded his hands, recollected all the teachings he was to compile and began: — This is what I have once heard. The Lord was abiding in Benares, in Rṣipātana and in the Grove of the Antelopes. — And, as he uttered these words, the gods became full of grief and said⁵⁴⁵): —

Alas, everything in this world
Is, without exception, evanescent.
Even that ocean has dried up
Which was the repository of the jewels of virtue.
He, from whom the Doctrine has been heard directly
Is now enjoying the bliss of Salvation.

⁵³⁹) The expulsion of Ānanda and his attainment of Arhatship is related briefly in the Mahāvaiṣṇava, III. 23—25.

⁵⁴⁰) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. ĪDUL. XI. 309 b. 2—310 a. 5.

⁵⁴¹) Ibid. 310 a. 5—b 1.

⁵⁴²) *gsol-ba-gñis-kyi-las* = *jñapti-dvītiya-karma-vacana*. Cf. M. Vyutp. § 266. 2, 3. Cf. also Childers, Pālī Dictionary, s. v. *ñatti* (*jñapti*) and *kamma-vacana*.

⁵⁴³) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. ĪDUL. XI. 310 b. 1—7.

⁵⁴⁴) Ibid. 311 a. 6—7.

So have I heard, — thus it is (now) summarized
And is to be heard at present. —

Thereupon (Ānanda communicated the Sūtra): — Then [93 a.] the Lord addressed the 5 monks as follows: — O brethren, this is the Doctrine that has not been heard of before, viz. that of the uneasiness (of Phenomenal Life), — the (first) principle of the Saint, — and so on.

Then Kaundinya said to Kācyapa: — I have heard this part of the Doctrine directly. It has caused the ocean of my blood and tears to be dried up, has closed the doors to the evil births, has caused the mountain of bones to be crossed, and has opened the doors to blissful existence. Through the exposition of it, I and 80 000 gods have obtained the vision of the Truth⁵⁴⁶). Now, to-day it is communicated as “having been thus heard” in the past. Alas, everything is evanescent without exception! — Thus saying, he descended from his elevated seat and sat down (on the ground). The others likewise descended from their seats (and said): — We have witnessed the exposition of this Doctrine directly, but now owing to the force of evanescence, the Lord can at present only be heard of (and not directly seen)!⁵⁴⁷) —

Thereafter the Arhats, perceiving with their supernatural vision, asked Ānanda: — Is this the Word of Buddha that is acknowledged by thee? — It is the Word acknowledged by all of us, — (replied Ānanda). And, (in his turn he asked): — Is the Word acknowledged by all of you such (as I have communicated)? — It is just that, — (replied the other Arhats). — Then Kācyapa thought: — The rehearsal of the first aphorism has not met with any objection and must therefore be the true Doctrine. — And to Ānanda he said: — How has the second aphorism been communicated? — (Ānanda continued): — So have I heard . . . etc. What is this uneasiness (of Phenomenal Existence), — the first principle of the Saint? — It is the uneasiness accompanying birth, — and so on.

How has the 3^d aphorism been communicated? — O brethren, the material group of elements⁵⁴⁸) does not represent the Ego. —

This and the following Ānanda repeated, and the 499 Arhats [93 b.] established (that which he had said) as the kanonical

⁵⁴⁶) Ibid. 311 b. 2—3.

⁵⁴⁸) *chos-kyi-mig* = *dharmā-cakṣuḥ*.

⁵⁴⁷) Ibid. 311 b. 4—312 a. 1.

⁵⁴⁹) *gzugs* = *rūpa* in the sense of *rūpa-skandha*.

text⁵⁴⁹). The aphorisms containing the teaching about the 5 groups of elements were compiled together, forming the part concerning the 5 groups. The passages about the (12) bases of cognition were united so as to form the division dealing with the bases of cognition, the aphorisms concerning the members of the causal chain and the cognition of the 4 principles, — in the Nidāna⁵⁵⁰) sections. The numerous passages delivered by the Ārāvakas were combined in “the division of the Speeches of the Ārāvakas”, and the sermons delivered by the Buddha, — in the part containing the Speeches of the Buddha. The aphorisms containing the teachings about the (37) characteristic features of Enlightenment were compiled so as to form the division concerning the component parts of the Path. The numerous sayings were united into the “Division of sayings”, the numerous verses, — into the corresponding section⁵⁵¹), the extensive parts of Scripture — into the Dīrgha-āgama, the intermediate — into the Madhyama-āgama, and the solitary sentences and the like, — into the separate passages, containing one and more sentences⁵⁵²). (Thus the division of the Sūtras) was compiled and established as the kanon. Thereupon Kāṣyapa asked Ānanda, whether the Teaching was of such a compass (as had been compiled). — It is of such a compass, — replied Ānanda, — and there is nothing that is left (incompleted). — Having said this, Ānanda descended from the seat and sat down on the ground⁵⁵³).

Thereupon Upāli⁵⁵⁴) was asked whether he had sufficient energy and was then ordered to rehearse the Vinaya in accordance with the resolution delivered after the twice repeated vote. After Upāli had been seated on the seat supported by lions, (Kāṣyapa said): — Where did the Lord lay the first foundation of Discipline? — At Benares. — For whose sake? — For the 5 monks. — He has ordered them to wear the skirt in a circular form. —

And the Arhats perceived with their supernatural vision and became convinced that this was the real Doctrine. —

Where was the second foundation of Discipline established? — (was the second question). — At Benares, for the 5 disciples, the order to wear religious robes in a circular form, — and so on.

⁵⁴⁹) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 312 a. 2—314 a. 3.

⁵⁵⁰) Gleñ-gḥi. ⁵⁵¹) Yañ-dag-par-ldan-paḥi-miñ (?).

⁵⁵²) geig-las-ḥphros-paḥi-luñ = ekottara-āgama.

⁵⁵³) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 314 a. 3—b. 2. ⁵⁵⁴) Ñe-bar-ḥkhor.

Where was the third foundation of Discipline established? — In the village of Kalandaka in order that Bhadradata⁵⁵⁵) should overcome his immorality. —

Thereafter, the (4 sins) meriting expulsion⁵⁵⁶), the (13) transgressions requiring rehabilitation by the whole of the clergy⁵⁵⁷), the indeterminate transgressions,^{557a}) the 30 transgressions accompanied with forfeiture⁵⁵⁸), the (90) transgressions requiring absolution⁵⁵⁹), the (4) transgressions to be expiated by confession⁵⁶⁰) [94 a.], the numerous minutiae of Discipline, the pacification of quarrels, the supplementary rules, forfeiture, ordination, fast, punishment, calumny, the causes (of transgression), and the subject of faith, — all these were definitely indicated. In such a way the Vinaya was rehearsed, and after that Upāli descended from his seat⁵⁶¹). Then Mahākāṣyapa, in order to rehearse the Abhidharma, for the sake of the living beings of future times, — underwent the procedure of vote and resolution. He said: — ~~Of the Abhidharma I shall speak myself.~~ The Abhidharma is that which elucidates the essence of the things cognizable. It consists of the 4 methods of intense mindfulness, — etc. as before⁵⁶²).

Thereupon, as the 500 Ārhats thus rehearsed the 3 Codes of Scripture, the gods exclaimed: — O! the gods have won and the Asuras have lost! — And the 500 monks received the name of “the Great Compilers”⁵⁶³).

Thereupon Mahākāṣyapa spoke as follows⁵⁶⁴): —

The limitless Word of Him
Who was endowed with the 10 Powers
Is now compiled in this Book of the Law
For the sake of mankind.
It is possessed of light,
Since it removes the gloom of ignorance,

Wherever false views obscure and oppress the living beings. —
Then he thought⁵⁶⁵): — I have rehearsed the Word of the Buddha as well as I could and have (through this) to a certain extent been

⁵⁵⁵) Bzañ-sbyin. ⁵⁵⁶) *pham-pa* = *pārājika*.

⁵⁵⁷) *lhag-ma* = (*sangha*)-*avaśeṣa*. ^{557a}) *ma-ñas-pa* = *aniyata*.

⁵⁵⁸) *spañ-luñ* = *naisargika*. ⁵⁵⁹) *luñ-byed* = *prāyaścittika*.

⁵⁶⁰) *so-sor-bṣags-pa* = *pratideśanīya*.

⁵⁶¹) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 314 b. 2—315 b. 6.

⁵⁶²) Ibid. 315 b. 6—316 a. 5. ⁵⁶³) Ibid. 316 a. 5—b. 3.

⁵⁶⁴) Ibid. 316 b. 3—4. ⁵⁶⁵) Ibid. 316 b. 7—317 a. 2.

of help (to the living beings). — Now, who is able (to do this work) completely? I for my part shall depart into Nirvāṇa. —

Having rehearsed the sermons of the Lord,
I have established the Path of Virtue;
This Word of the Teacher is to abide for long,
Being transferred from one (disciple) to another;
It will chastise those that are shameless
And support those who are modest.
I have been of help and stored up merit,
And the time for me to pass into Nirvāṇa has come. —

Know thou, Ānanda! [94 b.] The Teacher has passed away, after having entrusted the Doctrine to my care. As I am now to depart into Nirvāṇa, it is thou who art to be its defender. And thou, in thy turn, art to entrust it to Çānavāsika⁵⁶⁶).

Thereupon Kāçyapa, having worshipped the 8 monuments with the relics (of the Buddha) and the tooth (of the latter) which was preserved in the realm of the Nāgas, rose up to the abode of the 33 gods. There he beheld the tooth (of the Buddha that was kept there) without winking, placed it on the crown of his head, worshipped it and said to the gods: — Be full of attention and devotion! — Having delivered this word he returned to Rāja-grha. Ajātaçatru to whom he intended to announce his arrival was asleep. — Make him awaken and call him to me! — So said he, ascended the southern hill Kukkuṭapāda and strewed Kuça grass in the interspace between the 3 hills. Then he put on the patched cowl of the Buddha, uttered a blessing (that his corpse) should not decay till the time when the word of Maitreya would be expounded and, having demonstrated many miraculous apparitions, passed away into Nirvāṇa. Thereafter the gods worshipped, spread a cover over the 3 mountains, uttered many sounds of lamentation, and disappeared⁵⁶⁷).

At that time Ajātaçatru, who had dreamt that the lineage of his mother's brother belonging to the royal race had ceased, awoke and, having heard that Kāçyapa had passed away, fell in a swoon. Upon recovering, he ascended the hill, and the Yakṣas withdrew the cover (that was spread over the hills). The king, having worshipped, was about to order that the body should be burnt, but Ānanda said: — He has pronounced a blessing that his body should remain

⁵⁶⁶) Ibid. 317 a. 2—4.

⁵⁶⁷) Ibid. 317 a. 4—318 b. 2.

till the time when the Doctrine of Maitreya is to be expounded. The 930 millions of Çrāvakas of Maitreya will take the body (of Kāçyapa) and show it, saying: — This was a disciple of Çākyamuni, the foremost of those endowed with the 12 virtues of an ascetic. It was he who compiled the Teaching. — And it will be known that the men of this (age of ours) were small in size and the Teacher's body great. [95 a.] Then Maitreya will say: — These are the robes of Çākyamuni! — Then his adherents will assume the virtues of ascetics and become Arhats. — It is for this reason that one must not burn (these relics), but build here a monument⁵⁶⁹). —

Accordingly they erected a monument and worshipped. And after that a covering was again spread over the 3 mountains. Then Ānanda promised that he would show to Ajātaçatru how he would pass away into Nirvāṇa, and thereupon departed into the Bamboo Grove⁵⁶⁹).

Whilst he was abiding there, Çānavāsika arrived, after having fortunately crossed the sea, and asked: — I intend to celebrate the 5 years' feast. But where is the Teacher? — He has passed away! — And, as he heard this, Çānavāsika fell in a swoon. — And Çāriputra and the rest, — where do they abide? — They have likewise passed away, — (was the answer). Thereafter Çānavāsika made a 5 years' feast for Ānanda and the Congregation, at the end of which he took orders and became versed in the 3 Codes of Scripture⁵⁷⁰).

At that time a certain monk (was preaching in the following manner)⁵⁷¹): —

He whose life has a duration of 100 years
Can certainly abide in ease like a duck in the water.
And can be perceived as similar to such a duck.
Such a uniform life is the best.

Ānanda, having heard this, said:⁵⁷²) — The Teacher has not preached like that, but: —

He with whom life dures 100 years
Invariably becomes born and perishes.
The Teacher has declared that here on earth

⁵⁶⁹) Ibid. 318 b. 2—319 a. 4. ⁵⁶⁹) Ibid. 319 a. 4—6.

⁵⁷⁰) Ibid. 319 a. 6—b. 5. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 9.

⁵⁷¹) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 319 b. 6.

⁵⁷²) Ibid. 319 b. 6—302 a. 2.

Two kinds of individuals must be distinguished:
 Those with minds full of disbelief and hatred,
 And those who in their faith have gone astray.
 He who has wrongly apprehended the Sūtras
 Is like an ox that has fallen into a mire,
 And must inevitably perish.
 He has no thoughts concerning his death,
 His study does not lead to knowledge and is fruitless.
 Incorrect knowledge, it is like poison;
 But he is really wise, whose study [95 b.]
 Leads to correct knowledge and has for its result
 The removal of all the Obscurations. —

The monk who had recited incorrectly said to the preceptor (with whom he studied): — Ānanda has grown old and has lost his power of memory. The preceptor said⁵⁷³): —

Subjected to the suffering of old age,
 This living being has lost his memory;
 He does not recollect correctly,
 For his mind is overpowered by decrepitude. —

Ānanda heard this and said: — If I speak to him there will be a quarrel. It is likewise unsuitable for me to go (and remonstrate) before his teacher. I shall therefore pass away into Nirvāṇa. —

The old ones, — they all have died before,
 And with these new young monks one cannot be of accord.
 I am now abiding quite alone
 In concentrated trance, similar to a bird.
 Those who were my friends and associates
 Have all of them died before and are gone.
 How shall I reflect over the state of mystic absorption?
 There is no suitable teacher for this here⁵⁷⁴). —

Accordingly he said to Ānāvāsika: — The Doctrine has been entrusted by the Teacher to Kāçyapa, and by the latter to myself. I am now about to depart (into Nirvāṇa). Therefore it is thou who art to guard the Doctrine. And he foretold that in the place called Mathurā⁵⁷⁵) on the mountain called Murunda, Nata and Pata, the sons of a merchant would build a monastery and become alms-givers (of the church). He said moreover that Upagupta⁵⁷⁶),

⁵⁷³) Ibid. 320 a. 2—3.

⁵⁷⁴) Ibid. 320 a. 3—7.

⁵⁷⁵) Bcom-brlag.

⁵⁷⁶) N̄er-sbas.

the son of Gupta⁵⁷⁷), the merchant of incense, should take orders. Indeed, the Teacher had prophesied: — One hundred years after I have passed away, this one will become a Buddha, though without bearing the characteristic feature of such⁵⁷⁸), and perform the acts peculiar to a Buddha. — Let it be so, — said Çānavāsika⁵⁷⁹). — Thereafter Ānanda sent a message to Ajātaçatru and then departed into the middle of the Ganges. The king, having dreamt that the staff of his umbrella had been broken, awoke and, after he had heard the message of Ānanda, fell in a swoon. When he recovered, he set out with his army in the direction of the Ganges⁵⁸⁰). At the same time the gods spoke to the inhabitants of Vaiçali as follows⁵⁸¹): —

The Saint Ānanda who is like a light for the animate world,
Has manifested his Great Commiseration for the multitude
of living beings. [96 a.]

This Sage, having removed the darkness of suffering,
Has now come to Vaiçali, in order to attain perfect peace. —

Thereupon the Licchavis likewise proceeded toward the Ganges. At that time a Brahmanical anchorite with 500 adherents expressed the wish to take orders. Ānanda produced by magic an island in the middle of the Ganges and there (the anchorite and his followers) were ordained and became Arhats. With respect to the place and the time they became known by the name of Madhyāntika — “(those who were ordained) at noon-day⁵⁸²) or in the middle of the river”⁵⁸³). (The anchorite) then prayed that he might pass away into Nirvāṇa before Ānanda, but the latter said: — Kashmir is the place suitable for mystic absorption and the best resting-place. There, 100 years after I have passed away, a monk known by the surname of Madhyāntika is to establish the Doctrine. — Such was the prophecy of the Teacher and thou must act according to it. — I shall do so, — replied the anchorite⁵⁸⁴).

Thereupon Ānanda, having manifested many miraculous apparitions, passed away into Nirvāṇa. Half of his body was taken by the citizens of Vaiçali and the other half — by Ajātaçatru.

⁵⁷⁷) Sbas-pa. ⁵⁷⁸) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 17.

⁵⁷⁹) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 320 a. 7—b. 4.

⁵⁸⁰) Ibid. 320 b. 4—321 a. 2.

⁵⁸¹) Ibid. 321 a. 2—3. ⁵⁸²) Ōi-ma-guñ-pa.

⁵⁸³) Chu-dbus-pa. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 9.

⁵⁸⁴) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 321 b. 4—322 a. 1.

By the sharp thunderbolt of Highest Wisdom
 He split in two his body resembling a mountain.
 One half was given to the ruler of men,
 And the other — to the Congregation of the Lord. —

And thereupon monuments were erected at Vaiçali and Pāṭali-putra⁵⁸⁵).

Thereafter Madhyāntika, in order that the prophecy of the Teacher and the order of his preceptor (Ānanda) should be fulfilled, went off to Kashmir. There he seated himself in a cross-legged position and became absorbed in concentrated trance. This brought the Nāgas (who were residing there) into a rage. They shook the ground and sent down a heavy rain. However, by this they were incapable of moving even the fringe of (Madhyāntika's) religious garment. Then a rain of arrows and other missiles descended upon him, but these were all turned into flowers. Owing to this the Nāgas were dismayed and asked Madhyāntika what would be his orders. He said: — This place belongs to me according to the prophecy of the Buddha. — And they gave him so much ground as he could cover by sitting in cross-legged posture, [96 b.] but this space was (miraculously augmented so as to fill up) all the 9 valleys (of Kashmir)⁵⁸⁶). Then the Nāgas asked: — How many adherents hast thou? — 500 Arhats, — replied the elder. — Now, if one of these will be absent, — we shall take the ground back again, — (returned the Nāgas)⁵⁸⁷). — The elder said: — Be it as it may be; in any case it has been provided for alms-givers; therefore one must introduce householders here. — Thereupon he settled there a multitude of people, and, in order that they should prosper, he went to Gandhamadana and caused saffron to grow. Thereafter he subdued the troublesome Nāgas. The latter asked him how long the Teaching was to abide there, and the elder replied, that it would exist 1000 years. They then consented to give up the ground for the time during which the Doctrine of the Lord was to exist there. — Be it so, — said the elder. Then, after he had established the church in Kashmir, (the elder Madhyāntika) passed away into Nirvāṇa⁵⁸⁸). The church was thereafter entrusted by Ānāvāsika to Upagupta, by Upagupta — to Dhītika, by the

⁵⁸⁵) Ibid. 322 a. 1—4.

⁵⁸⁶) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 12. sqq.

⁵⁸⁷) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. ĪDUL. XI. 322 a. 4—323 a. 2.

⁵⁸⁸) Ibid. 323 a. 2—7.

latter — to Kṛṣṇa, and by Kṛṣṇa to Sudarṣana. (And they all) departed into Nirvāṇa (one after the other)⁵⁸⁹).

The second Rehearsal.

One hundred and ten years after the Teacher had passed away, the monks abiding in Vaiṣālī were indulging in prohibited actions of which there were 10 kinds: —

Exclamations of astonishment (1), rejoicing (2),
Digging ground (3), using the sacred salt (4),
Eating on the way (5), taking the food with 2 fingers (6),
Eating not at due time (7), taking intoxicating drink (8),
Making a new rug without stitching to it a patch of the
old one (9),

And begging for gold and silver (10). —

These, briefly, were the transgressions which were admitted⁵⁹⁰).

At that time an Arhat named Sarvakāmin^{590a}) who had attained the 8 degrees of liberation (from materiality)⁵⁹¹) was residing at Vaiṣālī. And from the city called Dhanika⁵⁹²) there came an Arhat called Yaças^{592a}) with 500 adherents who had made a turn through the country. Having arrived at Vaiṣālī, they found that the monks had a large income, and they themselves obtained a great share. Having asked the reason of this, [97 a.] they came to know that 10 prohibited points were admitted⁵⁹³). Accordingly, they went to Sarvakāmin and inquired: — Is it proper that (the exclamations of astonishment) like aho! should be admitted? How is this possible? — With the monks of Vaiṣālī the conduct does not harmonize with the theory. They perform religious observances and at the same time they admit such exclamations as aho! O reverend master, this is not right. — At what place has (the Lord) established the rule forbidding this? — At Campā. — Whom had he in view when he established it? — The 6 disciples. — Amongst what category of transgressions has it been counted? — Amongst the nume-

⁵⁸⁹) Ibid. 323 a. 7—b. 4.

⁵⁹⁰) Ibid. 323 b. 4—325 a. 4. Summary in verse 332 a. 2—3. Cf. also Ma-hāvamsa, IV. 9—11 a. and Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 41 and 289.

^{590a}) Thams-cad-ḥdod.

⁵⁹¹) *rnam-thar-brgyad* = *aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*.

⁵⁹²) Nor-can. ^{592a}) Grags-pa.

⁵⁹³) Vin. ksudr. Kg. ḤDUL. XI. 325 a. 4—7.

rous minute defects. — O Elder, this first point is a transgression with regard to the Sūtras and the Vinaya. It deviates from the Teaching of the Master, and (the permission of it) is not contained in the Sūtras and is not to be found in the Vinaya. It disagrees with the Essence of the Doctrine. Therefore, when it is spoken of as admissible and has become practice, how is it possible to be indifferent with regard to it? — (Sarvakāmin) sat without answering a word.

Then, O Elder, the following is to be asked. Can exclamations of rejoicing be regarded as admissible? . . . and so on, as before. — They perform religious observances, and at the same time incite the monks in attendance to rejoice and consider this to be admissible. This is not right. — (The rules forbidding it have been delivered) at Campā to the 6 disciples and (it has been counted) among the numerous minute defects.

As concerns the acts of the monks, it is considered admissible to live by agriculture (digging the ground). (This has been forbidden) at Ārāvastī to the 6 disciples and counted amongst the transgressions that require absolution⁸⁹⁴).

Furthermore, it is considered admissible to mix the salt that is to be kept for life-time with that which is used in general, to eat it, and make it thus an object of ordinary use. (The rules forbidding this) have been delivered at Rājagṛha to Āriputra and (this act) is counted among the transgressions requiring absolution. Moreover, eating on the way is held to be admissible. — (The monks) having gone a yojana or a half of such, assemble and eat, with the pretext that they are travelling. This has been forbidden at Rājagṛha to Devadatta and counted among the defects requiring absolution.

Then we have "the transgression of the 2 fingers". The food that has not been left (from a previous meal) they eat, taking it with 2 fingers. This has been forbidden at Ārāvastī to numerous monks and counted among the acts requiring absolution [97 b.].

Further on, there is the transgression admitted under the pretext of illness. The monks take wine in the manner of a leech that sucks blood and, having drunk, excuse it with illness. This has been forbidden at Ārāvastī to Saugata and counted among the offences requiring absolution.

⁸⁹⁴) *prāyaścittika* = *litū-byed*.

Next there is "the admission of a mixture". The monks mix a droṇa measure of milk with as much sour milk and eat it at undue time, considering this to be admissible. (The rules forbidding this) have been delivered at Ārāvastī to numerous monks and it is counted amongst the transgressions requiring absolution.

Then there is the transgression concerning the rug (or carpet on which the monk sits). The monks begin to use a new carpet without patching it with the so-called Sugata span taken from the old one. The rules forbidding this have been delivered at Ārāvastī to numerous monks and it is counted among the transgressions requiring absolution.

And lastly, there is the transgression regarding gold and silver. The monks anoint an alms-bowl with fragrant species, put it on the head of a Āramaṇa, on a table or a seat, place it in a narrow passage or at the crossing-place of 4 roads, and proclaim: — This is a sublime vessel. If you deposite your gifts into it and fill it, you are to reap great merit. Accordingly, the people fill (the bowl) with gold and silver which is enjoyed (by the monks). The rules forbidding this were delivered to the 6 disciples.

Thereafter Sarvakāmin spoke (to Yaças): — Go thou and find such who would be of accord with thee, and I will be thy friend according to the Doctrine⁵⁹⁵). Yaças accordingly departed and spoke as he had before to Āḍha⁵⁹⁶) from the city of Āṇaka, to Dhanika⁵⁹⁷) from Saṃkaçya, to Kubjita⁵⁹⁸) of Pāṭaliputra who was enjoying the highest felicity, as he was absorbed in concentrated trance, to Ajita⁵⁹⁹) of Ārughna⁶⁰⁰), to Saṃbhūta⁶⁰¹) of Mahiṣmati⁶⁰²), and to Revata⁶⁰³) of Sahajā⁶⁰⁴). These said: — Thou art tired. Rest now and we shall search for those that would take our part⁶⁰⁵).

Thereafter the monks of Vaiçali asked the pupils of Yaças⁶⁰⁶): — Whither has your teacher gone? — He is seeking for those who will aid him in executing the act of your excommunication. — Tho this the monks of Vaiçali said: — This is not a good action. [98 a.] According to the Word of the Teacher who has passed away it is proper to maintain one's life in many different ways. As

⁵⁹⁵) Ibid. 325 b. 1—328 a. 1.

⁵⁹⁶) Gyo-lan.

⁵⁹⁷) Nor-can.

⁵⁹⁸) Zia-sgur.

⁵⁹⁹) Ma-pham-pa.

⁶⁰⁰) Sug-na.

⁶⁰¹) Yaṇ-dag-skyea.

⁶⁰²) Ma-he-lan.

⁶⁰³) Nam-gru.

⁶⁰⁴) Lhan-cig-skyea.

⁶⁰⁵) Vin. kṣudr. Kg. HDUL. XI. 329 a. 5—7.

⁶⁰⁶) Graga-pa.

this is so, wherefore are you planning to do mischief to us? — The others replied: — You are behaving in a way that is not admissible and bring corruption into the Church. Therefore we shall in any case execute the act of your excommunication. — And as they said so, (the monks of Vaiṣālī) became afraid and tried to bribe the pupils of Yaças, by presenting to them mantles, religious robes, etc.⁶⁰⁷). Thereafter Yaças having finished the search of those who would form his party, returned, and his pupils said to him: — Master, it would be better to forbear from this our intention. According to the Word of the deceased Teacher, it is permitted to live in many different ways. If this be so, for what reason should we plan mischief against (these monks)? — By these their words (the Arhat) understood that they had been bribed and spoke to them as follows⁶⁰⁸): —

He who hastens where one ought to tarry
And tarries when one ought to make haste
Is a fool who does not act when it is proper
And becomes subjected to suffering.
His lot is to be without renown,
And he is deserted by his friends.
His cause, it does not prosper,
Being like the descending moon.
But he who duly applies his mind (to fulfill his aim),
Who makes haste when it is proper and does not tarry,
Is a wise man who removes
All that is insuitable and attains bliss.
His lot is fame, he is not deserted by his friends,
And his fortune will grow like the ascending moon.

Thereafter Yaças went to the courtyard where the monks were assembled and let them put his knowledge, the result of his previous vows⁶⁰⁹) to a test. He struck the wooden gong, and 700 Arhats, all of them pupils of Ānanda, assembled, with the exception of one. (This one was) Kubjita who did not hear, since he was absorbed in the Cessation-Trance⁶¹⁰).

Then Yaças thought: — If the names (of the monks to be ex-

⁶⁰⁷) Ibid. 329 a. 7—330 a. 3.

⁶⁰⁸) Ibid. 330 a. 7—b. 2.

⁶⁰⁹) *smoṇ-nas-ṣes-pa* = *pranidhi-jñāna*.

⁶¹⁰) *hḡog-paḥi-sñoma-hjug* = *nirodha-samāpatti*. Vin. kṣudr. Kg. ȨDUL. 330 b. 2—3.

communicated) are called out and repeated aloud, passions will be aroused. [98 b.] One must therefore speak without mentioning names. — And he sat down at the side of the Elders⁶¹¹⁾. At that moment Kubjita rose up from the Cessation Trance, and a certain god summoned him, saying: — Seven hundred Arhats, of the same preceptor as thyself, are rehearsing the Teaching. Therefore make haste to join them. Accordingly, by the force of his miraculous power, Kubjita flew to the place and appeared before the gate of the courtyard. As he knocked, those within asked: — Who art thou? And he replied as follows: —

There are ascetics dwelling in Pāṭaliputra
Who are profoundly learned and observe the Vinaya.
One of them has now come here,
His name being “the subduer of the senses”.
It is he who is standing at the gate!

There are likewise other “subduers of their senses” (said the monks). — He then said: — I am he who has cleared all doubt. — I am he who is free from regret. — And finally: — I am Kubjita. — Then the doors were opened and he entered⁶¹²⁾.

Then Yaças, addressing the Elders, began: — O venerable sirs, is the license of shouting aho! admissible? Thus spoke he and further on as before, without mentioning names, viz. that such and such monks (were doing the prohibited actions). — Such a conduct is to be condemned by us! — In this manner he discussed the 10 inadmissible points in detail, and (the other Elders) gave their approval⁶¹³⁾. Then they went out and beat the wooden gong, causing the monks of Vaiṣālī to assemble. The Elders now called out the name (of those who committed the transgressions), viz. “the monks of Vaiṣālī,” spoke of the 10 inadmissible points at full length and said: — These are to be excommunicated by all of us. — And, for speaking thus, the 700 (Arhats) became known as “those who made the correct resolution”⁶¹⁴⁾.

Thus the second rehearsal was carried out by the 700 Arhats. The aim of it was the exclusion of the 10 inadmissible points. The time was — 110 years after the Teacher had passed away. The

⁶¹¹⁾ Ibid. 330 b. 3—5.

⁶¹²⁾ Ibid. 330 b. 5—331 a. 5.

⁶¹³⁾ Ibid. 331 a. 5—b. 3.

⁶¹⁴⁾ Ibid. 331 b. 3—332 a. 2.

place was the monastery of Kusumapura⁶¹⁵) at Vaiçali, and the alms-giver of the monks was the pious king Açoka. [99 a.]⁶¹⁶)

The third Rehearsal.

(The account of this third rehearsal) is not to be found in the Vinaya and therefore we meet here and there with disagreeing points. According to some, 137 years after the Teacher had passed away, at the time when the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma were reigning, and when the elders Mahākāçyapa, Uttara⁶¹⁷) and others were residing at Pāṭaliputra, Māra the Evil One, having assumed the form of a monk named Bhadra, showed many miraculous apparitions, sowed disunion amongst the clergy and brought confusion into the Teaching⁶¹⁸). At that time, when the elders Nāgasena⁶¹⁹) and Manojña⁶²⁰) were living, (the clergy) became split into (various) sects. On the 63^d year (after this division had taken place), the Teaching was rehearsed by the elder Vātsīputra⁶²¹). According to others, 160 years after the Teacher had passed away, at the time when the king Açoka began to reign in the city called Kusumavistara (?)⁶²²), the Arhats were reading the Word of the Buddha in (4 different languages), viz. the Sanskrit⁶²³), Prakrit⁶²⁴), Apabhraṃṣa⁶²⁵), and Paiçācika⁶²⁶). Accordingly, the pupils (of the different Arhats) formed separate fractions, and this gave origin to the division into the 18 sects. In the philosophical views (of the different sects) there were many disagreeing points which brought confusion into the Church⁶²⁷). — It was for this reason that Arhats and ordinary learned monks, having assembled in the monastery of Jalandhara, rehearsed (Scripture) for a third time. This

⁶¹⁵) Xyl. Ku-sma-pu-ri. Or: Puṣpapura. Cf. Mahāvamsa, IV. 31. — Pupphapura.

⁶¹⁶) Mahāvamsa, IV. 8. — *atīte dasame vasse Kālāsokassa rājino / sambuddha-parinibbāṇā evaṃ vassasatam ahu //*

⁶¹⁷) Bla-ma.

⁶¹⁸) This passage is fully contained in the Tarkajvālā of Bhāvaviveka, Tg. (Pek.) MDO. XIX. 162 b. 6—163 a. 3. Cf. also Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 52.

⁶¹⁹) Kluḥi-sde. ⁶²⁰) Yid-ñon.

⁶²¹) Gnas-maḥi-bu. Cf. Tarkajvālā, Tg. MDO. XIX. 163 a. 1 sqq.

⁶²²) Me-tog-gis-rgyas-pa. So also in Tarkajvālā.

⁶²³) *legs-par-sbyar-ba*. ⁶²⁴) *tha-mal-pa*. ⁶²⁵) *sur-chag*.

⁶²⁶) *ga-saḥi-skad*.

⁶²⁷) A similar passage is contained in the Tarkajvālā, Tg. MDO. XIX. 161 a. 3. sqq.

took place 360 years after the Teacher had passed away. We read however in the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*⁶²⁸) the following prophecy: — One hundred years after I have passed away, there will appear in Pāṭaliputra a king named Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty⁶²⁹). This king will cause to worship the 84 000 monuments containing my relics in a single day. — And in the *Prabhāvatī*⁶³⁰) it is said: — Thereafter the king Dharmāśoka died, and the Arhats, in order to put an end to the practice of reciting (Scripture) in Prakrit, Apabhraṃṣa [99 b.] and in a dialect of intermediate character, gradually rehearsed (the kanonical texts) according to other methods. These new texts were like the sūtras which were compiled in Sanskrit^{630a}). (Thereafter) the Teaching assumed 18 different forms. — I am of the opinion that (the statement of the authority just mentioned) disagrees with the texts I have quoted (before).

Others (speak about the 3d council) as follows: — The aim of it was to clear the doubts of the 18 sects as regards the spurious texts of Scripture. The time was 300 years after the Teacher had passed away. The place was the country of Kashmir and the monastery of Kuvana, and the alms-giver was Kaṇiṣka⁶³¹), the king of Jalandhara. The members of the council were 500 Arhats with Pūrṇika at their head, 500 Bodhisattvas, Vasumitra and others, and 250 or 10 000 ordinary Paṇḍits. After a recitation (of the texts) had been made, it was settled, that the texts acknowledged by the 18 sects were all of them the Word of Buddha.

As concerns the division into the 18 sects, Bhavya⁶³²) considers that there were 2 principal fractions viz. the Mahāsaṅghikas⁶³³) and the Sthaviras⁶³⁴). Others say that there were 3, — (the 2 just mentioned) and the Vibhajyavādins⁶³⁵). The Mūlasarvāstivādins⁶³⁶) say that till the time of the 2d rehearsal there was only

⁶²⁸) Kg. MDO. VI. 140 a. 1—3. (N.)

⁶²⁹) Mu-raḥi rigs-kyl. ⁶³⁰) Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 182 a. 2, 3 (N.)

^{630a}) Sic. acc. to Tg. — *rgyal-poḥi-skad-du sbyar-baḥi mdo-sde*. The Xyl. has — *rgya-chen-poḥi skad-du*.

⁶³¹) Xyl. Ka-ni-ka. ⁶³²) Tarka|vālā, Tg. MDO. XIX. 163 a. 2. (Pek.)

⁶³³) Dge-ḥdun-phal-chen-pa. ⁶³⁴) Gnas-brtan-pa.

⁶³⁵) Rnam-par-phye-ste-smra-ba. Cf. Tarka|vālā, Tg. MDO. XIX. 162 b. 1. *gḥan-ñid-kyis smra-ba-ni śna-ma-bñin-du brjod-par-byaḥo / rtsa-baḥi dbys-ba-ni gaum-ste / ḥdi-ltar Gnas-brtan-pa dan / Dge-ḥdun-phal-chen-pa dan / Rnam-par-phye-ste-smra-baḥo //*

⁶³⁶) Gñi-yod-smra-ba. This and the following is an extract from Čākyaprabha's *Prabhāvatī* (Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 182 a. 4—b. 7. Nar.) in abridged form.

one school viz. the Mūlasarvāstivāda. Thereafter, owing to the fact that Scripture was recited in different dialects, there arose the 17 other sects. (The texts of these fractions), they say, do not represent the Teaching of Buddha. They are not to be found in the Vinaya, since they are not included in the precepts containing the monastic obeisances. Neither are they contained in the Sūtras, since they contradict each other. They are likewise in conflict with the true Essence of the Doctrine, since they explain the Word of Scripture in another sense. — Therefore they are not the Word of the Buddha. —

We refute this statement of the Sarvāstivādins as follows: — The texts of the 17 sects are the Word of Buddha. They are to be found in the Vinaya, since they teach the Moral Discipline^{636a}). They are contained in the Sūtras, as they speak of the Mental Discipline⁶³⁷). And they are not in conflict with the true Essence of the Doctrine, since they are in conformity with the Teaching of Nirvāṇa and contain the precepts relating to the Discipline of Highest Wisdom⁶³⁸). Moreover they are endowed with the 3 seals, the negation of a real Ego with regard to all the elements, etc. [100 a.] They have as their principal subject-matter exclusively the Word of the Buddha, they have been analysed by the Arhats, and have appeared as a result of the Buddha's blessings. — We read moreover in the Sūtra containing the explanation of the dream of king Kṛkin⁶³⁹), as follows: O great monarch, in thy dream thou hast seen how 18 men were pulling at a piece of cloth. This means that the Teaching of the Buddha Čākyamuni will be split into 18 sects. But the cloth, that is (the Doctrine of) Salvation, will not be torn asunder. — This passage likewise proves that (the kanonical texts acknowledged by the 18 sects) represent all of them the Word of Buddha. Vinitadeva⁶⁴⁰) and the author of the *Bhikṣu-varṣāgra-prcchā*⁶⁴¹) are of the opinion that there were 4 principal sections. Vinitadeva says: —

^{636a}) *tshul-khrims* = *śīla* in the sense of *adhiśīla-śikṣā*.

⁶³⁷) *sems* = *citta* in the sense of *adhicitta-śikṣā*.

⁶³⁸) *ṣes-rab* = *prajñā* in the sense of *adhiprajñā-śikṣā*.

⁶³⁹) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 59.

⁶⁴⁰) Dul-lha. The following passage in verse is a quotation from the *Nikāya-bheda-upadarçana-saṃgraha*. Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 172b. 1—3. (N.)

⁶⁴¹) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 272.

The Eastern⁶⁴³), the Western⁶⁴⁴), the Himālayan⁶⁴⁵),
 The Lokottaravādins⁶⁴⁶), and the Prajñaptivādins⁶⁴⁷), —
 These five belong to the Mahāsaṃghikas.
 The Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Kāçyapiya⁶⁴⁸),
 The Mahiçāsaka⁶⁴⁹) and the Dharmagupta⁶⁵⁰),
 The Bahuçrutiya⁶⁵¹), the Tāmraçatiya⁶⁵²),
 And the division of the Vibhajjavāda, —
 These are the Sarvāstivādins.
 The Jetavanīya⁶⁵³), the Abhayagirivāsins⁶⁵⁴)
 And the Mahāvihāravāsins⁶⁵⁵), —
 These form the section of the Sthaviras.
 The Kaurukullaka⁶⁵⁶), Avantaka⁶⁵⁷), Vātsīputriya⁶⁵⁸),
 Are the 3 varieties of the Saṃmitīya⁶⁵⁹).
 These are the 18 different sects,

Differing as regards their country, Doctrine and teacher.
 According to the author of the *Varṣāgra-prcchā*⁶⁶⁰), 6 sects form
 the division of the Mahāsaṃghika, 4 sects — that of the Sarvāstivā-
 dins, 5 — that of the Saṃmitīya, and 3 — that of the Sthaviras.
 The Sarvāstivādins, “those who admit the reality of all (the elements)”
 are called so, since they maintain that (the elements as classified
 into) groups, component elements of an individual, and bases of
 cognition, or otherwise, that all the objects in the present, past,
 and future exist in reality. Just as the high classes establish the
 mundane laws and customs of a country or race, in a similar man-
 ner (these Sarvāstivādins), as they spoke in Sanskrit [100 b.] (the

⁶⁴³) Çar (-kyi-ri-bo-pa) = Pūrvaçaila. (Mahāvamsa V. 12 b—Pubbaseliyā).

⁶⁴⁴) Nub (-kyi-ri-bo-pa) = Aparaçaila. (Mahāvamsa V. 12 b—Aparaseliyā).

⁶⁴⁵) Gañs-kyi-ri-pa = Haimavata (Ibid. V. 12 a).

⁶⁴⁶) Hjiç-rten-ḥdas-par-smra-ba.

⁶⁴⁷) Btags-par-smra-ba (The Xyl. has: Brtag-par-smra-ba. — Mahāvamsa V. 5 a. Paññattivādā).

⁶⁴⁸) Ḥod-sruṇs-sde. (Mahāvamsa V. 9 a. — Kassapiyā; acc. to Tarkajvālā Tg. MDO. XIX. 162 b. 1. *Char-bzan-ḥbebs-pa ḥes-bya-ba-la kha-cig-ni Ḥod-sruṇs-pa ḥes ser-ba* —

⁶⁴⁹) Sa-sruṇ-sde (Ibid. V. 6 a, 8 a — Mahimsāsaka).

⁶⁵⁰) Chos-sruṇ-sde. (Ibid. V. 8 b. Dhammaguttika).

⁶⁵¹) Mañ-thos (Ibid. V. 5 a — Bahulikā. Cf. note).

⁶⁵²) Dmar-slob-ma. ⁶⁵³) Rgyal-byed-tshal-gnas.

⁶⁵⁴) Hjiçs-byed-gnas. ⁶⁵⁵) Gtsug-lag-khañ-chen.

⁶⁵⁶) Sa-sgrags. ⁶⁵⁷) Sruṇ-pa-pa. ⁶⁵⁸) Gnas-maḥi-bu.

⁶⁵⁹) Kun-gyis-bkur-ba.

⁶⁶⁰) Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 74 b. 6—75 a. 2. (N.)

language of the higher classes), represent the foundation (*mūla*) for the tradition of the other sects. For this reason they are called the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. Their teacher was Rāhulabhadra⁶⁰⁾ of the Kṣatriya caste, renowned for his devotion to the (3) Disciplines. Their language was the Sanskrit, they wore a mantle which had from 25 to 29 fringes, and their badges were an Utpala flower, a lotus, a jewel, and the leaf of a tree.

The Mahāsaṃghikas were called so, since they were the clergy (Saṃgha), the greater part of which (mahā) was constituted by them. Their teacher was Mahākācyapa, a Brāhmaṇa great in his practice of the 12 virtues of an ascetic⁶¹⁾. Their language was the Prakrit, they wore from 23 to 27 fringes, and their badge was a conch-shell.

The Saṃmitiya received this name, as they taught the theories expounded by a teacher who was revered by a great number of people. Their teacher was Upāli of Āṇḍra caste, great in his observance of the Vinaya. Their language was the Apabhraṃṣa, the number of fringes (on their mantles) was from 21 to 25, and their badge was the Sorcika flower.

The Sthaviras bore this name, since they maintained to belong to the spiritual descent of the Sthavira Saints. Their chief preceptor was Kātyāyana of the Vaiṣya caste, renowned for his converting the borderland. They spoke an intermediate dialect and their fringes and badge were known to be similar to those of the Saṃmitiya. According to some the language of the Mahāsaṃghikas was the intermediate dialect, that of the Saṃmitiya was the Prakrit, and that of the Sthaviras — the Apabhraṃṣa.

We have thus a great difference in the views of these 18 sects, but nevertheless all belong to the Church of Buddha. It is accordingly said: — It is only owing to the difference in the views that this division (into the 18 sects) has been caused. But as to different teachers, there are none⁶²⁾.

And: — The Teaching of the Lion of the Ākṣayas has become split into the 18 sects. This has been conditioned by the previous acts of this Teacher of the World^{62a)}. [101 a.]

⁶⁰⁾ Sgra-can-zin-bzañ-po.

⁶¹⁾ sbyaṅs-paḥi-yon-tan = dhūta-guṇa.

⁶²⁾ In the sense that there are no different founders of the Teaching. This passage is a quotation from the Varṣāgra-prcchā. Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 74 b. 7. (N.)

^{62a)} Ibid. 75 a. 2—3.

In such a way the Teaching was rehearsed for a 3d time. Thereafter, as the ordinary people who were not possessed of a good memory, recited Scripture incorrectly, making omissions and interpolations, — the Word of Buddha was written down in books, in order to prevent its corruption. Till that time it was recited by heart, and no written texts of it existed. According to some this is not correct, since in the *Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra*⁶⁶³) it is said: — The son of Ajātaśatru called Upa shall cause the Word of Buddha to be written down. It is said moreover in the *Vimalaprabhā*⁶⁶⁴): — After the Lord had passed away into Nirvāṇa, the compilers wrote down the Teachings of the 3 Vehicles in books.

IV. Acc₁ b₂ c₃ a₄ b₅. The Rehearsal of the Mahāyānistic Scripture.

Tradition says that on the mountain called Vimalasvabhāva, to the south of Rājagṛha, in the assembly of a million of Bodhisattvas, — Mañjuçrī rehearsed the Abhidharma, Maitreya — the Vinaya, and Vajrapāṇi — the Sūtras. It is said moreover in the *Tarkajvālā*⁶⁶⁵): — The Mahāyānistic Scripture is the Word of Buddha. The chief Compilers of it were Samantabhadra, Mañjuçrī, the Lord of the secret charms⁶⁶⁶), Maitreya, and others. The Ājīvika were not the chief compilers of our (Mahāyānistic) kanon, since the latter is not accessible to them. — In the *Commentary on the 3 Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*⁶⁶⁷) it is said that according to the *Tathāgata-acintya-guhya-nirdeśa*⁶⁶⁸) Vajrapāṇi is to be the compiler of the Teachings of the 1000 Buddhas (that are to arise in the fortunate aeon). In the *Vajrapāṇy-abhiṣeka-tantra* likewise Vajrapāṇi is spoken of as the compiler (of Mahāyānistic Scripture) [101 b.]. Accordingly, it is admitted that it was he who rehearsed

⁶⁶³) Kg. RGYUD XI. 442 a. 1—2. (N.)

⁶⁶⁴) Tg. RGYUD I.

⁶⁶⁵) Tg. MDO. XIX. 180 a. 2—4.

⁶⁶⁶) Gsañ-baḥi-bdag-po = Guhyaka-adhipati i. e. Vajrapāṇi.

⁶⁶⁷) Tg. MDO. XIV. This passage is to be found in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-lokā*, MS. Minaev, 5 b. 14—6 a. 5. — *Tathāgata-guhya-nirdeśa-adhikāreṇa sarvathā bhādrakalpika-sarva-tathāgatānāmrūpa-kāya-saddharma-kāya-rakṣāyām kṛta-adhikāratvād Vajrapāṇy-abhiṣekādau pratyarpita-śāsanatvāc ca anyeṣāṃ viśeṣa-vacana abhāvād Aṭakavati-nivāsī daśabhūmiçvaro Mahāvajradharaḥ sarva-loka-anugrahāya Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra-ratna-saṃgītiṃ pratyadhiṣṭavantaṃ Ārya-Maitreyādi-mahābodhisattva-gaṇam evaṃ ityādy āha iti pūrvācāryāḥ.*

⁶⁶⁸) Cf. Vol. I. p. 97, note 845.

(this Scripture), reciting it to Maitreya and the rest in the form: — This have I heard, — and so on.

IV. $\text{Acc}_1 \text{b}_2 \text{c}_3 \text{b}_4$. The Existence of the Doctrine.

Here we distinguish:

- a₅) The period of time during which the Teaching is to exist.
- b₅) The prophecies concerning the persons who appeared during that time and preserved the Doctrine.
- c₅) The acts performed by these persons who were foretold (by the Buddha).

IV. $\text{Acc}_1 \text{b}_2 \text{c}_3 \text{b}_4 \text{a}_5$. The Time of Existence of the Doctrine.

Some authorities versed in the Vinaya say that, according to the *Vinaya-kṣudraka*, the Doctrine was to have an existence of 7000 years. Owing to the admission of Prajāpati into the religious order, this time was diminished for 2000 years, so that the whole time of the duration of the Doctrine is to be 5000 years. This statement disagrees (with the text referred to), for in the *Vinaya-kṣudraka* it is said that the Doctrine is to exist for 1000 years. In the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*⁶⁶⁹) we read that the (real) Doctrine is to have a duration of 500 years and the next 500 there will be only a resemblance of it, — so that altogether it is to exist 1000 years. In the Commentary on the *Abhidharma-sūtra*, in the story of *Suvarṇākṣamāla* we read: — O king, in thy dream thou hast seen that a multitude of people assembled, spoke, used abominable words, quarrelled and did harm to each other. — This is an omen that the Teaching of the Buddha Čākyamuni which is to exist 1000 years will finally disappear, owing to the evil teachings and disunion. In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* it is said: — They say that (the precepts of the Doctrine) are to exist for 1000 years. According to others this refers to the Doctrine viewed as the practice⁶⁷⁰), but the theoretical part⁶⁷¹) is to have an existence longer than that. — Thus (the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) likewise speaks of 1000 years. The Sūtra on the gratitude of the Buddha⁶⁷²) says: — If the Lord permits that women enter his Congregation, the Highest Doctrine will cease to exist 500 years earlier (than it would otherwise). There-

⁶⁶⁹) Ibid. p. 98, note 909.

⁶⁷⁰) *rtogs-paḥi-chos* = *adhiḡama-dharma*.

⁶⁷¹) *luṅ-gi-chos* = *āgama-dharma*.

⁶⁷²) Drin-lan-bsab-pa. Kg. MDO. XXXII. 161 a. 4—5.

fore the Lord must not allow women to enter the Congregation of the Buddha. — It is thus said that, owing to the admission of women into the religious order, the time of duration of the Doctrine has been diminished for 500 years. [102 a.] It is said in the Commentary on the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa*⁶⁷³) in the passage explaining the sentence “in the subsequent period, that of the last 500 years”, — as follows: — If we take the life-time of man which lasts 100 years, — the first 50 years will be the period of development. During that time the body, mind, and energy will be in a state of growth and progress. After these 50 years have passed away, the following 50 years will represent the period during which body, mind, and energy are subjected to decrease and become diminished. In a similar manner the Teaching of the Buddha Čākyamuni is to abide in Jambudvīpa for 1000 years during which it will bring fruit and become propagated. If we divide (this period) into 2 equal parts, the first 500 years will represent “the period of development”, and the latter 500 we shall have to call “the period of regress”.

Otherwise, it is said in the *Candragarbha-sūtra*⁶⁷⁴): — After I have passed away into Nirvāṇa, a resemblance of the Highest Doctrine will exist for 2000 years. And in the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*⁶⁷⁵): — May, after I have passed away into Nirvāṇa, the Highest Doctrine exist for 1000 years. And (after that), may a resemblance of the Highest Doctrine exist for 500 years more. Thus, (according to these sūtras), the period of existence of the Doctrine is indicated as being equal to 500 years. In the Commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*⁶⁷⁶) it is said: The meaning of “the last 500 years” is as follows: — 5 periods of 500 years are meant here. It is said that the Teaching of the Lord is to exist during these 5 periods. The last of these is accordingly indicated here. In the *Munimatālamkāra*⁶⁷⁷) it is said: — Some are of the opinion that the Highest Doctrine of the Buddha Čākyamuni is to exist for 5 times 500 years. According to these texts the period of duration (of the Doctrine) is to be 2500 years. In the Commentary to the 3 *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*⁶⁷⁷) it is said: — The Teaching is to exist for 5000 years. If we divide

⁶⁷³) Tg. MDO. XXXV. 307 b. 3—6. (N.)

⁶⁷⁴) Kg. MDO. XXXII. Cf. below.

⁶⁷⁵) Kg. MDO. VI. 352 b. 2—3. (N.) ⁶⁷⁶) Tg. MDO. XVI. 234 a. 1—2. (N.)

⁶⁷⁷) Tg. MDO. XXIX. 366 a. 1—3. (N.)

⁶⁷⁷) Tg. MDO. XIV 232 b. 1—7. (N.)

each thousand of years into 2 equal parts [102b.], we shall have altogether 10 periods which are called "the 10 Chapters". In the 1st, the 2^d, and 3^d of these periods of 500 years respectively many Arhats, Saints who have attained the 3^d Result⁶⁷⁸), and such who have entered the Stream⁶⁷⁹) are to appear. In accordance with this, the said periods are called "the Chapter of the Arhats"⁶⁸⁰), "the Chapter of those who do not return into the World"⁶⁸¹), and "the Chapter of those who have entered the stream"⁶⁸²). These 3 are called the "Chapters of Cognition"⁶⁸³).

Thereafter, during the 4th, the 5th, and the 6th period of 500 years many Saints endowed, respectively, with Highest Transcendental Perception⁶⁸⁴), with Concentration of Mind and with Highest Morality are to appear. Accordingly, we have "the Chapter of Transcendental Perception"⁶⁸⁵), "the Chapter of Mind-concentration"⁶⁸⁶), and "the Chapter of Highest Morality"⁶⁸⁷), or "the 3 Chapters of Saintly Activity"⁶⁸⁸).

Then, in the 7th, the 8th and the 9th period, many teachers versed, respectively, in the Abhidharma, the Sūtras and the Vinaya are to arise. These periods are accordingly to be called "the Chapter of the Abhidharma"⁶⁸⁹), "the Chapter of the Sūtras"⁶⁹⁰), and "the Chapter of the Vinaya"⁶⁹¹). These three are "the Chapters of the Theoretical Doctrine"⁶⁹²). The 10th period of 500 years is called "the Chapter of the mere outward marks"⁶⁹³), since (the monks) will bear only the external signs of the religious order, but will not be characterized by the corresponding views, conduct, and internal constitution. It is this period which is spoken of as "the last 500 years". The teacher Mañjuçrikīrti⁶⁹⁴) mentions the 3 periods of Cognition, the 3 periods of Activity, the 3 periods of the Theoretical Doctrine and the period of the mere outward marks. The first of these are likewise called "the periods of the Results of Saintliness"⁶⁹⁵). It is said moreover in

⁶⁷⁸) *phyir-mi-hoñ-baḥi ḥbras-bu* = *anāgāmi-phala*.

⁶⁷⁹) *rgyun-du-ḥugs-pa* = *srota-āpanna*.

⁶⁸⁰) *dgra-bcom-paḥi leḥu*.

⁶⁸¹) *phyir-mi-hoñ-baḥi leḥu*. ⁶⁸²) *rgyun-du-ḥugs-paḥi leḥu*.

⁶⁸³) *khoñ-du-chud-paḥi leḥu gsum*. ⁶⁸⁴) *lhag-mthoñ* = *vipaṣyanā*.

⁶⁸⁵) *lhag-mthoñ-gi leḥu*. ⁶⁸⁶) *tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin-gyi leḥu*.

⁶⁸⁷) *tshul-khrims-kyi leḥu*. ⁶⁸⁸) *sgrub-paḥi leḥu gsum*.

⁶⁸⁹) *mñon-paḥi leḥu*. ⁶⁹⁰) *mdo-sdeḥi leḥu*. ⁶⁹¹) *ḥdul-baḥi leḥu*.

⁶⁹²) *luñ-gi leḥu gsum*. ⁶⁹³) *rtags-tsam-ḥdzin-paḥi leḥu*.

⁶⁹⁴) *Hjam-dpal-grags-pa*. ⁶⁹⁵) *ḥbras-buḥi dus*.

the story of the venerable Nandimitra⁶⁹⁶): — Up to the time when the age of the human beings in Jambudvīpa will increase from 10 to 600 years, the Teaching of the Lord Čākyamuni is to exist. Now, it is clear that the indications of 1000, 1500, 2000, and 2500 years are of a conventional meaning⁶⁹⁷). [103 a.] In the case of these a special point has been taken into consideration, viz. the deterioration of activity and the like. It is said accordingly in the *Mu-nimatālamkāra*⁶⁹⁸): — The “cessation” of the Highest Doctrine” means the deterioration of the saintly activity. In the Commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*^{699a}) we have it explained as follows: — The destruction of the Highest Doctrine means the deterioration of it as regards devotion, reading, recitation, instruction, explanation, study, investigation, etc. The aim (of such indirect indications) was to arouse in the converts aversion (toward this worldly existence). They are in conflict with the true state of things. Indeed, they disagree with the prophecies concerning the brothers Asanga (and Vasubandhu) and with the prophecy delivered to the goddess Vimalaprabhā⁶⁹⁹), where it is said: — 2500 years after I have passed away into Nirvāṇa, the Highest Doctrine will become spread in the country of the red-faced (people). In the Sub-commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*⁷⁰⁰) we read: — That the theoretical Doctrine⁷⁰¹) is to have a long existence means that its duration will be even longer than 1000 years. This is to be regarded as correct. — (The statement) that (the Doctrine) is to exist for 5000 years we esteem to be of direct meaning⁷⁰²). Now there arises the question, as to how many years (of these 5000) have elapsed till now. The Master⁷⁰³) (Atiṣa) is of the opinion that the Teacher became conceived in the womb in the male-wooden-mouse-year and was born in the year of the wooden cow. In the male-earth-pig-year he became a Buddha, and in the last month of the male-wooden-monkey-year, at the time of the ascending moon, he passed away into Nirvāṇa.

⁶⁹⁶) Hphags-pa Dgaḥ-baḥi-bḥes-gñen-gyi rtogs-brjod.

⁶⁹⁷) *drañ-don* = *neyārtha*.

⁶⁹⁸) Tg. MDO. XXIX. 336 a. 3. (N.).

^{699a}) Tg. MDO. XVI. 234 a. 2—3. (N.)

⁶⁹⁹) Lha-mo Dri-ma-med-paḥi luñ-bstan.

⁷⁰⁰) Mdzod-kyi ḥgrel-bḥad. ⁷⁰¹) *luñ-gi-chos* = *āgama-dharma*.

⁷⁰²) *ñes-don* = *nītārtha*. The tradition that the Teaching of Buddha is to exist for 5000 years is to be found in the Mahāvaiṣa, III. 38. — *Mahākassapa-therapa idam sugata-sāsaṇaṃ / pañca-vassa-sahasāni samatthaṃ vattane kataṃ //*

⁷⁰³) Jo-bo-rje.

According to the Sa-kya hierarch⁷⁰⁴) the Buddha was conceived in the womb in the female-fire-hare-year, was born in that of the male-earth-dragon, became a Buddha in that of the male-water-tiger, and passed away in the female-fire-pig-year, on the 8th of the ascending moon in the last month of spring or the last month of autumn. Now, 137 years after the teacher had passed away, there appeared the king Nandin⁷⁰⁵), 108⁷⁰⁶) years after, — the king Candragupta⁷⁰⁷). [103 b.] Then, 231 years after there appeared the king Bhūrītejas (?)⁷⁰⁸) and, from 724 to 814 years after him — the king Aṃṣuvarman⁷⁰⁹) in Nepal. Then, 242 years after there appeared the Tibetan king Ṭhi-tsug-de-tan Ral-pa-can⁷¹⁰). Thus, up to this time, 2955 years have passed away (since the death of the Buddha), as we have it correctly counted by the Indian and Nepalese calculators and by the Tibetan kings likewise. Nam-kha of the Chimpa tribe⁷¹¹), in accordance with the point of view of the Master (Atiṣa), considers that in the year of the female fire-serpent 3393 years have passed away since the death of the Buddha. Accordingly, he is of the opinion that 3458 years have passed away up to the year of the male-water-dog.

According to the school which maintains (that the Buddha was born) in the year of the dragon, i. e. the calculation of Sa-kya-paṇḍita, made at the time when, in the year of the male-fire-mouse, the departure of the venerable Kīrtidhvaja into Nirvāṇa was celebrated, — 3349 years had passed away (after the Buddha's departure into Nirvāṇa). Thereafter in the year of the fire-cow, at the time of the installation of the prayer-wheel moved by water, the Lama Chö-gyal⁷¹²) has counted 3410 years. Accordingly up to the male-water-dog-year, when the Lama Matīcī Kun-gā-lo-ḍḍ-gyal-tshan-pal-zañ-po⁷¹³) came to Tibet in order to become ordained, — 3455 years had passed away and the 3456th year (of the Doctrine) was lasting. Thus, (at that time) 6 periods of 500 years, representing the Chapters of the Result of the Saintly Activity and, in the "Chapters of the Theoretical Doctrine", —

⁷⁰⁴) Chos-rje Sa-skya. ⁷⁰⁵) Dgañ-byed.

⁷⁰⁶) One must evidently correct *brgya-brgyad* for *brgyad-brgya*.

⁷⁰⁷) Zla-sruñ. Usually Zla-ba-sbas-pa.

⁷⁰⁸) Brjid-mañs. ⁷⁰⁹) Hod-zer-go-cha.

⁷¹⁰) Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan ral-pa-can.

⁷¹¹) Mchims Nam-mkhah. ⁷¹²) Chos-rgyal.

⁷¹³) Kun-dgañ-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po.

455 years of "the Chapter of the Abhidharma". Accordingly, there remain 45 years of this latter Chapter and 3 periods, representing, respectively, the Chapters of the Sūtras, the Vinaya, and the mere outward marks, thus altogether 1545 years.

According to the calculations made by the Kashmirian Čākyaçri in the male-wooden-mouse-year at Tho-pu [104 a.] and in the year of the female-fire-hare at Sol-nag-thaṅ-chen —

At midnight on the 8th of the bright half of Kārtika⁷¹⁴,
When the moon set behind the mountain,
The Lord of Sages passed away into Nirvāṇa.
And after that, one thousand
Seven hundred and fifty years,
Two months and half-a-month,
And 10 days more have passed away.
There are thus three thousand
Two hundred and forty-nine years,
Nine months, and ten days

That remain for the Doctrine to exist in future. —

According to the point of view of those who count (the time of the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa) to have been the 5th of the middle-month of spring in the year of the fire-hare, and according to the tradition of the Sa-kya which counts from the male-iron-horse-year, — 1865 years have passed away up to the year of the male-water-dog. The Sa-kya hierarch says: — This point of view has its origin in India. The Saindhava Črāvakas used every evening, during their religious service, to count: — So many years have passed away since the death of the Teacher. In such a way did they count. But, (subsequently) different errors were made in counting the seasons. This dates from the time when the teachers Udbhaṭasiddhisvāmin⁷¹⁵) and Čaṃkarasvāmin⁷¹⁶) became possessed of the intention of making an image of the Mahābodhi at Magadha, and when the latter itself arose from a pile of sandal-wood instead. It was thus the custom to count: — "So many years have passed away since the death of the Teacher". — The Paṇḍits of India, Kashmir, and Nepal in general follow this method, but owing to the errors that have crept in, it is not to be regarded as authoritative. Indeed, it proves to be incorrect, if we compare it with the

⁷¹⁴) *smin-drug*. ⁷¹⁵) *Mtho-btsun-grub-rje*. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 64.

⁷¹⁶) *Bde-byed-bdag-po*. Schiefner has *Čaṃkarapati*.

prophecy delivered to the goddess Vimalaprabhā, where "the country of the red-faced" that has been mentioned is no other than Tibet, with the number of years indicated in the prophecy concerning Nāgārjuna and others, and with the chronology of the Tibetan kings etc. According to the opinion of Rba "the country of the red-faced" means China.

Some authorities say [104 b.] that, according to the Kālacakra, up to the male-water-dog-year 1613 years have passed away, and that 187 years remain (for the Doctrine to exist). Such a statement shows a total ignorance of the true meaning of the Kālacakra.

Others say that, according to the point of view of Kamalaçīla, 2040 years have elapsed and that 460 remain. I myself have not seen any authoritative source confirming this. Therefore (in order to refute these incorrect statements) it is necessary to know that, according to the teaching contained in the chief Tantra of the Kālacakra system, up to the male-water-dog-year, 2198 years have passed away. I am of the opinion that the statement according to which (the Doctrine) is to exist up to the time when human age will be 600 years, refers to (the existence of) the monuments containing the relics (of the Buddha), etc.

IV. Acc₁ b₂ c₃ b₄ b₅. The Prophecies concerning the Persons who worked for the Sake of the Doctrine.

Kāçyapa, Ānanda, Çānavāsika,
Upagupta, Dhītika, Kṛṣṇa,
And Mahāsudarçana, — these are the 7 hierarchs⁷¹⁷⁾
Who are mentioned in the *Vinayakṣudraka*.

In the *Lankāvatāra* we read⁷¹⁸⁾: — Who is to be the guardian of the Doctrine, after the Lord has passed away into Nirvāṇa? — This and the following is explained in the Commentary⁷¹⁹⁾ as follows: — The succession of the hierarchs from the Buddha himself up to Dhītika is the same as in the Vinaya. (Dhītika) confined the Doctrine to the care of Bibhaka; then it was successively transferred to the venerable Buddhananda⁷²⁰⁾, Buddhāmītra, to the monk Pārçva⁷²¹⁾, the pupil of the latter, and then to Sunaçata,

⁷¹⁷⁾ *gtad-rabs bdun.* ⁷¹⁸⁾ Ed. Bunyiu Nanjio. p. 28. — *nirvṛtte sugato ko 'sau çāsanam dhārayisyati.*

⁷¹⁹⁾ Not to be found in the 2 Commentaries contained in Tg. MDO XLII and XLIII. ⁷²⁰⁾ Xyl. Buddhananti. ⁷²¹⁾ Rtsibs.

Açvaghōṣa⁷²²), Amṛta⁷²³), Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Bāhula, Saṃgha-nanda, the monk Arhat, Ghalaṣa, Kumārada, Çāyanta, Vasubandhu Manoda, Haklenayaças⁷²⁴) and to the monk Simha. It is said in the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarika*⁷²⁵) in answer to the question: Who is to be the guardian of the Doctrine after the Teacher has passed away? — O Ānanda, the monk Kāçyapa [105 a.] and thyself, ye two are to guard the Highest Doctrine for 40 years and more⁷²⁶). — Then, in the city of Mathurā⁷²⁷) on the mountains Gandhamadana⁷²⁸) and Mahāpārçva⁷²⁹), in the grove called Pankavati⁷³⁰) there is to appear the monk called Çlanavāsa⁷³¹), and, in the same place, the monk Nandin⁷³²). — On the mountain Uçira there are to appear 44 000 monks⁷³³). — In the city of Pāṭaliputra, in the Mārgārāma, there will be a monk called Açvagupta⁷³⁴) and in the same city, in the grove of the ducks, — the monk called Uttara⁷³⁵). — In the country of Anga⁷³⁶), during the 5 years' feast 13 000 Arhats are to arise⁷³⁷). — In the city called Survarṇadrona⁷³⁸), 2 monks called Vijña⁷³⁹) and Saṃjaya⁷⁴⁰), in the city of Sāketana⁷⁴¹), — the monk Mahāvīrya⁷⁴²) and on the northern border-land of Gandhāra⁷⁴³), — the monk Kāçyapa, — are to appear⁷⁴⁴). All these monks are to be greatly renowned for their miraculous achievements, their great power and faculties. They are to be praised as being possessed of intrepidity and greatly learned, mastering the Sūtras, the Vinaya, and the Abhidharma, teaching correctly and being like ships that conduce others to the apprehension (of the Doctrine). These are to be the propagators of my Teaching.

On the northern border-land, in the city of Takṣaṣilā⁷⁴⁵), a

⁷²²) Rta-skad. ⁷²³) Ma-çl-ba.

⁷²⁴) Xyl. Ha-ka-la-ka-na-ya-na-ça (?)

⁷²⁵) Kg. MDO. VI. The passage quoted is rendered in an abridged form.

⁷²⁶) Kg. MDO. VI. 109 b. 4. sqq. ⁷²⁷) Bcom-brlag.

⁷²⁸) Ri-sbo. ⁷²⁹) Ņos-che. ⁷³⁰) Hdam-bu-can.

⁷³¹) Yul-slan-pa. Kg. MDO. VI. 113 a. 2—6. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 4 and 51.

⁷³²) Dgañ-ba-can. Kg. MDO. VI. 113 a. 6—b. 1.

⁷³³) Ibid. 113 b. 1—5. ⁷³⁴) Rta-sbas. Ibid. 114 a. 3—5.

⁷³⁵) Bla-ma. Ibid. 114 a. 5—7. ⁷³⁶) Yul Yan-lag-tu.

⁷³⁷) Ibid. 114 b. 1—5. ⁷³⁸) Gser-gyl-bre. ⁷³⁹) Mkhas-pa.

⁷⁴⁰) Yañ-dag-par-rgyal-ba-can. Ibid. 114 b. 5—7. ⁷⁴¹) Gnas-bcas.

⁷⁴²) Brtson-ñgrus-che. Ibid. 114 b. 7—115 a. 1.

⁷⁴³) Sbos-ñdzin. ⁷⁴⁴) Ibid. 11. a. 3—6. ⁷⁴⁵) Rdo-ñjog.

householder named Jātanika⁷⁴⁶) will appear. He will pay homage to my body and my disciples and, after 1000 aeons, in the age of good luck, in the world called Mahāvīyūhasvalamkṛta⁷⁴⁷), he is to become the Buddha Samantaprabha⁷⁴⁸).

In the north, in the palace called Vistaravati⁷⁴⁹), many Brāhmaṇas and householders devoted to the Doctrine are to appear. These, after their death, are to be reborn in Tuṣita. The monks at that time, for the greater part, will not act according to the Doctrine and fall into error⁷⁵⁰). [105 b.] And in that place a devotee of the laity called Dharmavardhana⁷⁵¹) possessed of miraculous powers will likewise appear⁷⁵²). In the north, moreover, a Mahāyānist monk called Jivaka⁷⁵³) will arise. He will restore the monuments of the Buddha that will have undergone destruction, and richly decorate them with gold and the like. After his death he is to be reborn in Sukhavati⁷⁵⁴). —

In the border-woodland, in the royal palace called “the Peaceful” the king named Agnidatta⁷⁵⁵) is to worship the relics and the disciples of the Buddha. In that country more than 3000 Arhats are to arise⁷⁵⁶). In the northern border-land, in the village Hīṅgala⁷⁵⁷) the teeth of the Buddha will be greatly worshipped and many monks endowed with the highest morality will appear and attain all of them Nirvāṇa by the paths of the 3 Vehicles. These all will cause my Teaching to become widely spread. Do not therefore be grieved! ⁷⁵⁸) —

In the *Lankavatāra* it is said⁷⁵⁹): —

In the southern country of Vedalya,
A monk glorious and greatly renowned,
Whose name is sounded Nāga,
Will put an end to the extremities of Ens and Non-ens,
And after he has expounded in this world
My Teaching as that of the Great Vehicle,
Higher than which there is none,

⁷⁴⁶) Ral-pa-can. ⁷⁴⁷) Bkod-pa-chen-pos-legs-par-brgyan-pa.

⁷⁴⁸) Kun-tu-snañ-ba Kg. MDO. VI. 115 a. 6—b. 4. ⁷⁴⁹) Rgyas-ldan.

⁷⁵⁰) Ibid. 115 b. 5—116 a. 3. sqq. ⁷⁵¹) Chos-ḥphel.

⁷⁵²) Ibid. 117 b. 2. sqq. ⁷⁵³) Ḥtsho-byed. ⁷⁵⁴) Ibid. 117 b. 6—118 a. 5.

⁷⁵⁵) Mes-byin. ⁷⁵⁶) Ibid. 118 a. 7—b. 3. ⁷⁵⁷) Ḥlā-kun-skye-ba.

⁷⁵⁸) Kg. MDO. VI. 118 b. 5—119 a. 7.

⁷⁵⁹) Ed. Bunyiu Nanjio, p. 286. — *dakṣiṇā-paṭha-Vedalyān bhikṣuḥ ḥṛimān mahāyaḥaḥ Nāgahvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sad-asat-pakṣa-dūrakāḥ*, etc.

He will secure the Stage of Perfect Bliss⁷⁶⁰),
And pass away into the region of Sukhavatī.

And in the *Mañjuṣrīmūlatantra*⁷⁶¹) we read: —

After I, the Buddha, have passed away,
Four hundred years are to elapse,
And then a monk called Nāga will appear.
He will be devoted to the Doctrine,
And administer great help to it.
He will attain the Stage of Perfect Bliss,
Live for six hundred years,
And the mystic knowledge of the Mahāmayūri⁷⁶²)
Will be secured by that great being.
He will know the subjects of the different sciences,
And expound the Teaching of Non-substantiality.
And, after he has cast away this bodily frame,
He will be reborn in the region of Sukhavatī.
And, finally the state of Buddhahood
Is to be certainly attained by him.

Such is the prophecy concerning Nāgārjuna. —

We read moreover⁷⁶³): —

A monk bearing the name of Asanga, [106 a.]
Well versed in the meaning of the scientific treatises,
Will, in different forms, explain
The conventional and the direct meaning of the Sūtras.
By his nature he is to be one
Who teaches the Sublime Science to the living beings,
And reveals the meaning of the Sacred Texts.
He is to secure that mystic knowledge
Which is called the Female Messenger of Sala⁷⁶⁴) (?)
And, by the force of his magic charms,
The most sublime wisdom is to arise in him.
In order that the Doctrine should abide for long,
He will rehearse the essential meaning of the Sūtras.

⁷⁶⁰) *rab-tu-dgaḥ-baḥi-sa* = *pramuditā-bhūmi* — the first Stage of the Bodhisattva.

⁷⁶¹) *Hjam-dpal-rtsa-rgyud*, Kg. RGYUD. XI. 450 a. 5—6.

⁷⁶²) *Rma-rgya-chen-mo*.

⁷⁶³) *Mañjuṣrīmūlatantra*, Kg. RGYUD. XI. 450 a. 6—b. 2.

⁷⁶⁴) *Sa-laḥi-pho-ña-mo*.

He is to live one hundred and fifty years,
 And, after his body will have withered away,
 He is to depart into the region of the gods.
 Abiding in the world of the living beings,
 In the various stages of Phenomenal Life,
 He will for a long time experience the Highest Felicity.
 And finally, this elevated being
 Is to attain Supreme Enlightenment.

This is the prophecy regarding Asanga. — (The text quoted is sometimes proceeded by the verse): —

When nine hundred years have passed away
 After I have attained Nirvāṇa. —

This is not to be found in the Tantra, but has been added by the Chinese Teacher Dzog-sal⁷⁶⁵) in his Commentary to the *Sam-dhinirmocana*.

At the time which is to come
 A monk called Arhat is to appear,
 He is to know the meaning of the secret charms,
 Become versed in the Tantras and greatly learned.
 By uttering the charm of the Yakṣas,
 He will secure a precious vessel.

In such a manner (the coming of) the monk called Arhat has been foretold⁷⁶⁶).

A monk possessed of great learning,
 Is likewise to appear at that time.
 And will be known by the surname
 Of "the mother's servant"⁷⁶⁷).
 He will compose hymns in my honour,
 And, owing to his sublime virtues,
 He will teach in accordance with the Truth.
 His mind is to be perfectly serene,
 He will be devoted to the Doctrine of the Buddhas,
 Secure the secret charms that are hard to be obtained,
 And which resemble those of Mañjuḥṣa.
 Endowed with virtuous properties and with morality,
 And being greatly learned, he is to expound the Doctrine.

⁷⁶⁵) Rdzogs-gsal.

⁷⁶⁶) Kg. RGYUD. XI. 450 b. 3 sqq.

⁷⁶⁷) Ma-khol.

These verses and following ending with:

And he is to attain the Enlightenment of the Omniscient, —
contain the prophecy concerning Mātṛceṭa⁷⁶⁹).

When the Word of the Teacher here on earth [106 b.]
Will become corrupted amongst the living beings at last,
Men, famed for their zeal in the religious observances, and
kings

Will appear, — there is no doubt in this, —
As, for instance, those who are known by the surname
Of "the Mother's Servant" and "the Flower"⁷⁷⁰).
One called Kumāra⁷⁷¹) and one whose name begins with Ma
Will be attached to the Doctrine from the beginning to
the end.

There will be likewise one, known by the name of Nāgā-
hvaya⁷⁷²),

One whose name is Ratnasambhava⁷⁷³),
One whose name begins with Ga, one called Kumāra⁷⁷⁴),
And one whose name begins with Ba
Are to investigate the Doctrine.

A high being with a name beginning with A
Will zealously maintain the precepts of the Teacher⁷⁷⁵).
(There will likewise appear one who will be)

Adorned with all the different virtues,
The initial letter of his name being La.

A king, belonging to the adherents of the Buddha,
Will elucidate the Doctrine of the Teacher⁷⁷⁶).

A monk, zealous in religious practice,
Whose name begins with the letter A is to appear
From amongst the Brāhmaṇas and enter the Doctrine.
He is to reside in the city of Sāketana⁷⁷⁷)
And is to live for eighty years⁷⁷⁸).

A monk whose name begins with A,
Is to appear in the southern country,
Endowed with wisdom, he will live 60 years,
And have his residence in the city of Kācī⁷⁷⁹).

⁷⁶⁹) Xyl. Maticitra. Kg. RGYUD. XI. 449 b. 2—450 a. 4.

⁷⁷⁰) Me-tog = Puṣpa. Ibid. 472 a. 2—3. ⁷⁷¹) Gžon-nu.

⁷⁷²) Klus-bos. ⁷⁷³) Rin-chen-ḥbyun. ⁷⁷⁴) Ibid. 470 a. 3—4.

⁷⁷⁵) Ibid. 472 a. 4—5. ⁷⁷⁶) Ibid. 472 a. 5—6. ⁷⁷⁷) Gnas-bcas.

⁷⁷⁸) Ibid. 472 a. 6. ⁷⁷⁹) Ibid. 472 a. 6—7.

A devotee whose name begins with Dha⁷⁷⁹)
 Will be greatly renowned in the southern district.
 He will refute all his opponents and adversaries,
 Be zealous in the religious observances,
 And secure the secret charms⁷⁸⁰).
 Moreover, a holy monk
 Will appear in the villages of Sindhala
 And though not a Saint, he will bear the name of a Saint⁷⁸¹)
 And have his abode in the island of Sindhala.
 He will refute all his oponents,
 And put to shame the charms of the heretics,
 This one is to appear at the end of a period
 Which is to be characterized by great fear⁷⁸²).
 The devotees who are called
 By their initial letters Da and La,
 And the monks who are said to take orders,
 With names that begin with Ra and Ba,
 Elucidating the Doctrine of the Teacher,
 Are to appear, there is no doubt in this⁷⁸³).
 During the reign of the king called Kṛṣṇa⁷⁸⁴),
 A devotee with the initial letter Ma is to appear.
 He is to abide in sanctuaries and hermitages, [107 a.]
 And in all the ponds and the wells likewise,
 The image of the Buddha will appear to him.
 And, there is no doubt in this,
 He will construct ships and bridges.
 And, after his body will have perished by the sword,
 He will depart to the celestial regions⁷⁸⁵).
 Thereafter, (men) whose names begin
 With the initial letters Sa and Ka,
 And, similarly, others, whose names are sounded,
 Beginning with the letters Ra and Gha,
 One whose initial letter is Ba,
 And those who are called Suvaktra⁷⁸⁶) and Sukha⁷⁸⁷)

⁷⁷⁹) This seems to be Dharmakīrti. ⁷⁸⁰) Ibid. 472 a. 7—b. 1.

⁷⁸¹) This is considered to refer to Āryadeva. Cf. below.

⁷⁸²) Ibid. 472 b. 1—2. ⁷⁸³) Ibid. 472 b. 2—3. ⁷⁸⁴) Nag-po.

⁷⁸⁵) Ibid. 472 b. 3—4. ⁷⁸⁶) Legs-bžin.

⁷⁸⁷) Legs-te-bde. The text of the Mañj.-mūla-tantra has Legs-te-sde =
 Susena.

Well-famed for their charity and their offerings,
 Refuting the teachings of adversaries,
 One who has been a merchant and the other — a physician, —

These two will perform diverse acts of charity⁷⁸⁸).
 A renowned devotee whose name begins with Ba,
 Another with the initial letter Ra,
 And one with a name beginning with Va, —
 These are to make the images of the Teacher⁷⁸⁹).
 A sage whose name begins with Ma,
 And similar devotees, possessed of faith are to appear.
 In many ways the devotees are mentioned,
 And an infinite number of them is to arise at that time⁷⁹⁰).
 And, famed as zealous in religious practice,
 They will likewise elucidate the Doctrine of the Teacher.
 And, at the time, when the Church, here on earth,
 Will be weakened and lose its splendour,
 Then they will create the images of the Buddha,
 Gladdening the heart, — there is no doubt in that.
 The prophecy of Enlightenment is granted to all of them:
 They shall attain Enlightenment as I have done⁷⁹¹).
 They are to receive the gifts of the worldly beings,
 Attain the end of worldly existence in the three Spheres,
 And, exhibiting great zeal in the magic charms and the
 Tantras,

They are to be possessed of great fame⁷⁹²).
 And now, I am to speak of those,
 Who, being possessed of the attributes of Brāhmaṇas,
 Will be zealous in the secret charms and the Tantras,
 And be acquainted with the customs of kings⁷⁹³).
 In those bad and disastrous times
 They will appear in all the different countries.
 An eminent Brāhmaṇa whose name begins with Ba
 Rich and perfectly knowing the Vedas, [107 b.]
 Will traverse all the countries without exception
 In the search of dispute and controversy.
 And, till the limits of the earth

⁷⁸⁸) Ibid. 472 b. 4—5. ⁷⁸⁹) Ibid. 472 b. 6. ⁷⁹⁰) Ibid. 472 b. 6—7.

⁷⁹¹) Ibid. 472 b. 7—473 a. 1. ⁷⁹²) Ibid. 473 a. 1—2.

⁷⁹³) Ibid. 473 a. 2—3.

Which is bordered by the 3 oceans,
 Will indulge in disputes with the heretical opponents⁷⁹⁶).
 And that which is the first and principal word
 Which, owing to the desire of helping the living beings,
 Has been uttered by the princely youth,
 The charm of 6 syllables, — will be repeated by him⁷⁹⁵).
 By means of this sublime proceeding,
 He will help some and teach others.
 Jaya⁷⁹⁶), Sujaya⁷⁹⁷), Yaçasvin⁷⁹⁸), Kalyāṇa⁷⁹⁹),
 And then, Kulika⁸⁰⁰) and Dharmika⁸⁰¹),
 Mahavīrya⁸⁰²), and Suviṣṇu⁸⁰³),
 Madhu⁸⁰⁴) and Madhubhadra⁸⁰⁵),
 And, moreover, Siddha⁸⁰⁶) and Adarpa⁸⁰⁷),
 Rāghava⁸⁰⁸), and Īḍra⁸⁰⁹),
 And in a like way another who is called Kāñjāta⁸¹⁰).
 Owing to the spell repeated by this youth,
 These all are going to appear.
 They all will be of a sublime character,
 Possessed of wisdom and greatly learned⁸¹¹). —

And further on⁸¹²): —

A Brahmana whose name begins with Vi
 In the city of Kusumapura
 Is to propitiate the wrathful deities⁸¹³). —

Again⁸¹⁴): —

Thereupon a Brāhmaṇa greatly renowned,
 With a name that begins with A,

⁷⁹⁶) Ibid. 473 a. 3—4.

⁷⁹⁸) Ibid. 473 a. 4—5.

⁷⁹⁶) Rgyal (-ba). Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha p. 4.

⁷⁹⁷) Legs-par-rgyal-ba. Ibid. ⁷⁹⁸) Grags-ldan.

⁷⁹⁹) Dge-ba. Ibid. ⁸⁰⁰) Rigs-ldan. Ibid. p. 5.

⁸⁰¹) Chos-daṅ-ldan-pa. Ibid.

⁸⁰²) Brtson-ldan. Ibid. Cf. also Ibid. p. 68, note 6.

⁸⁰³) Legs-par-khyab-hjug. Ibid. p. 5. ⁸⁰⁴) Sbraṅ-rtsl. Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵) Sbraṅ-rtsl-bzaṅ-po. Ibid. Schiefner has Supramadhu.

⁸⁰⁶) Grub(-pa). Ibid. p. 4.

⁸⁰⁷) Dregs-bral. Ibid. The Xyl. has: Legs-bral.

⁸⁰⁸) Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 4.

⁸⁰⁹) Dmaṅs-rigs. Ibid. p. 5, note 1.

⁸¹⁰) Ka-ṅlir-skyes-pa. Ibid. p. 5, note 6.

⁸¹¹) Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra, Kg. RGYUD. XI. 473 a. 5—7.

⁸¹²) Ibid. 473 a. 7—b 1.

⁸¹³) Khro-bo.

⁸¹⁴) Ibid 473 b. 3—4.

One who is virtuous and knows the Doctrine and its meaning,
Will speak the Truth and subdue the senses. —

Furthermore⁸¹⁵):

After that, (likewise) greatly famed,
A Brāhmaṇa investigating the meaning of the Doctrine,
And after him one, whose name commences with Ḥa
Is to appear in the Māla country. —

And⁸¹⁶): —

Thereupon there will be greatly renowned
A Brāhmaṇa who will appear in the southern district.
The initial letter of his name is Ba (or Va.)
It is he who will make the Teaching of the Lord predominant.
He is to abide in sanctuaries and hermitages,
And the delightful reflection of the form of the Lord
Will make him the ornament of all living beings
On this earth bordered by the 2 Oceans.
Thereupon, endowed with great fame,
A Brāhmaṇa possessed of great riches
Whose name begins with the letter Na,
Will have his abode in the southern district. [108 a.]
This high being will possess the knowledge of the secret
charms,

And will certainly attain Supreme Enlightenment⁸¹⁷). —
There are many who consider these two (last) prophecies to refer
to Vasubandhu and Dignāga, but they are both alike unsuitable.
Indeed, (these prophecies) are given quite apart from the religious
devotees (to whom both Vasubandhu and Dignāga belong). Neither
do we have (in the prophecies just quoted) the acts and the cha-
racteristic features (of both). —

I am now to speak of those
Who are to appear in Central India.
There will be a Brāhmaṇa called Pūrṇabhadra⁸¹⁸),
Famed for discipline and pure morality.
Then, Pūrṇa⁸¹⁹) who is to reside at Mathurā,
And one whose name begins with Bha and Vasunetra⁸²⁰),

⁸¹⁵) Ibid. 473 b. 5. ⁸¹⁶) Ibid. 473 b. 7—474 a. 1.

⁸¹⁷) Ibid. 474 a. 1—2.

⁸¹⁸) Gañ-ba-bzañ. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha* p. 5.

⁸¹⁹) Gañ-ba. Ibid. ⁸²⁰) Nor-gyi-spyan. Ibid.

Who are to be praised and revered by kings.
The Brāhmaṇas thus indicated
Will pay homage to the Teaching of the Buddha⁸²¹). —

We have moreover⁸²²): —

On the border of the woodland
That is near to the eastern ocean,
A Sage, one of the Lohitas, and another
In the north, in the country of snow, — etc.

Some consider that this is an indication of the Great Translator who was born in Ya-brog⁸²³). But, as (this prophecy) is contained in that section which refers to kings, — this must be accurately investigated. —

In connection with this prophecy it is said⁸²⁴): —

In the west, in the delightful region of Kāçī,
And in the country called Mürdhāna,
There is to appear a king
Whose name will be Pañcamasimha⁸²⁵). —

We have moreover the following⁸²⁶): — One hundred years after the Teacher will have passed away, in the city of Kusumapura there will appear the king Açoka who will live 150 years and worship the monuments of the Buddha during 87 years⁸²⁷). After him, the king named Vigataçoka⁸²⁸) will worship these monuments for 76 years⁸²⁹). Thereafter, the king Virasena⁸³⁰) will rule for 70 years⁸³⁰) and will be succeeded by the king Nanda⁸³¹). The latter's reign will dure 56 years⁸³²) and his friend will be the Brāhmaṇa Pāṇini⁸³³). Then there will appear the king Candragupta [108 b.]⁸³⁴), and after him his son called Bindusāra⁸³⁵) who will

⁸²¹) Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra. Kg. RGYUD. XI. 474 a. 3—4.

⁸²²) Ibid. 462 b. 6—7. ⁸²³) Ya-hbrog. ⁸²⁴) Ibid. 462 b. 7.

⁸²⁵) Sen-ge-lña.

⁸²⁶) The following passages represent likewise a prophecy of the Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra which is rendered by Bu-ton in prose.

⁸²⁷) Ibid. 443 a. 6 sqq.

⁸²⁸) Mya-nan-bral. The Xyl. of Bu-ton's text has Mya-nan-med-bral = Vigataçoka. In such a form this name appears likewise in Tārānātha. Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra, Kg. RGYUD. XI. 446 a. 5 sqq.

⁸²⁹) Ibid. 446 a. 7. ⁸³⁰) Dpañ-boñi-sde.

⁸³¹) Ibid. 446 b. 1—4. ⁸³²) Dgañ-bo. Ibid. 446 b. 4.

⁸³³) Ibid. 447 a. 7. ⁸³⁴) Ibid. 447 a. 7—b 1.

⁸³⁵) Zla-ba-sbas-pa. Ibid. 447 b. 2. ⁸³⁶) Sññ-po-thig-le. Ibid. 447 b. 4.

rule for 70 years. The minister of these kings Cāṇakya⁸³⁹), (owing to his deeds) will depart to hell.

After the monk Nanda has died, another called Candanapāla will appear and will live 300 years⁸³⁷). Thereafter, the king called Bhadanta⁸³⁸) will burn down the temples and the monuments from the eastern country and up to Kashmir and massacre the monks⁸³⁹). After him there will be a king called Buddhapakṣa⁸⁴⁰) who will be succeeded by the king Sarvābhirāma⁸⁴¹) who is to live 300 years. The son of the latter, Gambhirapakṣa⁸⁴²) will reign in the Pañcāla⁸⁴³) country.

In the northern Himālaya, in the country called the Godly⁸⁴⁴), there is to appear the king Maṇuṣyadeva⁸⁴⁵) who will attain the age of 80 years⁸⁴⁶). In China there will be a king named Hiraṇyagarbha⁸⁴⁷) who is to live 150 years⁸⁴⁸). In his country —

The Bodhisattva, the great hero,
Mañjuhoṣa who is endowed with great light.
Perceived by all in that pure region,
Is to abide in the form of a child⁸⁴⁹). —

In the north, a king called Turuṣka is to live 300 years⁸⁵⁰), and after him he who is called Turuṣka-Mahāsammata⁸⁵¹). The latter is to attain the age of 200 years⁸⁵²).

In the west, beyond Ujjayinī⁸⁵³), a king named Āṣṭa⁸⁵⁴) is to rule for 300 years⁸⁵⁵), and after him a king called Cala⁸⁵⁶) who is to live for 54 years and 5 months⁸⁵⁷). — Of the greater part of

⁸³⁹) Tsa-na-ka. Ibid. 448 a. 5—b 1.

⁸³⁷) Ibid. 452 a. 3 sqq. ⁸³⁸) Btsun-pa. ⁸³⁹) Ibid. 452 a. 4—6.

⁸⁴⁰) Sañs-rgyas-phyogs. Ibid. 452 b. 3—4.

⁸⁴¹) Thams-cad-mñon-dgaḥ. Ibid. 452 b. 4—6.

⁸⁴²) Zab-moḥi-phyogs. ⁸⁴³) Lña-len. Ibid. 452 b. 6—7 sqq.

⁸⁴⁴) Lha-Idan. ⁸⁴⁵) Miñi-lha. ⁸⁴⁶) Ibid. 453 a. 4—5.

⁸⁴⁷) Dbyig-gi-sñin-po. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha. p. 14, note 2.

⁸⁴⁸) Mañj.-mūla-tantra. Kg. RGYUD. XI. 453 b. 3—454 a. 1.

⁸⁴⁹) Ibid. 454 a. 2—3. ⁸⁵⁰) Ibid. 454 a. 3—5.

⁸⁵¹) Tu-ru-ṣka mañ-pos-bkur-ba. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 2 has Čāka-mahāsammata.

⁸⁵²) Mañj.-mūla-tantra, Kg. RGYUD. XI. 454 b. 1—4.

⁸⁵³) Hphags-rgyal.

⁸⁵⁴) Nañ-tshul. Also translated (in the Tantra) as Tshul-khrims (445 b. 5.)

⁸⁵⁵) Sic. acc. to Bu-ton, but Tantra (455 b. 2.) — *lo-ni sum-cu-dag-tu-yañ / rgyal-arid gnod-po-med-par bya //*

⁸⁵⁶) Gyo-ba. ⁸⁵⁷) Ibid. 455 b. 5.

these kings it has been prophesied that they are to attain Enlightenment. The reigns of many other kings have moreover been foretold, but I do not write about them, since I fear that it will take too much place.

Furthermore, we read in the *Nātha-abhyudaya-tantra*⁸⁸⁸): — A certain fisherman, having been swallowed by a fish, will die and be reborn as the Yogin called Dārika⁸⁸⁹). This one will cast wine into the river Ganges and in an hour an island called Badaha will appear. [109 a.] The result of the charms (of this magician) is that the Dākas and Dākinīs will be rendered powerless. —

And⁸⁹⁰): — In the country of Oḍiṇiṣa⁸⁹¹) there will appear a man possessed of the faculty of mystic meditation which he will exercise with great energy. He will be a follower of the precepts of Rāmaṇi. His name (is spelt as follows): — The letter Ka of the first phonetic class is adorned with the first vowel (i. e. A). Then comes the 4th letter of the 7th class (Ha), being as if slightly mounted on the latter Na. This unique and powerful Yogin will secure the 8 great principal magical properties⁸⁹²). The person spoken of here is Kahnapa or Kṛṣṇacārin⁸⁹³). The 6 pupils of the latter are to secure the Great Seal⁸⁹⁴) by means of which everything which has a separate and physical reality will be rejected. —

Again⁸⁹⁵): — The foremost of the Paṇḍits, known by the name of Dharmakīrti, — he and 6 other persons, acting for the sake of the Doctrine and abiding in virtuous conduct are to secure the magical properties. After that, the guardians of the Doctrine named Mahila, Čamkara⁸⁹⁶), Bhavyaghoṣa, and Sahasrakarṇa⁸⁹⁷). will in 13 years attain the magical properties. —

Furthermore⁸⁹⁸): — In the south, a city called Ajārayoginī is to appear, and there a magician named Nāgārjuna will bestow royal power upon Gopāla who will sit mounted on a Čimčapa tree.

⁸⁸⁸) Sic. acc. to Xyl. *Mgon-po-mñon-par-hbyuñ-baḥi-rgyud*. In the Kan-gyur (Derge ed.) this work is called *Mahākāla-tantra-rāja*. Kg. RGYUD. V. 66 b. 4—5. (D.)

⁸⁸⁹) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 127, 177, 249, 278.

⁸⁹⁰) Kg. RGYUD. V. 67 b. 3—4. ⁸⁹¹) Xyl. O-ru-bl-sa.

⁸⁹²) *grub-pa* = *siddhi*. Or: *dños-grub-chen-po*.

⁸⁹³) *Nag-po-spyod-pa-pa*.

⁸⁹⁴) *phyag-rgya-chen-po* = *mahāmudrā*. Ibid. 67 b. 5.

⁸⁹⁵) Ibid. 68 b. 1—2.

⁸⁹⁶) Xyl. *Saṃkara*. Kg.: *Pāgara* (Sāgara)

⁸⁹⁷) Xyl. *Sahaprakarṣa*, Kan-gyur: *Sahasrikārṇa*. ⁸⁹⁸) Ibid. 68 b. 4—5.

And, after the death of (the latter's) son, the nephew of Vahana and other kings are to appear. —

In the *Kālacakra-uttara-tantra*⁶⁶⁹) it is said: —

The monk Nāgārjuna, the source of all the virtuous properties
Administering help to all living beings,
The teacher called Sthiramati^{669a}), those who are endowed
With 10 000 magical powers over the duration of life,
Those who attain their aim on the Path of the 10 virtues, —
Āryadeva, Kambala⁶⁶⁹), Aṣvaghōṣa, Dignāga [109 b.],
Parahitāçaya^{669a}), Candrapadma^{669b}), and Padmānkura⁶⁷⁰),
Avigraha, Aṣṣakrṣṇa, the king of Bhasalakalpa, and the
king Indrabhūti⁶⁷¹): —

And furtheron⁶⁷²): —

He who is called Jñāna, Vajraghaṇṭa^{672a}), Kuṇṭha^{672b})
Those drinking wine from skulls, bearing the trident,
The ornaments of bones, the wine-cup,
And the hand-drum, — as he who is called Kṛṣṇālavāla.

In accordance with all these passages, the persons mentioned are said to be the guardians of the Doctrine. Some say that no prophecies have been delivered with regard to those who were endowed with the attributes of the Yogins (i. e. the Tantric magicians). This is however to be refuted by the passages which we have just quoted. —

In general, as regards the preservation of the Doctrines of the Buddhas, the exposition of them, and the action according to them, we know that, especially, the teachings of the 1000 Buddhas are preserved, rehearsed, and protected by Vajrapāṇi. The Doctrine of this Buddha is preserved by Mañjuçrī, Vajrapāṇi, Brahma, Indra, etc. It is said in the *Mañjuçrī-mūla-tantra*: —

⁶⁶⁹) Kg. RGYUD. I. 206 a. 3—6. (N.)

^{669a}) Blo-brtan. The Kg. has Ḥod-brtan.

⁶⁶⁹) Lva-baḥi-na-bzah. ^{669a}) Gžan-la-phan-paḥi bsam-pa.

^{669b}) Sic. Xyl. Zla-ba-padma. The Kg. has Btsun-pa Padmaḥi-myu-gu.

⁶⁷⁰) Padmaḥi-myu-gu. ⁶⁷¹) Xyl. Indrabodhi.

⁶⁷²) Ibid. 199 b. 3—4. ^{672a}) Rdo-rjeḥi-dril-bu.

^{672b}) (?) Xyl. Lag-ltuñ. Kg. Lag-rdub. Perhaps Lag-rdum. In Cordier's Index du Bstan-Hgyur I p. 171 we find the name Kuṇṭha (Varāhakuṇṭha) as the author of the Çrivajra-bhairava-sādhana (Kuṇṭha = phyag-rdum = lag-rdum — "he with the mutilated hand.")

The Lord of Sages will pass away into Nirvāṇa,
And, in order to protect the Highest Doctrine,
There will be one who appears in the form of Mañjuçrī,
Of him who constantly preserves the Doctrine. —

In particular, the protectors of the Doctrine are the 16 Sthaviras, viz.

1. Panthaka⁸⁷³), — in the realm of the 33 gods,
2. The Sthavira Abhedya⁸⁷⁴) in the Himālaya,
3. Kanaka^{874a}) — (Bhāradvāja), — in the western continent
Godhanya,
4. Bakula⁸⁷⁵), — in the northern continent Kuru,
3. Bhāradvāja, — in the eastern continent Videha,
6. Mahākālīka⁸⁷⁶), in Tāmradvīpa,
7. Vajriputra⁸⁷⁷), — in Siṃhaladvīpa,
8. Rāhula⁸⁷⁸), in Priyanguvīpa,
9. Çribhadra⁸⁷⁹), — in Yamunādvīpa,
10. Gopaka⁸⁸⁰), — on the mountain Bihula,
11. Nāgasena⁸⁸¹), — on the Urumunda mountain,
12. Vanavāsīn⁸⁸²), — on the Saptaparṇa mountain,
13. Kṣudrapanthaka⁸⁸³), — on the Gṛdhrakūṭa,
14. Kanakavatsa⁸⁸⁴), — in Kashmir,
15. Angirāja⁸⁸⁵), — on the Kailāsa mountain, — and
16. Ajita⁸⁸⁶), — in the Crystal Wood of the Sages.

Each of the 16 is surrounded by numerous Arhats. Without passing away into Nirvāṇa [110 a.], they will act according to the Word of the Buddha and protect the Doctrine.

IV. Acc₁ b₂ c₃ b₄ c₅. The Acts performed for the Sake of the Doctrine by the Persons who had been foretold by the Buddha.

The Life of Nāgārjuna⁸⁸⁷).

Four hundred years after the Buddha had passed away, in the south, in the country of Vidarbha, there dwelt a rich Brāhmaṇa who had no children. It had been prophesied to him in a dream that, if he would invite 100 Brāhmaṇas to a religious feast, a son would be born to him. He acted accordingly, told his prayers

⁸⁷³) Lam-pa. ⁸⁷⁴) Mi-pkyed-pa. ^{874a}) Gser-can. ⁸⁷⁵) Xyl. Bhakula.

⁸⁷⁶) Dus-ldan-chen-po. ⁸⁷⁷) Rdo-rje-moñi-bu. ⁸⁷⁸) Sgra-gcan-ñdzin.

⁸⁷⁹) Dpal-bzañ. ⁸⁸⁰) Sbed-byed. ⁸⁸¹) Klu-sde. ⁸⁸²) Nags-gnas.

⁸⁸³) Lam-phran. ⁸⁸⁴) Gser-gyi-beñu. ⁸⁸⁵) Yan-lag-ñbyuñ.

⁸⁸⁶) Ma-pham-pa. ⁸⁸⁷) Cf. Grünwedel, Edelsteinmine, B. B. p. 12 sqq.

and, 10 months after, a child was born. When (the father) showed him to the sooth-sayers, the latter said that, although the marks (of the boy) were lucky, he could not live longer than 10 days. (The father) asked how one could help in this matter. — It was said that if he would invite 100 Brāhmaṇas to a religious feast, (the life of the boy) could be made to last 7 months and, by another invitation of 100 monks likewise to a religious feast, (the boy) could be made to live 7 years. But, said they, there is no means (to make him live) longer than that. (The father) accordingly did as he was told. When the end of the 7 years drew near, the parents who were unable to bear the sight of the dead body of their son (which they would soon have to behold), sent him to travel with a servant. So he gradually went and went and, having come to behold the face of Khasarpaṇa⁸⁸⁸), finally came to the gates of Nālanda⁸⁸⁹). There he began to recite the hymns of the Sāmaveda which were heard by the Brāhmaṇa Sāraha who was residing there. (The latter) led him in, and as (the boy) related to him the circumstances owing to which he was thus travelling about, the teacher told him that if he would become a monk, it could be possible to find a means (of prolonging his life). Accordingly, he took orders, (and his teacher) consecrated him on the magic circle of Amitāyus, the Conqueror of the Lord of Death, and made him recite the magic formula (of Amitāyus). Especially, he made him recite (these charms) during the evening and the night when his 7th year was to elapse and thus he became delivered from the Lord of Death. Then he showed himself to his parents who greatly rejoiced. After that he studied with the Brāhmaṇa Sāraha the texts of the Āgamas etc. with all the necessary instructions. Then he prayed Rāhulabhadra⁸⁹⁰), the abbot of Nālanda [110 b.] to be his preceptor, became regularly ordained and was known as the monk Āmān⁸⁹¹).

Some time after, when he was occupying the post of the waiter (or verger)⁸⁹²) of the Congregation of Nālanda, a great famine (happened in that country). Āmān got from the intermediate continent⁸⁹³) the elixir producing gold, and, having obtained gold by means of it, was able to procure for the members of the Con-

⁸⁸⁸) The Xyl. has Khar-sa-pā-ṇi. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 144.

⁸⁸⁹) The Xyl. has here and further on throughout: Nālandra.

⁸⁹⁰) Sgra-gcan-ḥdzin-bzañ-po.

⁸⁹¹) Dpal-ldan.

⁸⁹²) ~~ḥal-ta-pa.~~

⁸⁹³) *glin-bar.*

gregation their noon-tide meals, so that they could keep the summer-fast. But the members of the Congregation asked: — How was it possible (for thee) to procure the noon-tide meals at a time when everything is wanting, when we are awaiting death and abide (in a country) wasted by famine? — And, when he told them about the manner (in which he produced the meals) as just mentioned, they said: — Without asking the permission of the Clergy, he has procured for it unrighteous means of livelihood. He must therefore be expelled from this place and, (in order to be purified from this guilt), construct 10 000 000 monasteries and sanctuaries. —

After that he secured by propitiation the mundane and supermundane magical powers. At that time, a monk named Çamkara⁸⁹⁴) having composed a treatise called *Nyāyālaṃkāra*⁸⁹⁵) consisting of 1 200 000 Çlokas, refuted everyone (who chanced to dispute with him). In order to subdue (this monk, Çrīmān) expounded the Doctrine at Nālanda. Whilst he was holding his sermon, 2 boys listened to his exposition of the Doctrine and then vanished beneath the earth. (The teacher) asked who these 2 were, and it was said, that they were Nāgas. The teacher bid them to fetch the mould of the Yakṣas for the temples and monuments he had to build. They, accordingly, informed the Nāga king, and he bade them to invite the teacher. The latter, having received the invitation and, knowing that (by accepting it), he would attain a great aim, descended into the region of the Nāgas and expounded the Doctrine there. The Nāgas then prayed him to stay with them, but he said that he had come to seek the clay with which to build the sanctuaries, and, likewise, in order to carry off (the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra) of 100 000 Çlokas. There is no time for me to stay, — said he, — but I may come afterwards. So he took with him plenty of clay, the *Çatasāhasrikā*, and the *Sūlpākṣara*⁸⁹⁶). It is said that a small part of the *Çatasāhasrikā* was not delivered to him by the Nāgas. Thereafter he built with that clay 10 000 000 sanctuaries etc. [111 a.] and the Nāgas became his friends. He thus subdued the greater part of them with the exception of some who were not present in the Nāga-region. Henceforth he was known by the name of Nāgārjuna. Thereafter, having produced gold at Puṇḍra-

⁸⁹⁴) *Bde-byed*.

⁸⁹⁵) Or: *Yuktyālaṃkāra* = *Rigs-paḥi-rgyan*.

⁸⁹⁶) *Yi-ge-nuñ-nu*. One of the small Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras (Kg. RGYUD XII).

vardhana⁸⁹⁷), he distributed abundant alms. An old Brāhmaṇa and his wife to whom he gave at that time much gold, became devoted to him. The old man made himself his attendant, heard the Doctrine (from him) and, having died, was reborn as the teacher Nāgabodhi⁸⁹⁸). Thereafter (the teacher) went to the eastern country of Paṭaveṇa where he built many temples. In the country of Radha he did the same and intended to transform into gold a rock resembling a bell, but was hindered by the gods. After that he went to the northern continent Kuru and, on the way there, in the town called Salama, (he met with) a boy called Jetaka, to whom he prophesied, by means of palmistry, that he would be a king. Having come to the continent of the Kuru, he hung his clothes on the branch of a tree and washed. As his clothes were then carried away by the Kurus, and he protested saying: — These clothes are mine,—they returned that in their language and according to their views “mine” was the same as “ours”. Having fulfilled his mission there, he departed. In the meantime, the boy mentioned before, had become king, and presented Nāgārjuna with many precious jewels. (Nāgārjuna) in exchange delivered to him “the Rosary of Jewels of the Doctrine” (*Ratnāvalī*).

(In sum) the acts performed by this teacher for the sake of the Doctrine are as follows: — He became the attendant of the clergy, built a great number of sanctuaries and temples, made at Vajrasana an enclosure like a diamond net, and constructed the edifice for the sanctuary of Çrīdhānya-kaṭaka⁸⁹⁹).

His activity in the field of science is as follows: — In metaphysics his chief works are: —

Those which have as their principal subject-matter the philosophical system of the Mādhyamika, shunning both the extremities. These are: 1. The collection of the Mādhyamika-stotras (in which the doctrine) is expounded in accordance with Scripture and 2. The (6) fundamental Mādhyamika treatises⁹⁰⁰) where the teaching is vindicated by logical means.

The works which are dedicated to the practical side of the Doctrine are: — The *Sūtra-samuccaya*⁹⁰¹), teaching in accordance with Scripture, the *Svapna-cintāmaṇi-parikathā*⁹⁰²), demonstrating

⁸⁹⁷) Li-kha-ra-çin-hphel.

⁸⁹⁸) Kluhi-byañ-chub.

⁸⁹⁹) Dpal Hbras-spuñs.

⁹⁰⁰) Cf. vol. I. p. 50, 51.

⁹⁰¹) Mdo-kun-las-btus-pa, Tg. MDO. XXX. 172 b.—253 a. (Pek.)

⁹⁰²) Rmi-lam-yid-bžin-gyi-nor-bu. Tg. MDO. XXX. 219—221.

by logical means, purifying the minds of the Mahāyānists and awakening to life the element of saintliness⁹⁰³) of the Ārāvakas. [111 b.]

The work demonstrating the chief principles of the conduct of householders is the *Suḥr̥llekha*⁹⁰⁴), and that which is chiefly dedicated to the conduct of monks is the *Bodhigāṇa*⁹⁰⁵).

In the division of the Tantras his works are: — The *Tantra-samuccaya*⁹⁰⁶), — a brief exposition of the theoretical and the practical side (of the Tantras), the *Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa*⁹⁰⁷) where the theory is clearly exposed, the *Pinḍikṛta-sādhana*⁹⁰⁸) demonstrating the Initial Development⁹⁰⁹) in an abridged form, the *Sūtra-melāpaka*⁹¹⁰), the *Maṇḍalavidhi* of 20 verses, the *Pañca-krama*⁹¹¹) demonstrating the Final Development⁹¹²), etc. —

Moreover, we have by him medical works as the *Yogaṣataka* etc.⁹¹³) In the science of worldly policy⁹¹⁴) we have his *Jana-poṣaṇa-bindu*⁹¹⁵) containing the precepts delivered to inferiors, and the *Prajñā-ṣataka*⁹¹⁶), consisting of instructions delivered for ministers. Then we have the *Ratnāvalī*⁹¹⁷) in which the theoretical and practical part of the Mahāyānistic Doctrine are demonstrated together for the use of kings. Furthermore, he has composed the *Pratitya-samutpāda-cakra*⁹¹⁸), the *Dhūpa-yoga-ratna-mālā*⁹¹⁹), works on al-chemistry and others. All these are independent treatises. —

⁹⁰³) *rigs* = *gotra*.

⁹⁰⁴) Bḥes-sbr̥iñ. Tg. MDO. XXXIII. 74—81. (Pek.).

⁹⁰⁵) Byañ-chub-kyi-tshogs. ⁹⁰⁶) Rgyud-kun-las-btus.

⁹⁰⁷) Byañ-chub-sems-ḡgrel. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII. 42—50 (Pek.); also MDO. XXXIII. 221—226.

⁹⁰⁸) Sgrub-thabs-mdor-byas. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII. 1—12 (Pek.).

⁹⁰⁹) *bskyed-rim* = *utpatti-krama*.

⁹¹⁰) Mdo-bsre. Full title. Āri-Guhyasamāja-mahā-yoga-tantra-utpatti-krama-sādhanaṃ Sūtra-melāpakam nāma (Rñal-ḡbyor-chen-poḡi rgyud Dpal Gsañ-ba-ḡdus-paḡi bskyed-paḡi-rim-paḡi bsgom-paḡi thabs Mod-dañ-bsres-pa). Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII. 12—17. (Pek.)

⁹¹¹) Rim-pa-lña-pa. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII. 50—64 (Pek.).

⁹¹²) *rdzogs-rim* = *sampanna-krama*.

⁹¹³) Sbyor-ba-brgya-pa. Tg. MDO. CXVIII. 1—5 (Pek.).

⁹¹⁴) *lugs-kyi-bstan-bcos* = *nīti-ṣāstra*.

⁹¹⁵) Skye-bo-gso-thigs. Tg. MDO. CXXIII.

⁹¹⁶) Ḥes-rab-brgya-pa. Ibid. and XXX. Cf. vol. I.

⁹¹⁷) Or: Mādhyamika-ratnāvalī. Tg. MDO. XCIV.

⁹¹⁸) Rten-ḡbrel-gyi ḡkhor-lo. Tg. MDO. CXXIII. 34—42. (Pek.).

⁹¹⁹) Spos-sbyor. Ibid. fol. 29.

The Commentaries written by him on other works are the *Guhyasamāja-tantra-ṭīkā*⁹²⁰, the *Çālistambaka-kārikā*⁹²¹) and others. —As concerns the *Caturmudrā-niṣcaya*⁹²²) it is said in the *Āmnāya-mañjarī*⁹²³) that it has not been composed by Nāgārjuna. The teacher Prajñākaramati, in his Commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* says that the teacher Nāgārjuna has likewise composed a Compendium of Discipline^{923a}). In such a way did Nāgārjuna act for the sake of the Doctrine for 600 years.

At that time the king Antivāhana⁹²⁴) or Udayanabhadra⁹²⁵) had a son, the prince Çaktimān⁹²⁶). When his mother gave him a very fine mantle, he said: — This will be of use to me at the time when I shall assume the royal power. To this the mother said: — Thou shalt not come to reign. — Thy father and the teacher Nāgārjuna have found out a means of producing an elixir securing longevity. (The duration of life of thy father) is to be the same as that of the teacher. [112 a.] (Upon hearing this, the youth) went to Çripārvata, to the place where the teacher Nāgārjuna was abiding. The latter raised his head and began to preach the Doctrine to him. The youth tried to cut off (the teacher's) head with his sword, but failed, whereupon the teacher said: — An insect has perished (before), having been cut down by me with a halm of Kuça grass. The consequence⁹²⁷) (of this deed) is lasting upon me. Owing to it my head can be cut off with a Kuça halm. The youth, accordingly cut it off in such a way, (and after he had done that), from the foundation of the neck there was heard a verse: —

I shall now depart to the region of Sukhavatī,

But (afterwards) I am to enter this body again.

The youth then went away, having carried off the head. But (subsequently) a female yakṣa took possession of it and deposited it within the distance of a yojana (from the body). The head and

⁹²⁰) Gsañ-ḥdus-ḥgrel-pa. Tg. RGYUD. XXVII.

⁹²¹) Sa-lu-ljañ-paḥi-mdo-tshigs-su-bcad-pa-bśdus-pa. Tg. MDO. XXXIII. 213—216 and XXXIV. 22—25 (Pek.).

⁹²²) Phyag-rgya-bḥi-pa. Tg. RGYUD. XLVI. 82—84.

⁹²³) Man-nag-sñe-ma. Full title: Çri-Saṃpuṭa-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā Āmnāya-mañjarī-nāma. The work of Abhayākara Gupta, Tg. RGYUD. XIX.

^{923a}) Bślab-pa-kun-las-btus-pa = Çikṣā-samuccaya.

⁹²⁴) Mthar-ḥgro-ñon. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 304.

⁹²⁵) Bde-spyod-bzañ-po. ⁹²⁶) Nus-Idan.

⁹²⁷) rnam-smin = vipāka.

the body did not decay, but every year drew nearer to each other. Finally they united and again worked for the weal of the Doctrine and the living beings. (In the name) Nāgārjuna, Nāga (has the following signification): — 1. Born from (that ocean) which is the Essence, the Plane of the Absolute⁹²⁸) (just as the real Nāga is born in the sea), 2. not abiding in the 2 limits or extreme views of Eternalism⁹²⁹ and Nihilism⁹³⁰), (just as the real Nāga knows no limits as regards his abode), 3. securing the possession of the treasury of the Jewels of Scripture (just as the Nāga possesses immense wealth in gold and jewels), 4. endowed with an insight (that is like fire), burning down and illuminating (akin to the fiery eyes of the Nāga).

Arjuna has the meaning of "he who has secured power". Accordingly, the teacher is Arjuna since he is: 1. The guardian, the ruler of the kingdom of the Doctrine and 2. the subduer of the hosts of enemies, that is of all the sinful powers of this world. Being united, these two component parts form the compound name Nāgārjuna. It is said accordingly in the *Prasannapadā*⁹³¹):

I bow before that Nāgārjuna who has rejected
The adherence to the two extreme points of view,
Who has become born in the ocean of the Supreme Buddha's
Wisdom,
And has, out of mercy, exposed all the depths
Of the treasury of the Highest Doctrine⁹³²), as he has
cognized (it himself)⁹³³.
The fires of whose Doctrine consume that fuel
Which is (every) hostile, disagreeing view,
And dispell, up to this very day
The mental darkness of the world⁹³⁴).
Whose incomparable wisdom and words are like a mass
of arrows,

⁹²⁸) *chos-dbyings* = *dharma-dhātu*.

⁹²⁹) *rtag-mithah* = *śāṅkhya-anta*.

⁹³⁰) *chad-mithah* = *uccheda-anta*.

⁹³¹) Tshig-gsal. B. B. p. 1. Cf. also Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 81.

⁹³²) I read acc. to the Tib. text *dam-chos-mdzod-kyi* = *saddharma-kośasya*.
Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, Corrigenda.

⁹³³) *yo'nta-dvayāvūsa-vidhūta-nūśah sambuddha-dhī-sūgara-labha-janmā / saddharma-kośasya gambhīra-bhāvaṃ yathānubuddhaṃ kṛpayā jagāda. / /*

⁹³⁴) *yasya darṣana-tejāṃsi paravādi-matendhanam / dahanty adyāpi lokasya mānasāni tamāṃsi ca / /*

Perfectly secure (for him) the victory and the sovereignty
 in the 3 Spheres of Existence
 Over all the world of converts including the gods,
 And vanquish those hosts of enemies, — (the forces of)
 Phenomenal Existence⁸³⁵). —

[112 b.] And⁸³⁶): —

Composed by Nāgārjuna, the Bodhisattva
 Who has departed to Sukhavatī, after having
 Let his head be cut off and delivered it to him
 Who had come in request of it.

Some authorities maintain that in the *Mahāmegha-sūtra* the following is to be read: — 400 years after I have passed away, this Licchavi will become a monk called Nāga and will propagate my Doctrine. Finally, in the world called Prasannaprabhā⁸³⁷) he will become the Buddha called Jñānākara⁸³⁸). Now we read in the *Mahāmegha*: — In the south, in the country called Ṛṣila⁸³⁹) will appear a king named Vipaticikitsaka⁸⁴⁰). When the latter will be 80 years of age, the Highest Doctrine is to undergo destruction, and only remnants of it will be left. At that time, on the northern shore of the rivulet called Sundarabhūti⁸⁴¹) near the village Mahāvāluka⁸⁴²), the dwelling-place of virtuous people, on the ground belonging to the Vaiṣyas Bra-go-can (?) a Licchavi youth who by his appearance causes delight to all living beings, will be born, bear my name and expound the Doctrine of the Buddha. This youth, in the presence of the Buddha Nāgakuḥ-pradīpa⁸⁴³), will make the vow to give up his life for the sake of the Doctrine and the Teaching of the Lord. — It is he who is to propagate the Doctrine. — So is it to be read, but it is not clear, whether (this passage) really refers to Nāgārjuna. Some are of the opinion that (the words "bearing my name" refer to) the reli-

⁸³⁵) *yasya' sama-jñāna-vacaḥ-ṣaraughā nighnanti niḥṣeṣa-bhavāri-senān / sridhātu-rājya-śriyam ādadhānā vineya-lokasya sadevakasya // Nāgārjunāya praṇipatya tasmāi . . .*

⁸³⁶) This verse is not contained in Prof. de la Vallée Poussin's edition of the Prasannapadā.

⁸³⁷) Dan-baḥi-ḥod.

⁸³⁸) Ye-ṣes-ḥbyuñ-gnas-ḥod. This prophecy of the Mahāmegha-sūtra is quoted in the Mādhyamika-avatāra-bhāṣya B. B. 76. 17—77. 4.

⁸³⁹) Dran-sron-byi-boḥi-yul.

⁸⁴⁰) Rgud-pa-gso-ba.

⁸⁴¹) Mdzes-ḥbyor.

⁸⁴²) Bye-ma-chen-po.

⁸⁴³) Klu-rigs-agron-ma.

gious name of Nāgārjuna which is (said to have been) Čākya-mitra⁹⁴⁴). This however must be scrutinized. It is said, moreover, that according to *Mahābherī-sūtra*⁹⁴⁵), Nāgārjuna has been foretold to attain the 8th Stage, but this must likewise be examined. —

The Teacher Āryadeva.

The (spiritual) son of Nāgārjuna was the teacher Āryadeva. The latter was miraculously born⁹⁴⁶) in the island of Sindhala in the petals of a lotus-flower and was adopted by the king of that country. When he grew up, he went to the place where the teacher Nāgārjuna was residing, entered his school [113 a.], and became proficient in all the branches of science and all the heterodox and orthodox philosophical systems. At that time there lived a heretical teacher called Mātṛceṭa⁹⁴⁷) who had propitiated the god Maheçvara and was exceedingly powerful, so that no living being could match him. This teacher, having caused great harm to the Doctrine of Buddha and seduced the greater part (of the people) to the heretical teachings, came to Nālanda. The Nālanda monks sent a message to Nāgārjuna who was residing on the Čṛipavṛata. The teacher Āryadeva (who was abiding with him) said that he would subdue (the heretic) and went (to Nālanda). On the way there the goddess of a tree begged him to grant her an eye, and he accordingly presented her with one of his eyes. Thereafter, as he had vanquished the heretic, (the monks said): — Who is this one-eyed? — Āryadeva replied: —

The Terrific One⁹⁴⁸), though he has 3 eyes,
Cannot perceive the Absolute Truth;
Indra, though endowed with 1000 eyes,
Is likewise unable to see it.
But Āryadeva, who has only one eye,
Has the intuition of the true Essence
Of all the 3 Spheres of Existence.

(The heretical teacher) was vanquished by (the words of) the Doctrine, was converted to Buddhism, and became a great Paṇḍit. —

Tradition says that the teacher (Āryadeva) has attained the 8th Stage. But, as the *Mañjuçṛī-mūla-tantra*⁹⁴⁹) speaks of him: —

⁹⁴⁴) Čā-kya-bḥes-gñen.

⁹⁴⁵) Rñā-bo-chehi-mdo.

⁹⁴⁶) *rdzus-te-skyes-pa* = *upapāḍuka*.

⁹⁴⁷) Ma-khol.

⁹⁴⁸) Maheçvara.

⁹⁴⁹) Cf. above.

Though not a Saint he will bear the name of a Saint, — this must be accurately examined. —

This teacher has composed the following works: —

1. The *Mādhyamika-catuhṣatikā*⁹⁵⁰), demonstrating the meaning of Non-substantiality in detail.

2. The *Mādhyamika-hastavāla-prakarāṇa*⁹⁵¹), — an abridged exposition (of the same subject).

3. The *Skhalita-pramathana-yukti-hetu-siddhi*⁹⁵²), refuting the challenges of opponents.

4. The *Jñāna-sāra-samuccaya*⁹⁵³), demonstrating the chief characteristic points of the philosophical⁹⁵⁴) and the Tantric systems.

In the Tantric literature his works are: —

Those containing the exposition of the theoretical part of Tantra, as:

1. The *Caryā-melayana-pradīpa*⁹⁵⁵), on the foundation of the mixed Sūtra and Tantra Scripture.

2. The *Citta-āvaraṇa-viśodhana*⁹⁵⁶), demonstrating the same subject by logical means. [113 b.]

3. The *Catuh-piṭha- tantra-rāja-maṇḍala-upāyikā-vidhi-sāra-samuccaya*⁹⁵⁷), referring to the magical rights for (attaining) the power of bringing living beings to maturity.

4. The *Catuhpiṭha-sādhana*⁹⁵⁸), demonstrating the Initial Development⁹⁵⁹).

5. The *Jñāna-dākinī-sādhana*⁹⁶⁰).

6. The *Eka-druma-pañjikā*⁹⁶¹), demonstrating the magic rites, the offerings, the final Development⁹⁶²), etc.

⁹⁵⁰) Dbuma-bḥi-brgya-pa. Tg. MDO. XVIII.

⁹⁵¹) Dbu-ma-lag-paḥi-tshad. Ibid. 24 a. 8—b. 5. (Pek.)

⁹⁵²) Hkhruḥ-pa-zlog-paḥi gtan-tshigs-grub-pa. Ibid. 20 b.—24 a.

⁹⁵³) Ye-ṣes-sñiḥ-po-kun-las-btus. Ibid. 29—31.

⁹⁵⁴) mshan-ñid.

⁹⁵⁵) Spyod-pa-bsdus-paḥi-sgron-ma. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII. 121 b—127.

⁹⁵⁶) Sems-kyi-sgrub-sbyon. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII. 121 b.—127.

⁹⁵⁷) Gdan-bḥiḥi dkyil-chog-sñiḥ-po-mdor-bsags. Tg. RGYUD. XXIII.

142—172.

⁹⁵⁸) Gdan-bḥiḥi-sgrub-thabs. Ibid. 91—101.

⁹⁵⁹) bakyed-rim = utpatti-krama.

⁹⁶⁰) Ye-ṣes-mkhaḥ-ḥgro-maḥi-sgrub-thabs. Or: Jñāneṣvari-sādhana. Tg. RGYUD. XXIII. 129—141.

⁹⁶¹) Ḥin-gcig-gi dkaḥ-ḥgrel. Ibid. 173—177.

⁹⁶²) rdzogs-rim = saṃpanna-krama.

It is said moreover that he is the author of the *Pradīpa-uddyeṣṭana-abhisamdhī-prakāṣika-vyākhyā-ṭikā*⁹⁸³), but we must examine whether this is chronologically correct or not. —

The Teacher Nāgabodhi.

As concerns the teacher Nāgabodhi who was likewise the pupil of the master Nāgārjuna, tradition says that he was versed in all the heterodox and orthodox philosophical systems, beheld the countenance of his tutelary deity and attained the magic power of longevity, owing to which he abides up to this day on the Ṣṛī-parvata. He has composed the *Guhyasamāja-maṇḍala-vidhi*⁹⁸⁴), the *Pañca-krama-ṭikā*⁹⁸⁵) and many other works. —

The Teacher Candragomin.

The teacher Candragomin was born in the east, in Bengal, and, whilst still a youth, became greatly learned. Having married Tārā, the daughter of the king of Vārendra, he lived with her (for some time). Once, as the maid-servant was calling his wife: Tārā!, he pondered and came to the insight that it was unsuitable that the wife and the tutelary deity (who was the goddess Tārā) should bear one name. He accordingly prayed (his wife) to forgive him, and made his intention to depart. He was however seized by his friends who asked him why he was going away and he told them the reason why. The king came to know this and said: — If he will not live with my daughter, throw him into the Ganges. — The hangmen, accordingly, prepared to cast him into the river, but the teacher addressed a prayer to Tārā, and the latter miraculously produced an island in the middle of the Ganges, showed her countenance quite clearly, and blessed him. And up to this day, tradition calls that spot “the island of Candra”⁹⁸⁶). Thereafter he was rescued by fishermen and, the king of Vārendra having become devoted to him, he grew to be an object of reverence and finally came to Nālanda. There he was asked what sciences he knew. He replied that he knew the grammar of Pāṇini [114 a.],

⁹⁸³) Sgron-gsal-gyi ḡgrel-bḡad. Tg. RGYUD. XXX and XXXI.

⁹⁸⁴) Gsañ-ḡdus-kyi dkyil-chog. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIII, 149—165.

⁹⁸⁵) Tg. RGYUD. XXXIV. 174—212.

⁹⁸⁶) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 150, 151.

the *Mañjuṣrī-nāma-saṃgīti*⁹⁶⁷), and the hymn of 150 verses⁹⁶⁸). (The monks) accordingly understood that he was greatly learned, bade him welcome and bestowed great honour upon him. At that time he composed many short tracts on medicine and the like. But the most revered Lord of the World⁹⁶⁹) himself bade him to commence the composition of numerous Mahāyānistic treatises, and after that he wrote the Commentary on the *Candrapradīpa*⁹⁷⁰), the *Kāya-traya-avatāra* and many other works.

At that time there was (in Nālanda) a pupil, a monk of the Kṣatriya race who had trespassed, and had committed many sinful deeds. In order to subdue (this monk, Candragomin) wrote the *Çiṣya-lekha*⁹⁷¹). He has moreover composed a grammatical treatise consisting of 32 chapters and 700 ṣlokaś⁹⁷²), in accordance with the rules of Pāṇini. The supplementary parts of this work are: —

The *Dhātu-sūtra*⁹⁷³),
The *Upasarga-vṛtti*⁹⁷⁴),
The *Varṇa-sūtra*⁹⁷⁵),
The *Uṇādi-sūtra*⁹⁷⁶),

Rules concerning the case- and the tense-terminations etc. In such a manner he subdued the trespassing pupil. Once he chanted a hymn in praise of Mañjughoṣa, and the head of the latter's statue bent down and listened. (The hymn of Candragomin) accordingly became known as the "Praise of Mañjughoṣa with the bent neck"⁹⁷⁷).

At that time the teacher Candrakīrti had composed a fine grammatical treatise in verse called *Samantabhadra*⁹⁷⁸). Candragomin thought that, as his work was not so good, it should be destroyed, and threw it into a well. But the Lord of the World said to him: — Thou hast composed (this treatise), being possessed

⁹⁶⁷) (Hjam-dpal)-mtshan-brjod. Tg. RGYUD. LIX. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārā-nātha*, p. 152. ⁹⁶⁸) Ibid.

⁹⁶⁹) Rje-btsun-hjig-rten-dbañ-phyug = Bhaṭṭāraka Lokeṣvara, i. e. Avalokita. ⁹⁷⁰) Zla-ba-sgron-maḥi hḡrel-pa.

⁹⁷¹) Slob-ma-la-sprin-ba. Tg. MDO. XXXIII.

⁹⁷²) The fundamental Vyākaraṇa-sūtra of Candragomin (Tg. MDO. CXVI. 1—36) has 6 chapters.

⁹⁷³) Dbyiñs-kyi-mdo. Tg. MDO. CXXXII. 312—323.

⁹⁷⁴) Tg. MDO. CXVI. 36—41.

⁹⁷⁵) Yi-geñi-mdo. Ibid. 41—42.

⁹⁷⁶) Ibid. 365—369. ⁹⁷⁷) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 153.

⁹⁷⁸) Kun-tu-bzañ-po. Cf. Cordier, *Index du Bstan-hgyur*, II. p. 488.

of high altruistic thoughts⁸⁷⁹), (owing to which) it will be of great help (to the living beings). Therefore draw it out again. This Candragomin did. The well (into which he had thrown the book) became known as the well of Candra, and it was said that he who drank from it became possessed of acute intellectual faculty⁸⁸⁰). Thereafter (Candragomin) entered upon a controversy with Candrakīrti. After having asked the Lord of the World what answer he was to give that day, [114 b.] he accordingly replied in such a manner. Candrakīrti became possessed of doubt, hastened out and saw the Lord of the World as he was teaching (Candragomin) how to answer. — O great Saint, — prayed Candrakīrti, — do not do so this day. — And (the form of Avalokiteṣvara turned to stone, remaining with the forefinger erected. Up to this day (that statue of Avalokiteṣvara) is known as “the most merciful with the raised fore-finger”⁸⁸¹). In such a manner Candragomin, possessed of great merit, exercised his activity as a guardian of the Doctrine. —

The Teacher Candrakīrti.

Candrakīrti (in his turn) was born in the south in Samana. Having got thoroughly trained in the subjects of the Sūtras and Tantras, and relying upon the word of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva⁸⁸²), he became a great Paṇḍit, was blessed during 500 successive births and had the power of milking a cow that was drawn on a picture⁸⁸³) as well as that of hurling a column of stone without touching it with his hand.

He has composed the Commentaries on the Mādhyamika treatises (of Nāgārjuna) and on the *Catuḥṣatikā*⁸⁸⁴), — the main text of the *Mādhyamika-avatāra* and its Commentary. The most celebrated of his works are the (2) Commentaries which are spoken of as “those which resemble the sun and the moon”. These are: The Commentary on the *Mūla-mādhyamika*⁸⁸⁵) called the *Prasanna-padā*⁸⁸⁶) and the Commentary on the *Guhya-samāja-tantra*, bearing the title of *Pradīpa-uddiyotana*^{886a}). These are known as “the

⁸⁷⁹) *thag-paḥi-bsam-pa* = *adhyācāya*.

⁸⁸⁰) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 155. ⁸⁸¹) Ibid. p. 154.

⁸⁸²) *Klu-sgrub yab-sras*. ⁸⁸³) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 148.

⁸⁸⁴) Tg. MDO. XXIV. 33 b.—273 b.

⁸⁸⁵) The *Mūla-mādhyamika* is called here by the abridged title *Rtsa-ṣe* i. e. *Rtsa-baḥi-ṣes-rab* = *Prajñā-mūla*. ⁸⁸⁶) *Tshig-gsal*.

^{886a}) *Gsañ-hdus-hgrel-pa* *Sgron-gsal*. Tg. RGYUD. XXVIII. 1—233.

2 most clear works". Now, Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti are the chief representatives of the Mādhyamika-prāsaṅgika school⁹⁸⁷) or of the Loka-prasiddhi-varga-cāri-mādhyamikas⁹⁸⁸). The teacher Bhavya and the rest are the Mādhyamika-sautrāntikas⁹⁸⁹). Jñānagarbha⁹⁹⁰), Ṣṛigupta^{990a}), Čāntirakṣita⁹⁹¹), Kamalaçila⁹⁹²), Hari-bhadra⁹⁹³) and others belong to the school of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas⁹⁹⁴). The theory of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva has been explained (from the standpoint of these different branches of the Mādhyamika school). It is said in the *Prasannapadā*⁹⁹⁵):

Nāgārjuna was endowed with the instructions of Rāhulabhadra, and Āryadeva has followed the word (of Nāgārjuna). They have clearly expounded the precepts of the Doctrine during a long period of time. The pupils of these have analysed (this Mādhyamika) teaching and have become fully possessed of a discriminative mind. These have likewise vanquished all the heretics [115 a.] and have for a long time expounded the Doctrine⁹⁹⁶).

⁹⁸⁷) Dbu-ma-thal-hgyur-ba.

⁹⁸⁸) Hjiḡ-rten-grags-sde-spyod-paḡi dbu-ma-pa.

⁹⁸⁹) Mdo-sde-spyod-paḡi-dbu-ma-pa.

⁹⁹⁰) Ye-ces-sñin-po.

^{990a}) Dpal-sbas.

⁹⁹¹) Ži-ba-htsho.

⁹⁹²) Padmaḡi-naḡ-tshul.

⁹⁹³) Seḡ-ge-bzaḡ-po.

⁹⁹⁴) Rnal-hbyor-spyod-paḡi-dbu-ma-pa.

⁹⁹⁴) Cf. above note 936.

⁹⁹⁵) In the work of Tsoḡ-kha-pa's pupil Khai-dub (Mkhas-grub) called Ston-thun-bskal-bzaḡ-miḡ-hbyed (Tsaḡ edition vol. I. 37 a. 1 sqq.) we have a short account concerning the Mādhyamika-ācāryas and their different points of view. It is said as follows: — The standpoint of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva was that of the Prāsaṅgikas. However (in their works) no direct discrimination between the Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika point of view and no refutation of the former has been made. Subsequently, the teacher Buddhapālita composed his Commentary on the Mūla-mādhyamika and explained the theory of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva from the Prāsaṅgika standpoint. After that the teacher Bhāvaviveka likewise composed a Commentary on the Mūla-mādhyamika (the Prajñāpradīpa) and made many refutations concerning the points commented by Buddhapālita. It is he who has first founded the Svātantrika system. The followers of each of these 2 (schools i. e. of Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka) are accordingly called by the earlier Tibetan authors "the Mādhyamikas adhering to the different fractions" (Phyogs-ḡdzin-paḡi Dbu-ma-pa = Pakṣa-grāhiḡo Mādhyamikāḡ). Bhāvaviveka has moreover composed independent works of his own, viz. the main aphorisms of the Mādhyamika-hṛdaya (Dbu-ma-sñin-po) with the auto-commentary Tarkajvālā (Rtog-ge-hbar-ba). In these he has expounded the Svātantrika theories and the activity of the Bodhisattvas in detail. Thereupon the teacher Jñānagarbha composed the Svātantrika work Mādhyamika-satyadvaya (or: Satya-dvaya-vibhanga). This teacher, as well as Bhāvaviveka are

Āryadeva's pupil Mātṛceṭa has likewise composed a great number of treatises and has acted for the sake of the Doctrine. We do not however give his biography, for fear that it would take too much place.

The Biography of the Brothers Āryāsanga and Vasubandhu⁹⁹⁷).

(It is known) that the Highest Doctrine had 3 times suffered from foes. For the first time (this happened as follows): — An old woman belonging to the heretics once said: — When the wooden gong of the Buddhists is beaten, from its sound the words "confound! destroy!"⁹⁹⁸) can be distinctly heard. One must see whether such sounds are harmful for us or not. An investigation was accordingly made and the following meaning apprehended: —

Let the brains of the false heretics be confounded
By the beating of this drum of the 3 Jewels,
Who are worshipped by the gods, the Nāgas and the Yakṣas!

(The enraged heretics) then made war (upon the Buddhists) and destroyed the church⁹⁹⁹).

Thereafter, (when it had been restored again) and was to a certain extent thriving, it happened that the king of Central India sent to the Persian king¹⁰⁰⁰) a garment of very fine cloth as a present. But, as on the part (of that garment) which was to cover the heart, there was something resembling a foot-print,

the representatives of the system which maintains the reality of external objects from the Empirical Standpoint and does not admit the existence of introspective perception (*rañ-rig* = *sva-saṃvedana*). Thereafter the teacher Čāntirakṣita composed the Mādhyamika-alaṃkāra and laid the foundation to another school of the Mādhyamikas which denies the Empirical Reality of the External World, acknowledges the introspective perception, but on the other hand does not consider consciousness to have an Ultimate Reality (differing in this from the Yogācāra-vijñānavādins). Thé Mādhyamika-ālokā and the 3 Bhāvanā-krama of Kamaḷaṣīla, as well as the texts of Vimuktasena, Haribhadra, Buddhajñāna-pāda, Abhayākara-gupta, etc. agree with Čāntirakṣita in the main standpoint (which is that of the Yogācāra-mādhyamika-svāntantrika, whereas Bhāvaviveka and Jñānagarbha express the point of view of the Sautrāntika-mādhyamika-svāntantrikas). — As we have seen, Bu-ton counts Jñānagarbha among the Yogācāra-mādhyamikas.

⁹⁹⁷) Thogs-med-sku-mched.

⁹⁹⁸) *hgems*.

⁹⁹⁹) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 81.

¹⁰⁰⁰) Stag-gzig-gi-rgyal-po.

(the Persian king) said that this was an evil charm to harm him, invaded (Central India) and destroyed (the Buddhist temples)¹⁰⁰¹.

Thereupon, after the Doctrine had again enjoyed a period of some prosperity, it happened that 2 heretical beggars came to a Buddhist monastery in search of alms. As (the novices) poured a shower of wash-water upon them, they became enraged and, having propitiated the sun, burned down many Buddhist temples with the sacred texts contained in them¹⁰⁰²). At that time a woman of the Brāhmaṇa caste called Prasannaçilā¹⁰⁰³) had the following thought: — Three times have foes brought harm to the Abhidharma which is the foundation of the Teaching, and no one who would be able to expound it can be found. I, being a woman, am likewise incapable of doing it. But, if I give birth to sons, I will make of them propagators (of the Doctrine). Accordingly, from her union with a Kṣatriya, (a son named) Asanga, and, (later on) from another union with a Brāhmaṇa, (a second son named) Vasubandhu were born. [115 b.]¹⁰⁰⁴). The mother drew on their tongues the letter A and performed all the other rites in order to secure for them an acute intellectual faculty.

When they grew older, they asked about the business of their fathers. But the mother said: — I have not born you for that. You must purify your minds and expound the Doctrine. — Accordingly, the younger brother departed to Kashmir to the teacher Sanghabhadra. The elder in his turn became possessed of the intention of propagating the Doctrine, after having secured the help of Maitreya. In order to propitiate (the latter) he took up his abode in the cave of the mountain Kukkuṭapādapārvata. For 3 years he made his propitiation, but as he did not see the slightest sign of success, he was greatly disappointed. Having gone out, he saw an old man who was making needles out of a pole of iron by rubbing it with a piece of cotton. How have the needles been produced? — asked he. The old man replied: —

If a man possessed of moral strength
Wishes to accomplish something,
He never meets with failure,
However difficult the work may be.

¹⁰⁰¹) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁰²) Ibid. p. 95 sqq.

¹⁰⁰³) Gsal-baḥi-tshul-khrims. Schiefner has: *Prakāṣaṇilā*.

¹⁰⁰⁴) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 107 sqq.

If he does not lose his patience,
He can break mountains with the palm of his hand.

Accordingly, (Asanga) continued his propitiation for another 6 years, and thus spent altogether 9 years (in his meditation). Then he went out and saw how a rock was gradually destroyed by drops of water and by the wings of birds (that constantly touched it in their flight). But, after he had propitiated for 12 years and saw no sign (of success) he became full of grief and went out again. As he was about to go away, he saw a dog; the lower part of its body was eaten by worms, but the upper part (was still free) and it was barking and biting. (Asanga) became full of Commiseration and, seeing that if he were to remove the worms, the latter would perish and if not, — the dog would die, he became resolved to cut flesh from his body and remove (the worms) by attracting them with it. Accordingly, he went to the town called Acinta and, having pledged his mendicant's staff, obtained a golden knife. (With this) he cut off flesh from his body. Then, thinking that if he would take (the worms) with his hand, they would nevertheless perish, he shut his eyes and was about to take them off with his tongue. (At that moment) the dog disappeared, and he beheld Maitreya, full of light. (And thus did he address him): —

O my father, my unique refuge,
I have exerted myself in a hundred different ways,
But nevertheless no result was to be seen.
Wherefore have the rain-clouds and the might of the ocean,
Come only now when, tormented by violent pain,
I am no longer thirsting? [116 a.] —

With such efforts have I tried to propitiate (thee), but not even a sign did appear. Scant is therefore thy Commiseration. — In such a way did he reproach (Maitreya). The Venerable One said: —

Though the king of the gods sends down rain,
A bad seed is unable to grow.
Though the Buddhas may appear (in this world)
He who is unworthy cannot partake of the bliss¹⁰⁰⁵.

I was here from the very beginning, but thou couldst not see me, owing to thy own obscurations. Now, as great Commiseration

¹⁰⁰⁵) Abhisamayālaṅkāra VIII. 10. — *varṣaty api hi parjanyaś caivā' bījāṃ prarohati / samutpāde' pi buddhānāṃ nā' bhavyo bhādrāṃ aṣṇute //*

has become originated in thee, thou hast got purified and canst now behold me. (In order to see) that this is really so, raise me up on thy shoulder and show me (to the people). — Asanga did so, and as Maitreya could not be perceived (by anyone else, Asanga) believed (that his words were true).

Now, what is thy desire? — (asked Maitreya). Asanga replied: — I am searching for instructions, how to expound the Mahāyānistic Doctrine. — Then take hold of my robes, — said (Maitreya) and they rose up to the Tuṣita heavens. (There Asanga) is said to have resided for 1 moment according to the time-calculation of the gods, which moment is equal to 50 or 53 human years. The scholiast of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi* in his turn says that he resided there 6 months and heard (the Doctrine of Maitreya). Accordingly he listened to (the exposition of) the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras, the great *Yogacaryā-bhūmi*, and numerous Mahāyānistic Sūtras. Then he prayed (Maitreya) to compose a treatise elucidating the meaning of these texts and, as a consequence, the 5 works of Maitreya were delivered to him. Such was the state of things according to the teacher Haribhadra and others. In the *Marmakaumudī*¹⁰⁰⁰ we read: — After the (Mahāyānistic) Scripture had been rehearsed, (there were topics) contained in it, which were of exclusively profound meaning and exceedingly hard to apprehend. As there was no possibility of understanding (these subjects), the Saint Maitreya, guided by mercy, in order to make them intelligible, has elucidated them by means of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-ṣāstra*. There are some who say that Maitreya has composed (this treatise) later at the request of Āryāśaṅga. Others say that Haribhadra and the rest commit an error in affirming this, and that it was communicated (to Asanga) after having been composed before. This opinion of the others (we do not share).

Moreover, some consider that [116 b.] according to the point of view of the teacher Ratnākaraṣānti, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*

¹⁰⁰⁰) The work of Abhayākaragupta, one of the 21 Commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Tg. MDO. XI. 3 b. 5—4 a. 1. Cf. also Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāralokā*, MS. Minaev, 57 a. 16—b. 1. sqq. — *vidita-samasta-pravacana-artha-labdha-adhigamo' py Āryāśaṅgeḥ punarukta-bāhulyena apunaruṅkta-pradeṣe' pi pratyeka-pada-vyavaccheda-adarśanena gāmbhīryāt ca Prajñāpāramitārtham unnetum aṣṭatau daurmanasyam anuprāptaḥ / tatas tam uddiṣṭya Maitreyeṇa bhagavatā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtram vyākhyātam Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-ṣāstram ca kṛtam / tae chrutvā punar Āryāśaṅgena Ācārya-Vasubandhu-prabhṛtibhiḥ ca vyākhyātam //*

was likewise composed by Maitreya. However we follow the usual tradition, viz. that Maitreya is the author only of the 5 treatises bearing his name.

Having heard (the exposition of these treatises, Asanga) returned into the human world. Thereafter he composed his great treatise in 5 divisions¹⁰⁰⁷) in which the Mahāyānistic Code, i. e. the chief subjects of the Yogācāra Doctrine, or, (otherwise) all the 3 Codes of Scripture have been thoroughly dealt with. The contents of this work is summarized in the 2 short treatises likewise composed by him¹⁰⁰⁸), the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* being a summary (of the teaching that is) common to all the 3 Vehicles. Some say that, since the teacher Abhayākara-gupta calls the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* a Mahāyānistic treatise, it is not proper to consider it to be a compendium relating to all the 3 Vehicles. There is no mistake in this. It is a Mahāyānistic treatise, but this does not contradict the fact that it demonstrates the subjects that refer to all the 3 Vehicles. Moreover, Āryāśaṅga, having written down the 5 treatises of Maitreya, composed the *Tattva-viniścaya*¹⁰⁰⁹) in which the subjects of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and the *Prajñā-pāramitā* are demonstrated (*en regard*), the Commentary on the *Uttaratantra*¹⁰¹⁰), the Commentary on the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*¹⁰¹¹) and other works. He has attained the 3^d Stage of Bodhisattva perfection and has through this worked for the weal of the Doctrine. It is said in the *Prasphuṭapadā*¹⁰¹²), the work explaining the Small Commentary¹⁰¹³): — The teacher Asanga has attained the 3^d Stage called Prabhākari. — Nevertheless, in order to convert Vasubandhu, he

¹⁰⁰⁷) Cf. vol. I. p. 54, 55, 56.

¹⁰⁰⁸) The Mahāyāna-saṃgraha and Abhidharma-samuccaya. Ibid. p. 56.

¹⁰⁰⁹) De-ñid-rnam-ñes. Cf. the introductory verses to Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-lokā — bhāṣyam tattva-viniścaye racitavān prajñāvatām agrāṇi / Āryāśaṅga iti prabhāṣvara-yaçāḥ*. . . Tson-kha-pa in his *Legs-bçad shññ-po*, Tsañ Ed. 20 b. 2—4. is of the opinion that this *Tattva-viniścaya* could not have been composed by Asanga.

¹⁰¹⁰) Known in the Tibetan tradition by the abridged title *Thogs-ḥgrel* = Asanga-vṛtti, its full title being *Mahāyāna-uttaratantra-çāstra-vyākhyā*. (Tg. MDO. XLIV.) Translated by me with the main work and published in the *Acta Orientalia*, vol. IX. Cf. my introduction to it, p. 90 and 93.

¹⁰¹¹) Tg. MDO. XXXIV.

¹⁰¹²) Tg. MDO. VIII. 9 b. 5—6. (N.)

¹⁰¹³) Ḥgrel-chuñ. This is the Commentary of Haribhadra on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (without direct reference to the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*), called *Sphuṭārthā* (Ḥgrel-pa Don-gsal), Tg. MDO. VII.

has taught from the standpoint of the Vijñānavāda¹⁰¹⁴). (In the *Mādhyamika-alamkāra*) it is said: —

The subject-matter here are the 2 Aspects of Reality,
Which are vindicated by Logic and Scripture,
Which have been expounded by Maitreya and Asanga,
And are likewise acknowledged by Nāgārjuna.

In the *Cittamātrālamkāra*¹⁰¹⁵) we have, in the place where this verse is explained, as follows: — Maitreya is a Bodhisattva abiding on the 10th Stage, Asanga is a Bodhisattva on the 3d Stage, and Nāgārjuna is a Bodhisattva who has attained the first Stage^{1015a}).

Now, in the Commentary on the first part of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi*¹⁰¹⁶) it is said: — [117 a.]

I make my salutations to him who is called Asanga,
Who for the sake of helping the living beings,
Has secured, by the force of the Dharmasrotāḥ-samādhi,
The nectar of the Highest Doctrine that poured forth
From that precious vessel, — the mouth of the Saint
Maitreya,

And has drunk it by means of his ears.

And at the end of the *Vivaraṇa-saṃgraha*¹⁰¹⁷): — The Saint Asanga has crossed the sea of his own philosophical Doctrine and that of others, has attained the special form of meditative trance called the Dharmasrotāḥ-samādhi¹⁰¹⁸), and has touched with his head the feet of the Holy Unconquerable (Maitreya) resembling immaculate lotus flowers. — Some say that according to these passages, Asanga was abiding in the state of meditation called Dharmasrotāḥ. As this state exists on the Path of Accumulating Merit¹⁰¹⁹), (Asanga) is not really a Saint, but is conventionally called so, just as a

¹⁰¹⁴) According to the standpoint of the *Mādhyamikas* which is acknowledged by the Tibetan tradition, a Saint (Ārya) who has attained the Stages of Bodhisattva perfection, must in any case be an adherent of the *Mādhyamika* point of view.

¹⁰¹⁵) *Sems-tsam-rgyan*, the work of Ratnākaraçānti. Full title: *Mādhyamika-alamkāra-vṛtti Mādhyamika-pratīpadā-siddhi*. Tg. MDO. LXI. The verse quoted is: fol. 120 a. 1—2. (N.)

^{1015a}) Ibid. fol. 120 a. 5.

¹⁰¹⁶) *Saḥi-stod-hgrel*. Tg. MDO. LIV. 77 b. 4. (N.)

¹⁰¹⁷) Tg. MDO. LIV. 77 a. 7—b. 1.

¹⁰¹⁸) *chos-rgyun-tiñ-ñe-hdzin*.

¹⁰¹⁹) *ishoga-lam* = *sambhāra-mārga*.

cause is sometimes metaphorically designated by the name of the effect (which it produces)¹⁰²⁰).

This is not correct. It is true that the Teacher Haribhadra speaks of the Dharmasrotah-samādhi as attained on the Path of Accumulating Merit. He does not however say that it ceases to exist after that. Therefore (Haribhadra's statement) does not prove the fact of (Asanga's being) a worldling. In the Great Sub-commentary on the *Sūtrālamkāra*¹⁰²¹) it is said that the Dharmasrotah-samādhi ends simultaneously with the Stage of Action in Faith¹⁰²²). And in the Sub-Commentary of Bhadanta Asvabhāva¹⁰²³) we read that the Dharmasrotah-samādhi represents the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues¹⁰²⁴). Now the latter and the Path of Illumination become originated directly one after the other. It is thus perfectly clear that Asanga is a Saint in the direct sense of the word. It is said that the duration of his life was 500 years, but (in reality) he lived 150 years. And the Mahāyānist Doctrine became greatly spread owing to him.

[The Teacher Vasubandhu.]

Vasubandhu received his education in the school of Sangha-bhadra in Kashmir. A great number of Pratyekabuddhas had before expressed in their entreaties the desire that that country should be the place where the Abhidharma was to be greatly spread. Moreover, in the point concerning the medical instructions¹⁰²⁵) (of the *Vinayavastu*) it was foretold to be the most sublime spot, suitable for the highest transcendental contemplation¹⁰²⁶). [117 b.] (Accordingly) some time before, the Arhats Ćāntimān, Kubjita¹⁰²⁷) and many others had composed a treatise called the *Mahāvibhāṣa* containing 100 000 Ćlokas in which the 7 Abhidharma treatises and the Vinaya were summarized. In the *Prabhāvatī*¹⁰²⁸) it is said that this work was composed by Upagupta. In the Commentary of Yaçomitra¹⁰²⁹) the work is called "the Commentary resembling

¹⁰²⁰) *kāraṇe kāryopacārāt*.

¹⁰²¹) Tg. MDO. XLVI.

¹⁰²²) *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi-sa* = *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*.

¹⁰²³) Btsun-pa No-bo-ñid-med-paḥi ḡgrel-bḡad. Tg. MDO. XLV. 110b. 2. (N.)

¹⁰²⁴) *ḡjig-rten-paḥi chos-kyi-mchog* = *laukika-agra-dharma*.

¹⁰²⁵) *Luñ-sman-gyi-gḡzi*.

¹⁰²⁶) *lhag-mthoñ* = *vipaḡyanā*.

¹⁰²⁷) Sgur-po.

¹⁰²⁸) Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 91 b. b, 92 a. 6.

¹⁰²⁹) Rgyal-sras-ma. This is the name by which Yaçomitra's Abhidharma-koḡa-vyākhyā is known in the Tibetan tradition, Rgyal-sras = Rājaputra, being an epithet of Yaçomitra.

the ocean"¹⁰³⁰). This is a poetical comparison of the Vibhāṣā with an ocean. It does not mean that "the Ocean" (Sāgara) is another name for the Vibhāṣā, just as "the Vibhāṣā-Treasury" (Vibhāṣākoṣa)¹⁰³¹ by which name the work is sometimes designated. (Vasubandhu) studied the *Vibhāṣā* and the 7 Abhidharma-treatises and apprehended without difficulty. After that he resolved to go back to India. At that time the customs were surveyed by a Yakṣa who robbed Vasubandhu of the image of his tutelary deity and thrice sent him back. But, as Vasubandhu had no riches except the Doctrine that was in his mind and could not be taken from him, he was at length permitted to pass and came to Nālanda where his elder brother had composed numerous treatises. Having heard the contents of these, (Vasubandhu) said: —

Alas, Asanga, residing in the forest,
Has practised meditation for 12 years.
Without having attained anything by this meditation,
He has founded a system, so difficult and burdensome,
That it can be carried only by an elephant!¹⁰³² —

In such a way he expressed his contempt with the Mahāyānist Doctrine and with the person who expounded it. The elder brother heard about this and, knowing that the incorrect activity (of Vasubandhu) would be of no use (to the latter), resolved to convert him. So he ordered two of his pupils to take the *Daśabhūmaka* and the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśa*, went to the younger brother and said to him: — Recite these in the morning and in the evening. — Vasubandhu, having done as he was ordered, said in the evening: — The Great Vehicle possesses good factors, but the result seems to deviate (from the correct path). — But at daybreak (he spoke otherwise): — The factors and the result are both of them sublime. Cut out this my tongue which has depreciated (such a Doctrine)! [118 a.] Accordingly he sought for a razor to do this, but the 2 pupils said: — Do not seek to cut out thy tongue. Thy elder brother possesses a means for removing thy obscurations. Go therefore to him. — (Vasubandhu) accordingly went and repeatedly listened to the exposition of the Doctrine. When the religious questions were being settled by means of controversy, the younger brother had quick and sudden flashes of idea¹⁰³³), whereas the elder re-

¹⁰³⁰) B. B. 1. 8 — Abhidharma-bhāṣya-sāgara. ¹⁰³¹) Bye-brag-bṣad-mdzod.

¹⁰³²) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 119. ¹⁰³³) *spobs-pa* = *pratiśhāna*.

quired some time in order to give a good answer. What is the cause of this? — asked Vasubandhu. — (Asanga replied): — Thou hast been a Paṇḍit during 500 repeated births, and therefore the Analytic Wisdom acquired by thee in thy previous existence is exceedingly great. With myself this is not the case. Therefore, I give reply after having questioned my tutelary deity. — (Vasubandhu) then prayed to show him (this deity). Asanga said that it was necessary to pray the Most Venerable One (Maitreya) and, having done this, said: — Thou art an ordinary worldly being. As thou hast formerly depreciated the Great Vehicle, thou art not worthy of seeing (Maitreya) in this life. In order to remove thy obscurations, thou must compose numerous Commentaries on the Mahāyānistic sūtras and read the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya*¹⁰³⁴). In the next birth thou shalt then meet (with Maitreya). Thereupon (Vasubandhu) became full of faith in his elder brother and said: —

My brother resembles a Nāga,
And I am like the Cātaka bird.
The king of the Nāgas sends down rain,
But it does not enter the beak of the bird. —

He then secured that mystic power which is peculiar to the word of Maitreya, composed the aphorisms of the *Abhidharmakośa* and sent them with presents to Sanghabhadra. The pupils of the latter said: — The words “so they say”, “this is affirmed”¹⁰³⁵) (which Vasubandhu uses when quoting the opinion of the Vaibhāṣikas with which he does not agree) show a depreciation of our philosophical system. But (the teacher said) that Vasubandhu, being skilful in composing treatises, had only used poetical forms of expression. He greatly rejoiced and composed a Commentary (on the *Abhidharmakośa*) in accordance with the Sūtras. Later on (Vasubandhu) wrote his own Commentary (on the *Kośa*) and sent it (to Sanghabhadra). The latter said: — This Commentary refutes the main text, is itself in conflict with Scripture and Logic, and can be defeated by means of both. One must make (Vasubandhu) destroy it with his own hands. [118 b.] Accordingly, he composed a treatise containing his objections (with the work of Vasubandhu) and then resolved to go to India. Vasubandhu heard about this and thought: — The teacher Sanghabhadra is profoundly versed in the

¹⁰³⁴) Gtsug-tor-mam-rgyal. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 121.

¹⁰³⁵) *lo* or *grag* = *kila*. Cf. *Abh. kośa*. I. kār. 3.

Doctrine of the Vaibhāṣikas. It is therefore difficult to refute him and, moreover it is unsuitable that I should vanquish him. I would better go to Nepal, having declared that I go to see the self-originated sanctuary. He accordingly departed to Nepal. Thereafter the teacher Sanghabhadra set forth with the numerous monks who were his adherents, so that the horizon was red from the colour of their religious robes, and arrived at Nālanda where he attained Nirvāṇa. —

The teacher Vasubandhu, whilst he was residing in Nepal, once came to see a monk called Handu who, though bearing the outward attributes of a monk, did not act according to the religious rules and obeisances and carried (on his shoulder) a pot of wine. Alas! the Doctrine will undergo ruin, — said Vasubandhu, became full of grief, recited the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī* in the reverse order and died. A monument was erected at that place, which is said to exist till the present day. —

In short (Vasubandhu) entered the religious order after having been a high-born representative of the Brāhmaṇa caste, he had been a Paṇḍit during 500 previous births, had apprehended the meaning of 99 or 80 divisions of the *Çatasāhasrikā* and appreciated them in his mind, had recited aloud for 12 days, having confined himself in a tub of oil, was possessed of the wealth [*vasu*] of the Highest Wisdom and, having propagated the Doctrine out of mercy, had become the friend [*bandhu*] of the living beings. It is accordingly said¹⁰³⁶): —

It (the *Abhidharmakoṣa*) is composed by him who is called
Vasubandhu,

Who, being the highest of Sages, was spoken of by the
living world

As the Second Buddha, and was the true friend of the living
beings. —

We read moreover in the Commentary on the first part of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi*¹⁰³⁷): —

The Saint Asanga [119 a.] has adorned that enchanted tree
which is the Buddha.

With the rain of the flowers of words that spring forth
from its branches which are the sermons (of the Lord).

¹⁰³⁶) *Abhidharmakoṣa-vyākhyā*, B. B. 1. 4—6.

¹⁰³⁷) Tg. MDO. LIV. 77 b. 4—5. (N.)

His younger brother represents the treasury of Wisdom and is full of glory.

It is he, the most venerable, to whom I make my salutations. —

The teacher thus greatly praised, has composed the following works: —

1. The main aphorisms of the *Abhidharmakośa* and the Commentary thereon which explain the Scripture of the first period and investigate it by the sharp weapon of Logic,

2. The Commentary on the text of the (3) *Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtras* in which the subjects of the Scripture of the intermediate period are demonstrated from the idealistic standpoint¹⁰³⁹),

3. The 8 *Prakaraṇas* in which the Latest Scripture is spoken of as being of direct meaning¹⁰³⁹).

Moreover, he has composed numerous Commentaries on Sūtras, viz. the *Daśabhūmaka*,¹⁰⁴⁰,

the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśa*¹⁰⁴¹),

the *Gayāśīrṣa*¹⁰⁴²),

the *Ṣaṇmukha-dhāraṇī*¹⁰⁴³),

the *Caturdharmaka*¹⁰⁴⁴), etc.

Furthermore, his is the Commentary on the *Dharma-dharma-tā-vibhanga*, as well as numerous other works. In the Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* it is said:¹⁰⁴⁵)

¹⁰³⁹) Cf. vol. I. p. 53. According to Tsoñ-kha-pa's Gser-phreñ, (Labran Edition I. 5 a. 4. sqq.) and the Skabs-brgyad-ka of Jam-yañ-žad-pa (Chilutal Edition I. 5 b. 6) the standpoint of Bu-ton regarding the authorship of this work is considered to be incorrect. The said authorities maintain that the author of this Commentary on the *Prajñā-pāramitā* was not Vasubandhu, but the Kashmirian Daṃṣṭrāsena, as is acknowledged by the older tradition.

¹⁰³⁹) *ñes-don* = *nūtartha*. Cf. vol. I. p. 56, 57.

¹⁰⁴⁰) Tg. MDO. XXXIV. 130—335. (Pek.)

¹⁰⁴¹) Tg. MDO. XXXV.

¹⁰⁴²) Tg. MDO. XXXIV. 90—96. (Pek.)

¹⁰⁴³) Ibid. 81—83. (Pek.)

¹⁰⁴⁴) Ibid. 83—84. (Pek.)

¹⁰⁴⁵) Cf. above, note 1009. — *bhāṣyaṃ tattva-viniṣṭhaye racitavān prajñāvatām agrāṇi Āryasāṅga iti prabhāṣavara-yaśās tat-kartṛ-sāmarthyataḥ / bhāvābhāva-vibhāga-pakṣa-nipuṇa-jñānābhīmānonnata ācāryo Vasubandhur arthakathane prāptādarah paddhatau* // The *paddhati* (*gñāñ-hgrel*) mentioned by Haribhadra in this verse is considered by Bu-ton as being the Commentary on the 3 *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras* (Tg. MDO. XIV) just mentioned. — Tsoñ-kha-pa is of the opinion that this *paddhati* is a separate Commentary on the *Pañcaviṃṣati-sāhasrikā*. He says that Bu-ton has confounded this text with the Commentary on the 3 *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, owing to the fact of its being sometimes designated by the title *Gnod-hjoms* which is likewise applied to the latter Commentary.

The Saint Asanga endowed with the most magnificent glory,
And being the foremost of those possessed of Highest Wisdom,
Has composed the Commentary establishing the true state
of things¹⁰⁴⁶;

Inspired by this work, the teacher Vasubandhu, exceedingly
proud

Of his knowledge, skilful in the field of discrimination
Of that which is a reality by itself and not, (has composed)
His Commentary and obtained fame by his exposition of
the meaning.

According to the tradition, this teacher had 4 pupils who were
even more learned than himself¹⁰⁴⁷). These are: —

1. The Teacher Sthiramati^{1047a}).

This was a Paṇḍit more learned (than Vasubandhu) in the Abhidharma. At the time when the teacher Vasubandhu resided in Bhāgavihāra, sitting in a brazen tub filled with oil and reading aloud the 80 divisions of the *Āstasāhasrikā*, a dove was constantly listening to him. [119 b.] Finally, this dove died and was reborn in Daṇḍakāraṇya¹⁰⁴⁸) as the son of a Ādṛa. Immediately after he was born, he asked: — Where is my teacher? — Who is thy teacher?, — was the question. — Vasubandhu, — said he. Thereupon the father, having inquired from the merchants who were going to Central India, came to know that (Vasubandhu) was residing there. Accordingly, when the boy grew a little older, he went to the teacher Vasubandhu. The latter began by teaching to him the alphabet, and the boy studied, till he became proficient in the 5 sciences. Whilst he was still a child, he made an offering to the statue of Tārā that was at Nālanda, by putting into the hand (of the statue) a handful of beans, thinking (that the goddess) would eat them. He accordingly presented his beans, but they rolled down. Again he offered them and again they rolled down. Thinking that it was unsuitable for him to eat himself, if the goddess did not accept his offering, he presented again and again. And, as the beans again rolled down, the child began to weep. Then the goddess appeared directly before him and said: — Weep not; I have blessed thee. Therefore go home in peace! —

¹⁰⁴⁶) Tattva-viṇṇaya, Cf. above.

^{1047a}) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 129.

¹⁰⁴⁷) *rañ-ṭas-mkhas-pa*.

¹⁰⁴⁸) *Mthah-ḥkhob-ḥdra-ma*.

After that he became possessed of unimpeded Highest Wisdom. That statue, in its turn, became known as "Tārā with the beans".

This teacher has studied the *Ratnakūṭa* up to the 49th chapter and it is said that he has composed a Commentary to it¹⁰⁴⁹). At that time the fame of his learning became widely spread. The king Āṣṭha, the alms-giver of the teacher Guṇaprabha, once asked who was at that time famous in the field of the Doctrine? — The answer was: —

The venerable Guṇaprabha has been made a Paṇḍit through royal grace,

But only the teacher Sthiramati is the one who has mastered all the sciences.

This teacher has composed the Commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa* called the *Karakāṣṇi*¹⁰⁵⁰) [120 a.], the Commentary on the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, the Commentaries on the 8 treatises (of Vasubandhu) and numerous other works.

A certain Tibetan mentions the following tradition: — After the (heretical) beggar had, by propitiating the sun, caused the sacred texts to be burnt, the teacher Sthiramati, having recited the *Ratnakūṭa* by heart, became full of pride and said: —

If you put my wisdom on one side,
And the knowledge of others on the opposite,
And weigh both on a balance,
My wisdom will turn to be the heavier. —

As the consequence of this pride he became reborn as a pig. Having examined the sound of his grunting, he thought: —

Before, I have been the teacher Sthiramati,
But now, owing to my pride,
Have been reborn in the belly of a sow.
However, afterwards, when I have died,
I will depart to the region of Tuṣita. —

According to my opinion, this (legend) is contradictory as regards time. Moreover, the persons of whom the Buddha had foretold that they were to be the guardians of the Doctrine, cannot fall into Evil Births.

The pupil of Sthiramati was Pūrṇavardhana¹⁰⁵¹), and it is said

¹⁰⁴⁹) Tg. MDO. XXXVII. 244—350. (Pek.)

¹⁰⁵⁰) Tg. MDO. CXXIX. and CXXX.

¹⁰⁵¹) Gañ-ba-spel.

that the pupils of the latter were Jinamitra and Çilendrabodhi^{1051a}). This however must be examined.

The pupil of Vasubandhu who proved greater than his teacher in the field of Logic, was —

2. The Venerable Dignāga.

He was of Brāhmaṇic caste and was ordained by a teacher of the Vātsīputriya sect. Having received a perfect education in the school of worldly sciences, he received from his preceptor the instructions about the concentrated meditation for the removal (of the Obscurations). Then he was told to meditate over the principle of the Ego which was said to be inexpressible as being neither identical with the groups of elements, nor differing from them¹⁰⁵²). Having accordingly practised meditation, he could nowhere find such an Ego. Thinking that he was possessed of internal and external Obscurations, he kindled four great fires at the four directions and stripped his body of its clothing. (Having done this), he opened his eyes as wide as he could, but in spite of all his searches throughout the 10 quarters of the sky, he did not find the Ego. Whilst he was thus acting, he came to be seen by his friends who inquired [120 b.] the preceptor about this. The preceptor asked Dignāga wherefore he was doing so, and the answer was: — I am searching for the Ego. — The preceptor said: — Thou art overthrowing our own philosophical system. Therefore, be gone! — I have the power of refuting the preceptor by means of Logic, — thought Dignāga, — but it is not suitable for me to do so. Accordingly, he departed and finally came to the teacher Vasubandhu. With the latter he studied the texts of the 3 Vehicles, and became especially versed in the *Vijñānavāda* and in Logic. Thereafter the teacher, (knowing that) the cause of the Phenomenal Life of the living beings was the ignorance of the Truth, made it his intention to remove this (ignorance) and bring about the origination of its antidote, i. e. Highest Wisdom. For this sake he composed the Commentary on

^{1051a}) Cf. Cordier, Index du Bstan-hgyur II. p. 396 (on vol. LXVIII.) — Pūrṇa-vardhana alias élève de Sthiramati, et maître de Jinamitra et Çilendrabodhi. The editors of the Peking Tanyur acknowledge the tradition in regard of which Bu-ton expresses doubt.

¹⁰⁵²) This is the standpoint of the Vātsīputriyas. Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 31, note 1.

the *Abhidharmakośa*¹⁰⁵³), the Commentary on the *Guṇāparyanta-stotra*^{1053a}), the *Ālambana-parikṣā*¹⁰⁵⁴) and other fragmentary works, 100 in number. But, as these treatises were mere fragments (without any system) he resolved to compose the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* in which (all the small treatises) would be united in one. Accordingly, in the cavern known by his name, he wrote on the side of a rock: —

I salute him who is the personified Logic,
Who pursues the weal of the living beings,
The Teacher, the Blessed One, the Protector¹⁰⁵⁵).
And, in order to demonstrate the means of Logical Proof,
I shall unite here under one head

The different fragments from all my other treatises¹⁰⁵⁶). —

As he thus wrote down just this salutation and that which he intended to expound, the earth trembled, a light blazed forth, a tremendous sound of thunder was heard, the legs of the heretical teachers became stiff like wood, and many other ominous signs appeared. At that time a heretical teacher named Kṛṣṇamunirāja¹⁰⁵⁷) was residing in the neighbourhood. This (teacher), perceiving with his most subtle supernatural faculty of vision, understood that (all the ominous signs) were produced by the force of Dignāga's words. Full of envy, he came by the track of the teacher when the latter had gone out for alms, and twice rubbed out the inscription. [121 a.] The teacher therefore wrote down the verse for a third time, and at the end: — Who has rubbed out this verse which has been written down by me? If this has been done out of mere mockery and jesting, one ought not to do so, for my verse pursues a great aim. If it is out of envy, (then it is likewise useless), since the verse is in my mind and cannot be rubbed out (from it). But

¹⁰⁵³) *Abhidharma-kośa-marma-pradīpa*, Tg. MDO. LXX. 144—286. The text in the Tanyur represents nothing, but an abridged rendering of Vasu-bandhu's auto-commentary.

^{1053a}) Tg. BSTOD. I. 234—237. The Stotra itself is the work of Ratnadāsa

¹⁰⁵⁴) Tg. MDO. XCV. 177—179.

¹⁰⁵⁵) The Sanskrit text of the first half of this verse is preserved in Yaçomitra's *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, B. B. p. 3. — *pramāṇa-bhūṭāya jagad-dhītaiṣiṇe praṇamya cāstre sugatāya tēyine* /

¹⁰⁵⁶) Iyengar restores this as follows: — *pramāṇa-siddhyai sva-kṛti-prakīrṇanāt nibadhyate viprasṛtam samuccitam* // Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 132, 133, etc.

¹⁰⁵⁷) Nag-po-thub-rgyal. *Tārānātha* has simply Kṛṣṇa.

if he (who has done this) is able to enter upon controversy in order to upset (my theses), let him show himself and we shall discuss. — So did he write. Again the ominous signs appeared and again (the heretic) came. Seeing the words “we shall discuss” he remained there. When the teacher, having made his turn for alms, came back, they met, and the Doctrine (of each of them) was made the pledge of conquest. So they began to dispute, and the heretic was vanquished twice and thrice. (Then the teacher said): — Thou must now adopt my Doctrine. The heretic was enraged, caused flames to burst out from his mouth, and burned down all the requisites of the teacher; the latter himself underwent the danger of being consumed. (Dignāga), full of grief, thought: — Surely, it was my intention to act for the sake of all living beings. But now I see that I cannot further the weal even of one single heretic. Therefore I shall do better if I realize the bliss of Quiescence for the benefit of my own self¹⁰⁵⁸). He threw upward the peace of chalk (with which he had written), thinking: — As soon (as the chalk) touches the ground, I will give up my Creative Effort (of a Bodhisattva). But (the chalk) did not fall on the ground, and (suddenly) Mañjuçrī himself appeared before him saying: — My son, do not, do not do so. Thou hast met with Hinayānistic teachings, and unworthy thoughts have become originated in thee. Know thou that this host of heretics can do no harm to this thy work. I will be thy protector till the time when thou shalt attain the Stages (of a Bodhisattva). And in future times thy work will be the unique authority¹⁰⁵⁹ for all scientific treatises. In such a manner, as some say, did (Mañjuçrī) grant his assistance (to Dignāga). In Dharmottara’s Commentary on the *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*¹⁰⁶⁰) it is said: — [121 b.] At the time when the teacher Dignāga was practising meditation in a solitary cavern, in one of the Stages (of this meditation) he became averse to the Saṃsāra and possessed of the desire of turning away from the cause of the living beings and of attaining deliverance exclusively for himself. At that moment the Saint Mañjuçrī appeared before him and said: — My son, thou hast become possessed of a state of mind fearing every contact with sinful beings. Accordingly, though thy mind has the power of helping all that lives, thou nevertheless showest indiffe-

¹⁰⁵⁸) I. e. seek the salvation of the Hinayānist Saint.

¹⁰⁵⁹) Lit. “the eye”.

¹⁰⁶⁰) Tg. MDO. CIX and CX.

rence (to their cause). Wherefore is this so? — The answer was: — O Lord, this Phenomenal Life is endowed with much suffering and is hard to bear. I am unable to sustain it, and my mind that is attached to the sinful living beings, becomes unsteady. I see thee now, but of what use will this be (to me) if thou dost not bless me? — Mañjuçrī replied: — My son, as long as thou hast not attained the Stages of a Bodhisattva, I myself will be thy guide. — Having spoken thus, he became invisible. — In the Commentary of the Kashmirian Jñānaçrī¹⁰⁶¹) we read: — As long as thou hast not attained the state of a Buddha. —

The teacher (Dignāga), accordingly, composed the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* with its autocommentary, refuted all the heretics, and greatly furthered the spread of the Doctrine. One of his pupils was Içvarasena¹⁰⁶²) who was versed in the 5 branches of science and composed a Subcommentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. —

[The Teacher Dharmakīrti.]

The pupil of Içvarasena was Dharmakīrti. The latter was born in the southern kingdom of Cūḍāmaṇi¹⁰⁶³) in a heretical Brāhmaṇic family and, while still a child, became well trained in grammar. Once, as he took from his uncle, the heretical teacher Kumārila¹⁰⁶⁴) the garments of a Brāhmaṇic heretical ascetic [122 a.], the uncle spoke abusively to him and drove him away. The teacher then made his resolve to vanquish all the heretics. Accordingly, he took orders in the Buddhist church, received the necessary training, and then expressed his special wish of studying the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* with the teacher Içvarasena 3 times. Having heard to its exposition, he first understood it in the conception of Içvarasena. The second time he understood it so, as Dignāga himself (intended its meaning to be), and seeing that there were errors in the views of Içvarasena, he prayed to expound it a third time. (Içvarasena) said: — Dignāga had no other pupil who were like me. I myself have no other pupil akin to thee. It is not the custom to give an explanation on every separate point. I have commented twice. There is no use of explaining now (the dubious points) exclusively. There are other affairs of a Paṇḍit that are to be attended

¹⁰⁶¹) Ibid. CX. ¹⁰⁶²) Dbañ-phyug-sde.

¹⁰⁶³) Gtsug-gi-nor-bu.

¹⁰⁶⁴) Gžon-nu-ma-len. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 177. note 5.

to. Prepare stuff for a wick and oil (for a lamp), and in the evening I shall explain again. (Dharmakīrti) did so. After having perfectly cognized that the effect makes it possible to cognize the character of the cause¹⁰⁸⁵) (that has produced it) he told this to the teacher in the form of a *pūrvapakṣa*. Içvarasena was delighted and said: — Now take the part of an opponent (*pūrvapakṣa*) against the erroneous points of my system and compose a Commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. — In such a way he expressed his consent. —

Thereafter, the teacher, in order to apprehend the secret terms of the Sāṃkhya system, assumed the form of a slave, became the servant of his uncle's wife and, as the latter was very pleased with him, he told her that it was necessary for him to inquire about the weak points of the system. She said: — Ask thou at the time of merriment and thou shalt apprehend. Accordingly, he fastened a cord to the leg of the woman. At every difficult point he pulled the cord, and (the woman having told him), he apprehended all that he wanted, [122 b.] came to know the secret points of the system¹⁰⁸⁶), and became known as superior (to all his adversaries). At that time he issued the following proclamation: — If there is somewhere a learned man, may he enter upon dispute (with me). — After this had been made known, the greater part (of the heretical teachers) fled to other countries. Those who tried to dispute were vanquished by (the words of) the Doctrine, entered the Path of it and made the following solemn utterance; —

If the sun of sublime speech
That is called Dharmakīrti goes down,
The elements of virtue that were awakened will die
And all that is sinful will again rise up. —

And those who sung his praise, said: —

We salute the teacher,
Him who is called Dharmakīrti,
Who is preeminent by vanquishing his adversaries
Amongst the heretics, skilful in Logic and Speech.

Thereafter the teacher travelled through many countries and cities and finally came to the gates (of the residence) of the king Ut-

¹⁰⁸⁵) I. e. the *kārya-anumāna*.

¹⁰⁸⁶) Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 177.

phullapuṣpa¹⁰⁶⁷). The king asked: — Who is at present famed as a Paṇḍit? — (The teacher) replied: —

O Utphullapuṣpa, thou who art endowed with great merit, say

Who is victorious in all the countries except me,

Who am possessed of perfect Wisdom (like) Dignāga,

Of purest speech like Candragomin,

And am skilful in the prosody that comes from the poet
Cūra?!^{1067a}) —

Art thou Dharmakīrti? — asked the king. — By this name I am known, — was the answer. The king then invited him to reside (with him) and became his alms-giver. After that (Dharmakīrti) composed his 7 treatises¹⁰⁶⁸) and, finally, an auto-commentary on the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārtika*. These treatises became current in the various schools, but (the scholars) for the greater part did not understand them. There were however a few who did apprehend their meaning, but these, moved by envy, declared them to be incorrect and fastened them to the tail of a dog. But the teacher said: — The dog will make its way through villages and hamlets, and the treatises will in such a manner become spread about. And, as they say, he wrote at the head of the *Pramāṇavārtika* as follows: — [123 a.] The living beings for the greater part are attached to that which is base and are not possessed of wisdom and energy. Therefore they not only care not for sublime words, but, polluted by envy, show hatred (in regard of them). For this reason, the thought that this (treatise) will be of help to others does not exist with me. But the mind which, during a long period of time, has become accustomed to fine words, will find delight in it, since it arouses its zeal. —

After that he ordered the Paṇḍit Devendrabuddhi¹⁰⁶⁹) to compose a Commentary (on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika*. Devendrabuddhi did this once and gave it (to the teacher) for review, but (Dharmakīrti) washed it away with water. Devendrabuddhi wrote it another time, but (the teacher) burnt it with fire. After having composed it again, Devendrabuddhi presented it to the teacher saying: — The greater part (of the hearers) are unworthy and time does not

¹⁰⁶⁷) Me-tog-rgyas-pa. Tārānātha (Schiefner p. 181, note 3) has Me-tog-kun-tu-rgyas-pa.

^{1067a}) Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁸) Cf. vol. I. p. 44, 45.

¹⁰⁶⁹) Lha-dbañ-blo.

wait. Therefore, as I have been instructed, I have made a summary and have composed here a commentary on the difficult points. — Dharmakīrti said: — The meaning which is expressed by suggestions and indirectly does not appear as it should be, but that which is expressed directly has a correct form. — However, thought he, — my Logic will never be rightly understood. — And, as runs the tradition, he added at the end of the *Pramāṇa-vārtika*: — Just as a river disappears in the ocean, so (this my science) will disappear and perish. —

The pupil of Devendrabuddhi was Čākyabuddhi who composed a Subcommentary. It is said that the pupil of this latter teacher was Prabhābuddhi¹⁰⁷⁰). Some say that Yamāri¹⁰⁷¹) was the pupil of Dharmakīrti himself, that (the author of) the *Pramāṇa-vārtika-alamkāra*^{1071a}) obtained instructions from the dead body (of Dharmakīrti), that the pupil (of this author) was Vinītadeva and the pupil of the latter Dharmottara. But in the Commentary it is said that Dharmottara was the pupil of Dharmākaradatta¹⁰⁷²) and Kalyāṇaraksita¹⁰⁷³). Yamāri has composed a Subcommentary on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika-alamkāra*^{1073a}). Vinītadeva and Čamkarānanda¹⁰⁷⁴) have written Commentaries on the 7 Treatises. [123 b.] So runs the tradition. —

The pupil of Vasubandhu who excelled him in the knowledge of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* was —

3. The Saint Vimuktasena.

He was the principal of many great monasteries, belonged (at first) to the sect of the Kaurukullakas and was the nephew of the teacher Buddhādāsa¹⁰⁷⁵). He attained the Stage of Joy¹⁰⁷⁶), and heard the Word of the Buddha himself. He composed the *Pañca-vimṣati-sāhasrikā-ālokā*¹⁰⁷⁷), a Commentary on the *Abhisamayālamkāra* in correspondence with the *Pañca-vimṣati-sāhasrikā*,

¹⁰⁷⁰) Ḥod-kyi-blo. ¹⁰⁷¹) Xyl. Dza-ma-ri.

^{1071a}) The work of Prajñākaragupta, Tg. MDO. XCIX. and C.

^{1072a}) Chos-ḥbyun-byin. ¹⁰⁷³) Dge-sruñ.

^{1073a}) Full title: *Pramāṇavārtika-alamkāra-ṭīkā* Supariuddhā nāma, Tg. MDO. CIV. 208—345, CV., CVI. and CVII.

¹⁰⁷⁴) Bde-byed-dgaḥ-bo. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁷⁵) Sañs-rgyas-ḥbañs. Cf. Cordier, *Index du Bstan-ḥgyur* II, p. 273.

¹⁰⁷⁶) *rab-tu-dgaḥ-ba* = *pramuditā*.

¹⁰⁷⁷) Ṣi-khri-snañ-ba, Kg. MDO. I. For the full title of this work, cf. vol. I, note 270.

elucidating the subjects of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*. The Bhadanta Vimuktasena has composed the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vārtika*¹⁰⁷⁸), and is considered by some to be the pupil of Ārya Vimuktasena. —

[The Teacher Haribhadra.]

(Now comes) in particular the biography of the teacher Haribhadra. In the eastern Khadira forest, in the trunk of a high tree there dwelt a tree-sprite. Now it happened that a shepherd of that country had died, and his beautiful wife was tending the sheep (in his stead). The tree-sprite mentioned had sexual intercourse with her, and (from their union) a remarkable son was born who was named Gopāla¹⁰⁷⁹). His father put him in possession of precious jewels, and, by the force of his virtues, he obtained the royal power over the whole of the country. It is by this king that the monastery of Nālanda was built. Gopāla's queen who had no power over the king, resolved to bring him under her influence and asked a Brāhmaṇa to give her magical power in order to accomplish this. The Brāhmaṇa brought from the Himālaya an enchanted drug, sealed it and handed it over to (the queen's) slave-girl. The latter, whilst crossing a bridge, fell down, and (the drug) was carried away by the stream, gradually reached the ocean, and was seized by the Nāga king who swallowed it up. Thus, by the force of the drug, the Nāga king, the sovereign of the ocean, became subjected to the power of the queen, united with her, [124 a.] and from this union a son named Çrīmad Dharmapāla¹⁰⁸⁰) was born. — At the time when, at an auspicious hour, the religious ceremonies were performed (over the child), the head of a serpent haughtily rose up. The king, enraged, resolved to cut it off, but a ring was shown to him, on which he beheld the characters of the Nāgas. He then continued to worship and after that devoted himself to the education (of the child)¹⁰⁸¹). When the latter grew up, he became possessed of the desire of building a temple more magnificent than all the others, and inquired the sooth-sayers (on this subject). The sooth-sayers said that it was necessary to make a wick out

¹⁰⁷⁸) Tg. MDO. II.Tsoñ-kha-pa in his Gser-phreñ (Labran Ed. I. 7 a. 6 and further on) expresses doubt as regards the authorship of this work.

¹⁰⁷⁹) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 202.

¹⁰⁸⁰) Dpal-Idan Chos-skyoñ. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 208 and 209. According to Tār. this is not Dharmapāla, but Devapāla.

¹⁰⁸¹) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 209.

of the cotton belonging to ascetics and Brāhmaṇas, to get oil from the houses of kings and merchants, to fetch an oil-burner from a place of penance, and to place the burning lamp before the tutelary deity. — If thou shalt address an entreaty, the serpent of Dharmapāla will throw the lamp away, and at the place (where it falls) the temple must be built. This was done, but there suddenly appeared a raven, that threw the lamp into a lake. (The youth) was distressed, but in the night the king of the Nāgas with 5 serpent-heads came to him and said: — I am thy father, and I will cause this lake to dry up. Thou shalt build thy temple in the place of it. (In order to bring this about) thou must perform sacrifices for 7 weeks. This was accordingly done. On the 21st day the lake was dried up and (in its place) the monastery of Odantapuri was built.

This king had 4 sons, — a king, a Paṇḍit, a magician, and (another) king who was of sinful conduct. The latter feared that he would be deprived of riches, but his father put him in possession of a precious jewel. This (4th son) had himself a son called Devapāla who was possessed of the power of solemn entreaty¹⁰⁸²) and was full of faith in the Prajñā-pāramitā. This (son) stole the jewel of his father and gave it to a monk who was explaining the Pāramitā. The father, having come to know about this, said: — Jewels are necessary for kings, but monks are known to be of scant desires and modest. Thou (O monk) art not like that! — [124 b.] He then ordered the monk to be strangled and took away the jewel. The monk, in his turn, had made the entreaty to become immediately, after his death, reborn as the son of his pupil, the prince (Devapāla). This accordingly took place, and he became the king Mahipāla¹⁰⁸³), one who was full of faith in the Prajñā-pāramitā and searched for the means of expounding it (in the different countries). At that time the teacher Haribhadra who belonged to the Kṣatriya caste took orders, became versed in all the heterodox and orthodox philosophical systems and especially studied during a long period of time the subjects of the Prajñā-pāramitā. Having learned from his preceptor Vairocana-bhadra the means of propitiating Maitreya, he made this propitiation and beheld in a dream a monk of the colour of saffran and of sublime appearance who said to him: — Go thou to east, to Khasarpaṇa. — Having awakened, Haribhadra went there and remained for 3 days fasting and reflecting over his

¹⁰⁸²) *smen-lam-gyi-stobs* = *prañihāna-bala*.

¹⁰⁸³) Sa-skyon.

dream. At day-break he dreamt again and beheld above the fragrant temple¹⁰⁸⁴) of the Odantapuri-vihāra, in the skies, amidst dense masses of clouds, the upper part of the body of a god who, issuing from the clouds, was worshipping with various articles of worship. — What art thou doing? — asked Haribhadra. — I am worshipping Maitreya in order that he should expound the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, — was the answer. Then (Haribhadra) looked during a long time and beheld the countenance of Maitreya who was of the colour of gold, the crown of whose head was adorned with a Caitya and whose right hand was making the gesture¹⁰⁸⁵) peculiar to (the Buddha) who expounds the Doctrine. Having saluted and worshipped him, (Haribhadra) addressed to him the following question: — At present, there are many Commentaries elucidating thy treatise¹⁰⁸⁶). Which of these am I to follow? — Thou must perfectly apprehend the texts of all (the different authors), select all that is correct and compose thyself a separate treatise (of thy own). — Such was the instruction Haribhadra received. Having awakened [125 a.] and worshipped, Haribhadra set forth from the east to the west in order to find an almsgiver (to aid him) in the composition of his works. The king Mahipāla, having heard that the teacher Haribhadra was greatly learned, sent a messenger to invite him. Haribhadra accepted the invitation and composed, in accordance with the Commentary of the Saint (Vimuktasena), the summary of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā* in 8 chapters¹⁰⁸⁷), the Great Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*¹⁰⁸⁸), the Commentary called *Sphuṭārthā*¹⁰⁸⁹) the Commentary on the *Samcaya*¹⁰⁹⁰) called *Subodhinī*¹⁰⁹¹), the *Prajñā-pāramitā-bhāvanā*, etc. So runs the tradition. In the Great Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*¹⁰⁹²) it is said that this work was composed at the monastery of Trikaṭuka¹⁰⁹³) under the patronship of Ćrīmad Dharmapāla. The teacher Prajñā-karamati says: — The master Haribhadra, pursuing the weal of

¹⁰⁸⁴) *gandhola* i. e. *gandhālaya*.

¹⁰⁸⁵) *phyag-rgya* = *mudrā*.

¹⁰⁸⁶) i. e. the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

¹⁰⁸⁷) *Le-brgyad-ma*, Tg. MDO. III, IV, and V.

¹⁰⁸⁸) The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*lōkā. Tg. MDO. VI.

¹⁰⁸⁹) *Don-gsal-hgrel-pa*, Tg. MDO. VII.

¹⁰⁹⁰) Tg. MDO. VII.

¹⁰⁹¹) *Rtogs-par-sla-ba*.

¹⁰⁹²) MS. Minaev, 409 b. 1—6. — *tasmin sarvagunākare Trikaṭuka-ĉrīmad-vihāre cubhe / dānālabdha-mahodayasya karaṇād devasya dharmātmanah ... Ćrī-Dharmapālasya vai / /*

¹⁰⁹³) *Tsha-ba-gsum*. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 219.

the living beings, saw that, in the elucidation of the Prajñā-pāramitā, there were many different opinions expressed in the different works, and that the Commentaries in their explanations were contradicting each other. He accordingly became deeply grieved by this. But, whilst he was abiding in solitude, the most merciful Lord Maitreya, in order to appease his grief, exposed to him the Prajñā-pāramitā in connection with the teaching of the process of Illumination.¹⁰⁹⁴) Such is the tradition I have heard. — The teacher Dharmamitra says that (Haribhadra), having caused pleasure to his teacher for 17 years, was favoured by Maitreya in a dream (who expounded the Doctrine to him). However, the teacher (Haribhadra) himself says that he borrowed (the material for his works) from the 4 great Commentaries and, especially, has based upon the treatises of the 2 Saints (i. e. Asanga and Vimuktasena). [125 b.] It is said in the Great Commentary¹⁰⁹⁴): — Here the explanations of the Saint Asanga etc. have been written down. Therefore it (the Commentary) is to be regarded as authoritative. And: — As I have perceived the meaning, owing to the aid of the Saint Vimuktasena. —

[The Teacher Buddhajñānapāda.]

The pupil (of Haribhadra) was known by the name of Buddhajñānapāda¹⁰⁹⁵) and received the consecration from Mañjuçrī. Once he concealed himself from his teacher in a crowd and lost his eyes (as a punishment), but having begged to forgive him he was given eyes that could see by day and by night. This teacher, at the request of his pupil Guṇamitra, composed the Commentary on the *Saṃcaya*¹⁰⁹⁶). He has written moreover 14 works on the Scripture of the *Guhyasamāja*, — the *Mukhāgama*¹⁰⁹⁷), the *Samantabhadra-sādhana*¹⁰⁹⁸), the *Samantabhadrā*¹⁰⁹⁹), the *Ātmasādhana-avatāra*¹¹⁰⁰), the *Viṣva-cakra*¹¹⁰¹), the *Ratnajvālā*¹¹⁰²), the *Mahā-*

¹⁰⁹⁴) *mñon-rtogs* = *abhisamaya*.

^{1094a}) MS. 57 a. 14—16. — *Āryasāṅga-prabhṛtīnām eva idaṁ vyākhyānaṁ likhyata iti pramāṇi-kartavyam*.

¹⁰⁹⁵) *Saṅs-rgyas-ye-ṅes-zabs*. ¹⁰⁹⁶) Tg. MDO. VIII.

¹⁰⁹⁷) *Ṭal-gyl-luñ*. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIX. 20—23. In the Xyl. this work is called *Hjam-dpal-ṭal-gyl-luñ* = *Mañjuçrī-mukha-āgama*.

¹⁰⁹⁸) *Sgrub-thabs Kun-tu-bzañ-po*. Ibid. 33—42.

¹⁰⁹⁹) *Kun-tu-bzañ-mo*. Full title: *Yan-lag-bṣi-paḥi sgrub-thabs Kun-tu-bzañ-mo* = *Caturāṅga-sādhana-upāyikā Samantabhadrā*. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIX 42—51. ¹¹⁰⁰) *Bdag-sgrub-pa-la-ḥjug-pa*. Ibid. 63—75. The Xyl. has: *Bdag-grub-par-ḥbyuñ-ba*. ¹¹⁰¹) *Sna-tshogs-ḥkhor-lo*. ¹¹⁰²) *Rin-chen-ḥbar-ba*.

*mūla-jñāna*¹¹⁰³), the *Gāthā-koṣa*¹¹⁰⁴), the *Mukṣi-tilaka*¹¹⁰⁵), the *Bodhi-citta-tilaka*¹¹⁰⁶), the *Mangala-vyākhyā*¹¹⁰⁷), the *Caturīha-avatāra*¹¹⁰⁸), works on offerings, burning sacrifices, worship, magic circles, the Propitiation of the Lord of the Waters¹¹⁰⁹) etc., as runs the tradition. —

The pupil of Vasubandhu who excelled him in the knowledge of the Vinaya was —

4. The Teacher Guṇaprabha.

It is said in the Commentary (?): — The venerable teacher Guṇaprabha of Brāhmaṇic descent was a great authority in the Vinaya of the Ārya-mūla-sarvāstivādins. He has crossed the ocean of the orthodox and heterodox philosophical systems, has got his faculty of high wisdom increased by the nectar of the Discipline of Buddha's Doctrine, and has zealously and essentially realized the sublime precepts of the Lord. — [126 a.]

This teacher, endowed with such merits, has composed the *Vinaya-sūtra*¹¹¹⁰), the *Ekottara-karma-ṣāṭaka*¹¹¹¹), the Commentary on the Chapter on Morality of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*¹¹¹²), and the autocommentary on the *Vinaya-sūtra*¹¹¹³). Some consider the *Ekottara-karma-ṣāṭaka* to be the work of Vinitadeva.

Now, according to some authorities, the teacher (Guṇaprabha) was the pupil of Upagupta, and according to others, the pupil of Sudarṣana. — This is an anachronism and is therefore to be rejected as a mistake.

The adherents of the old Vinaya say that Sudarṣana delivered the teaching (of the Vinaya) to Anāgāmin, and the latter — to Anivartitabuddhi (?)¹¹¹⁴) who in his turn exposed it to Guṇaprabha.

¹¹⁰³) Rtsa-baḥi-ye-ṣes-chen-po.

¹¹⁰⁴) Tshigs-su-bṣad-paḥi-mdzod.

¹¹⁰⁵) Grol-baḥi-thig-le. Tg. RGYUD. XXXIX. 56—63.

¹¹⁰⁶) Byaṅ-chub-sems-kyl-thig-le.

¹¹⁰⁷) Bkra-ṣis-rnam-bṣad. ¹¹⁰⁸) Bḥi-pa-la-ḥjug-pa.

¹¹⁰⁹) Rje-btsun-ḥphags-pa Gnod-ḥdzin chu-dbaṅ-gi sgrub-paḥi-thabs = Bhaṭṭāraka-ārya-Jambhala-jalendra-sādhana, Tg. RGYUD. XXXIX. 75—77.

¹¹¹⁰) Ḥdul-baḥi-mdo. Tg. MDO. LXXXVII. 1—109.

¹¹¹¹) Las-brgya-rtsa-gcig. Ibid. 109—298.

¹¹¹²) Byaṅ-saḥi tshul-khrims-leḥuḥi ḥgrel-pa = Bodhisattva-bhūmi-ṣāla-parivarta-bhāṣya. Tg. MDO. LIV. 229—240.

¹¹¹³) Tg. MDO. LXXXIII. and LXXXIV.

¹¹¹⁴) Blos-mi-ḥbebs.

This however needs an investigation. It is said that Guṇaprabha attained the age of 400 years. This statement, as well as that according to which his pupil was Čākyaprabha — is false. Indeed we read in the *Prabhāvatī*¹¹¹⁵): My preceptor was Puṇyakīrti¹¹¹⁶) who resided in Magadha, was the ornament (of that country) and greatly famed. From him I have heard (the Teaching) and now expound this my Commentary on the rules of the Vinaya that is to be the foundation of the teaching of the Arhats. — And further on:¹¹¹⁷): — I have composed a Commentary elucidating the meaning, thinking: — May my teacher, the master Čāntiprabha¹¹¹⁸) who abides far away and whose fame is all-pervading, grant me his point of view which I try to secure by recollection. — Thus (Čākyaprabha) himself says that he is the pupil of Puṇyakīrti and Čāntiprabha. In the *Triṣata-kārikā*¹¹¹⁹) it is said that (Čākyaprabha's) pupil was Čākyamitra.

Čākyaprabha has composed the *Triṣata-kārikā* and the Commentary thereon called *Prabhāvatī*. On the *Vinaya-sūtra* a Commentary has been composed by Dharmamitra¹¹²⁰) who is considered by some to have been the pupil of Guṇaprabha. [126 b.] It is said moreover that the pupil of Čākyaprabha was Siṃhamukha, and the pupil of the latter — Jinamitra, but this must be scrutinized.

The Biography of the Bodhisattva Čāntideva.

Seven wonderful stories are known (about this teacher): —

- The way how he secured his tutelary deity (1),
- The splendour of his acts in Nālanda (2),
- The refutation of his opponents (3),
- The stories of the Pāṣaṇḍakas (4), of the beggars (5),
- Of the king (6), and of the victory over the heretical teacher (7).

[The Story how Čāntideva met with his Tutelary Deity.]

In the southern country of Saurāṣṭra¹¹²¹), the king Kalyāṇavarman¹¹²²) had a son born to him who was called Čāntivarman¹¹²³). The latter, whilst still a youth, studied many different sciences.

¹¹¹⁵) Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 183 b. 3—4. (N.)

¹¹¹⁶) Bsod-nams-grags-pa. ¹¹¹⁷) Ibid. 183 b. 6—7.

¹¹¹⁸) Ži-ba-ḥod. ¹¹¹⁹) Tg. MDO. LXXXIX. 83 a. 4.

¹¹²⁰) Vinayasūtra-ṭikā, Tg. MDO. LXXXV and LXXXVI.

¹¹²¹) Yul-ḥkhor-bzañ-po. ¹¹²²) Dge-baḥi-go-cha.

¹¹²³) Ži-baḥi-go-cha.

In particular, he learned from a certain exorcist¹¹²⁴) the methods of propitiating Mañjuçrī¹¹²⁵), made this propitiation and came to behold the countenance (of the deity).

Now, it happened that his father died and he was to be crowned king the next morning. But in the evening (before this was to happen), he beheld in a dream Mañjuçrī who was sitting on the throne which he was to occupy the morrow himself and who said to him: — My son, this seat belongs to me. I am thy protector. That I and thou shouldst sit on one seat can by no means be suitable¹¹²⁶). — Having awakened, Āntideva understood that it was impossible for him to reign. So he fled and took orders in Nālanda with Jayadeva¹¹²⁷), the foremost of 500 Paṇḍits. Henceforth he was known by the name of Āntideva.

[The Activity of Āntideva in Nālanda.]

As concerns his internal conduct, — (it is known that) he heard the Doctrine from the Saint (Mañjuçrī), meditated over it and composed treatises of profound meaning. But, in his external life, he was known to the others as doing nothing else but eating, sleeping and walking about. Owing to this fact he was designated by the 3 nicknames of "Bhu" "Su" "Ku"¹¹²⁸), and the other monks, looking at his outward behaviour, thought: — The business of monks is the study of the 3 Wheels of the Doctrine [127 a]. This one is not possessed of the knowledge of either of them. He is thus unworthy to enjoy the alms granted by the faithful and must therefore be cast out. We shall read the Sūtras by turn, and then he will go away himself (as he knows nothing). Accordingly they summoned him to recite the Sūtras, but he replied that he was unable to do so, and prayed his preceptor: — Thou must bid me (to recite). The teacher commanded him (to read), and after that he consented. And, as some were of the opinion, that he knew nothing and all doubted of his knowledge, the monks, in order to try him, erected a lofty seat amidst a crowd of people. It was not clear how he could ascend this seat. But he pressed it down with his hands and mounted it. At this the greater part (of the hearers) were amazed. Thereafter he asked: — What am I to

¹¹²⁴) Ku-su-lu. Cf. Sarat-Chandra-Das, dictionary, p. 19, 20.

¹¹²⁵) Hjam-dpal-mon-poḥi sgrub-thabs = Tīkṣṇa-Mañjuçrī-sādhana.

¹¹²⁶) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 163.

¹¹²⁷) Rgyal-baḥi-lha. ¹¹²⁸) *bhuḥ*, *sup* (i. e. *swap*) and?

read, — that which has or that which has not been known before? And they prayed him to read that which was new and unknown. Now, as the *Çikṣāsamuccaya* was too large a work and the *Sūtra-samuccaya* too abridged, he recited the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*¹¹²⁹) which in few words communicated an extensive subject-matter. And, after he had recited the verse of the Chapter on Highest Wisdom¹¹³⁰): —

When neither Ens nor Non-ens (appear before the mind), etc. he rose up into the air, higher and higher. Finally, his body became invisible, but the voice continued to resound. And, after the recitation was completed, he appeared again¹¹³¹).

Thereafter, those who were possessed of a good memory, rehearsed the work as they had heard it. But, as (after the rehearsal) there appeared (different versions), viz. of 700, of 1000, and of more than 1000 verses, there arose doubt (as to which was the correct one). (Çāntideva) had said: — The Compendium of Discipline (the *Çikṣā-samuccaya*) must be looked over again and again. — And: — the short Summary, the Compendium of the Sūtras (*Sūtra-samuccaya*) must be looked over now. As these works were unknown, and as one had heard that he was residing in south, near the sanctuary of Çrīdakṣiṇa¹¹³²), 2 monks were sent to invite him. [127 b.] Having met with him, they asked (about the works). He told them that the *Çikṣā-samuccaya* and the *Sūtra-samuccaya* were to be found in the store-room of his school-house, written in the small characters of the Paṇḍits. As to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, he said that the version of 1000 verses was the right one. Thereafter he gave his instructions how to explain these works and act according to them. —

[Çāntideva's Victory over the Heretics.]

After that he departed to the east, where he took part in a great dispute. By the force of his miraculous powers, he reconciled (those who were quarrelling) and gave pleasure to all.

¹¹²⁹) Or: Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra (Byañ-chub-sems-dpañi spyod-pa-la hjug-pa).

¹¹³⁰) Çer-le, i. e. Çes-rab-kyi-lehu = Prajñā-pariccheda or Prajñā-pāramitā-pariccheda. Bodhicaryāvatāra IX. 35. — *yadā na bhāvo nā' bhāvo mateḥ saṁti-ṣṭhate puraḥ / tadā' nya-gaṇy-abhāvena nirālambā praçāmyati //*

¹¹³¹) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 165.

¹¹³²) Dpal-gyi-yon-can. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 166.

[The Conversion of the Pāṣaṇḍakas.]

Then, in a district lying not far to the west of Magadha, he took up his abode in the place where 500 adherents of the Pāṣaṇḍaka teaching were residing. Once, as a great disaster occurred in that country, and all food and beverage became exhausted, (the Pāṣaṇḍakas), greatly suffering, were searching one who could obtain for them means of livelihood. Finally, they selected (Çāntideva) as their chief and put themselves under his commands. The teacher got a bowl full of rice, blessed it, and made it suffice for all. After that he caused them to abstain from the Pāṣaṇḍaka teaching and to adopt Buddhism¹¹³³). —

[The Feeding of the Beggars.]

Thereupon a great famine happened in that country. Thousands of beggars, tormented by hunger and thirst, were near to their end. The teacher obtained means of livelihood, expounded the Doctrine and gave delight to all¹¹³⁴). —

[Çāntideva's Help to the King.]

Thereafter it happened that in the east, the king of Ariviṣana was troubled by a riot. Some who were dissatisfied with the means of livelihood (they obtained) surrounded the king, intending to do him harm. As in such a manner the king would have been killed, there was a necessity of granting gifts (to those who were dissatisfied). (Çāntideva) came to the king's rescue and protected him. Now, the teacher had nothing but a wooden sword stamped with the seal of Mañjuçrī. The courtiers saw this and said to the king: — This man is a cheat; look at the instrument in his hand! [128 a.] The king, enraged, said (to Çāntideva): — Draw out thy sword! O Lord, — entreated the teacher, — this may bring harm to thyself. — May I be harmed, — replied the king, — nevertheless draw it out in any case! — Then, O Lord, thou must shut one eye and look with the other, — prayed Çāntideva. The king did so, but when the sword was drawn out, the one eye that saw could not sustain the shining (of the sword) and was blinded. The king then begged for forgiveness, entrusted himself to the protection of Çāntideva and was converted to Buddhism¹¹³⁵).

¹¹³³) Ibid. p. 167.

¹¹³⁴) Ibid.

¹¹³⁵) Ibid. p. 164.

[Çāntideva's Victory over Çankaradeva.]

Thereafter the teacher went to the south, to Çriparvata where he lived as one who had devoted himself to the propitiation of Ucchūṣman¹¹³⁶), with the attributes of a beggar, naked and substituting on wash-water. Whilst he was thus abiding, Kacalahā, the female slave of the king of Khatavihāra, saw that the wash-water she had poured out reached the body of the teacher and began to boil. At that time a heretical teacher called Çankaradeva made it known to the king: — The day after to-morrow I shall draw in the skies the magic circle of Maheçvara. If you are unable to destroy it, I shall burn down all the Buddhist images and books, and make you adopt the Brāhmaṇic Doctrines. The king assembled the clergy and related the matter to them. And, as none of them could express his readiness to destroy the magic circle, the king became deeply grieved. But then the slave-girl related what she had seen before, and the king gave the order to seek (for Çāntideva). After they had searched for him everywhere, they found him sitting under a tree and told him the matter. He said: — I have the power (of destroying the magic circle). You must prepare for me an urn full of water, a pair of garments, and fire. This was done. Then, as in the evening the teacher went off murmuring, they all became possessed of doubt. Two days after, the magic circle was drawn. When the eastern quarter was just finished, the teacher, [128 b.] by the force of concentrated trance, called forth a mighty wind by which the magic circle was blown away, the herbs, trees and cities likewise were all of them either swept down or shaken so that they nearly fell. The people who lived (in those towns) were swept away. The heretical teachers were scattered and, like small birds by the wind, were carried away into the different regions. (Everything) was covered with great darkness. But then the teacher ejected a light from his forehead by which he showed the way to the king and queen. As they were without clothes and covered with dust, he gave them the water (that had been prepared before) to wash, covered them with the new clothes, and warmed them by the fires, thus causing delight to them. Thereafter the temples of the heretics were destroyed, and (the people) were converted to Buddhism. And up to this day that place is known as "the spot where the heretics were vanquished"¹¹³⁷). —

¹¹³⁶) Xyl. U-tshu-smaḥi spyod-pa. Cf. Ibid. p. 166.

¹¹³⁷) Ibid. p. 167.

Now, this master himself speaks of his own person as of an ordinary being, but the teacher Prajñākaramati calls him a Saint. Kṛṣṇa¹¹³⁹) says of him that he touched with his head the lotus-like feet of Mañjuḥśa. The teacher thus spoken of has composed 3 works: The *Çikṣāsamuccaya*, an exposition in detail, the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, an abridged Compendium of the Teaching, and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* which exposes an extensive subject-matter in few words. According to the tradition, 100 Commentaries on the Bodhicaryāvatāra were extant in India, but only 8 have been translated into Tibetan. —

The History of the Grammatical Literature.

In the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*¹¹³⁹) we have the prophecy: — The author of (the treatises on) Grammar will be Pāṇini. — And in the *Manjuṣrī-mūla-tantra* it is prophesied that (this Pāṇini) is to attain Enlightenment¹¹⁴⁰). Now the history of the grammatical treatises composed by the Brāhmaṇa Pāṇini and others is as follows: — At first, in the region of the 33 gods, a god named Sarvajñāna composed a great grammatical treatise. [129 a.] This was used by the gods, (subsequently) ceased to exist, and did not, therefore, appear in Jambudvīpa. Thereafter Çakra, the king of the gods, likewise composed a grammatical work called *Indravṛkaraṇa*. This work was perfectly apprehended by the sage Bṛhaspati who demonstrated it to the children of the gods and became known as the preceptor of the gods or the teacher of grammar. And thinking: — None except myself is skilful in grammar, — he became possessed of great pride. But the king of gods got an urn full of water from the ocean, took a drop of it by means of a halm of Kuça grass and said to Bṛhaspati: — The science of grammar as a whole is like the ocean. That part of it which I know is like the water of this urn, and that which thou knowest is only like this drop. Bṛhaspati was greatly disappointed, and thought that he would never be able to teach grammar again. But Indra said to him: — Though this be so, still thou must teach as far as thou knowest. — Such was his commandment, and (Bṛhaspati), not daring to disobey it, declared that he would not teach on the 4 auspicious days, but

¹¹³⁹) Nag-po-pa.

¹¹³⁹) Ed. Bunyiu Nanjio, p. 366. — *Pāṇinīnī śabda-nṛtūram* . . .

¹¹⁴⁰) Kg. RGYUD. XI. 447 a. 7—b. 1. (Nar.) — *bram-zheḥi khyeḥu Pū-ñi-ni / ñes-par ñan-ñhos-byañ-chub-tu / ña-yis lun-bstan-byas-pa-yin* //

that all the other time he would expound. Accordingly, up to this day, the Brāhmaṇas observe the 4 auspicious days, saying: —

On the 8th day the teacher will be oppressed,
On the 14th — the pupils will be oppressed,
On the day of the new-moon the science will be oppressed,
On the first day everything will be oppressed. —

This treatise (the *Indravākyakaraṇa*) came likewise to Jambudvīpa and was expounded there.

Thereupon, when it had ceased to exist, the Brāhmaṇa Pāṇini appeared. At first, being desirous to study grammar, he showed the lines of his hand to a fortune-teller who told him that he would not be possessed of the knowledge of grammar. Then he drew (the corresponding) line with a sharp knife, and set out in search of a teacher, but did not find any. Thereafter he propitiated Mahādeva who showed his countenance to him and asked: — What doest thou desire? — I wish to study grammar, — replied (Pāṇini). Then the god blessed him (129 b.) and simultaneously uttered the sounds "A", "I", "U". By this Pāṇini came to apprehend the whole of the grammatical science. So runs the legend. The Buddhists say, that (Pāṇini) came to the knowledge of Grammar through having propitiated Avalokita, and this agrees with Scripture. It is said in the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra*¹¹⁴¹):

Pāṇini, the Brāhmaṇa's son,
Has been prophesied by me
To attain the Enlightenment of the Çrāvakas;
And he shall likewise secure the charm
For propitiating the High Lord of the Universe. —

This teacher (Pāṇini) has composed a grammatical treatise containing 2000 rules which is known as the *Pāṇinīya-vyākaraṇa*. On this treatise a king of the Nāgas¹¹⁴²) composed a Commentary called the *Mahābhāṣya* consisting of 100000 Çlokas which became widely spread.

In later times, the king Udayana¹¹⁴³) had a wife who knew some parts of grammar. Once, when she and the king were washing, the king sprinkled water (upon her). The queen said: — "*Mamoda-kāsiṇca*"¹¹⁴⁴) which in the Sanskrit language means: Do not sprinkle

¹¹⁴¹) Cf. the preceding note and Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 53 and 54.

¹¹⁴²) Çeṣa = Patañjali. ¹¹⁴³) Bde-spyod.

¹¹⁴⁴) Similarly in *Tārānātha*, Schiefner, p. 74.

water upon me. — The king, having applied the words to his barbaric language, understood them as: — Get me a broth of sesamum, — and ordered a slave to prepare such. The queen was distressed and, thinking it better to die than to be the companion of such an ox-like husband, intended to commit suicide. The king then asked her what was the matter, and she related the story (of Pāṇini) which we have given above. Thereafter Sarvavarman¹¹⁴⁵) the maternal uncle of the king said to him: — I shall propitiate Kumāra Kārttikeya¹¹⁴⁶) and obtain the magical power of the word; therefore thou must say to the queen: — Thou must not do so (i. e. must not commit suicide). — The king did so and the queen was consoled.

Sarvavarman made his propitiation, and Kumāra Kārttikeya showed his countenance to him and asked what he wanted. — I wish to study Grammar, — replied Sarvavarman. Then Kārttikeya began with "*Siddho varṇa-sama-āmnāyaḥ*"¹¹⁴⁷) [130 a.] and explained up to the 15th Chapter. Then (Sarvavarman) became full of pride and exclaimed: — I have found it out! Kārttikeya then turned his vehicle and, as the tail of the peacock (on which he was mounted) appeared behind, Sarvavarman exclaimed: — O Kalāpa! I pray, forgive me! Now, *Kalāpa* means a mass, any aggregate of component parts. Sarvavarman applied it to the peacock's feathers. In connection with this (Sarvavarman's work) became known under the name of *Kalāpa*. Thereafter (Sarvavarman) taught it to the king, the latter came to understand it, and the queen was pleased. —

Now, as the work did not contain all the parts of grammar, Sarvavarman and the Brāhmaṇa Vararuci¹¹⁴⁸) made additions to it, and it was issued as consisting of 400 Ālokas and 24 chapters. The Paṇḍit Durgasīma¹¹⁴⁹) has composed a Commentary to it¹¹⁵⁰). (Another) Commentary called the *Çiṣyahitā*¹¹⁵¹) was written by the Paṇḍit Yaçobhūti¹¹⁵²). Then there appeared the *Candra-vyā-*

¹¹⁴⁵) Sic. acc. to Xyl. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha* p. 76. Perhaps: Çarvavarman. In Cordier's Index to the Tangyur we have s. v. *Kalāpa-sūtra* the designation of its author as: — Saptavarman, Sarvavarman, Çarvavarman, Içvaravarman or Dbañ-phyug-go-cha. Cf. vol. I. p. 47, note 456.

¹¹⁴⁶) Gžon-nu Smin-drug.

¹¹⁴⁷) Xyl. *Siddho varṇa-samam naye*. Cf. Schiefner, *Tārānātha*, p. 75.

¹¹⁴⁸) Mchog-sred. ¹¹⁴⁹) Bgrod-dkaḥ-señ-ge.

¹¹⁵⁰) Tg. MDO. CXVI. 110—125. (Pek.) ¹¹⁵¹) Slob-ma-la-phan-pa.

¹¹⁵²) Grags-ḥbyor. Tg. MDO. CXVI. 125—163 or CXXXII. 1—295 (Pek).

karāṇa on which the maternal uncle of Candragomin, Dharmadāsa¹¹⁵³) has composed a Commentary consisting of 6000 *Āloka*s, and the teacher Ratnamati¹¹⁵⁴) a Sub-commentary of 12 000 *Āloka*s. This Sub-commentary in its turn has been elucidated by the Paṇḍit Pūrṇacandra¹¹⁵⁵) in a work of 36 000 *Āloka*s. Thereafter the Paṇḍit Rājācārī has made a Compendium of the *Kalāpa* and the *Candra-vyākaraṇa*; his work is known as the *Rājācārī-vyākaraṇa*. Finally in later times, the Paṇḍit Smṛti has composed a work on Grammar for the use of Tibetans, called the *Āyudhopamavacanamukha*¹¹⁵⁶). A detailed history of these grammatical treatises, as well as of the works on Poetics, Dramatical Composition, Medicine, etc. is to be found elsewhere. —

On the Lost Parts of the Kanon.

In such a way the persons who were foretold by the Buddha have preserved the Doctrine by preaching and acting according to it. But at present only a part (of the Kanon) exists, its complete form having been lost. In the *Vyākhyāyukti*¹¹⁵⁷) it is said: — [130 b.]

As the basis for the correct rehearsal is lost,

We know that (the Kanon) is not complete. —

Now, the *Duḥkha-skandha-sūtra*¹¹⁵⁸), the *Udayana-paripṛcchā*¹¹⁵⁹), the *Guru-sūtra*¹¹⁶⁰), the *Sūtra* of Ānanda¹¹⁶¹), the *Sūtra* of Kācya-pa¹¹⁶²) and many others had disappeared and were not to be found at the time when Vasubandhu lived. In the *Ratnakūṭa* which consisted of 100 000 chapters, there remain only 49, of the *Mahā-samaya*¹¹⁶³) which likewise contained 100 000 chapters — only 60, and of the *Avatamsaka*, similarly of 100 000 chapters — only 40 chapters. Of the *Lankāvatāra* which consisted of 36 000 (*Āloka*s) we have only 3600, of the *Ghana-vyūha*¹¹⁶⁴) of 12 000 verses only 1300, of the *Mahāmegha* which contained 100 000 verses, — only a few chapters, of the *Samādhirāja*, — only 15 divisions, of the

¹¹⁵³) Chos-kyi-ḥbañs.

¹¹⁵⁴) Rin-chen-blo-gros.

¹¹⁵⁵) Zla-ba-gaṇ-ba.

¹¹⁵⁶) Smra-sgo Mtshon-cha. Tg. MDO. CXVI. 273—278. (Pek.)

¹¹⁵⁷) Aga monastery edition 97 b. 6.

¹¹⁵⁸) Sdug-bśnal-gyi-phuñ-pohi-mdo.

¹¹⁵⁹) Ḥchar-byed-kyis-žus-pā. ¹¹⁶⁰) Bla-maḥi-mdo.

¹¹⁶¹) Kun-dgaḥ-boḥi-mdo. ¹¹⁶²) Ḥod-sruñs-kyi-mdo.

¹¹⁶³) Ḥdus-pa-chen-po.

¹¹⁶⁴) Rgyan-stug-po-bkod-pa.

*Ekottarika-āgama*¹¹⁶⁵) in which there were from 1 to 100 subjects, — only from 1 to 10. As concerns the *Nirvāṇa* — and the *Smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra*¹¹⁶⁶), their translation has not been finished. Of the *Āṣṭaṅga-sūtra*¹¹⁶⁷) that had 10 000 Ṣlokas, only 1 chapter (has been translated). In the *Mahā-tathāgata-uṣṇīṣa*¹¹⁶⁸), the *Mahā-adhigama*¹¹⁶⁹), and the *Candragarbha-paripṛcchā*¹¹⁷⁰) there was a great number of chapters. Of each of these chapters many passages have not been translated at all. Of the translations made previously, the greater part has likewise disappeared. Moreover, many Sūtras quoted in the great Chinese Commentaries are not to be found. Other Sūtras, as the *Mahā-vyavadāna-bhūmi*¹¹⁷¹) have their abode in the realm of the gods. The detailed *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* containing 1 000 000 000 Ṣlokas is preserved in the abode of the king of the Gandharvas, [131 a.] the intermediate (of the detailed), of 10 000 000 Ṣlokas, in the realm of the king of the gods, and the abridged (of the detailed), that is the *Ḫatasāhasrikā*, exists in its complete form in the region of the Nāgas.

As concerns the Tantric Scripture, it is said in the *Jñāna-vajrasamuccaya*¹¹⁷²) that the *Kriyā-tantra*¹¹⁷³) numbered 4000 texts, the *Ācāra-tantra*¹¹⁷⁴) 8000, the *Kālpa-tantra*¹¹⁷⁵) 4000, the Tantras containing (the teaching of) both (the *Kriyā* and *Ācāra*) — 6000, the *Mahā-yoga-tantra*¹¹⁷⁶) — 12 000, and the *Mahā-anuttara-yoga-tantra*¹¹⁷⁷) — 14 000. Each Tantra consists of a great number of Fundamental and Explanatory Tantras, etc. Of these the *Hevajra*¹¹⁷⁸) of 100 000 verses, the *Guhya-samāja* of 25 000 verses, *Mahā-Ḫaṃvara-abhidhāna*¹¹⁷⁹) of 500 000 verses, the [*Ḫaṃvara*]-*Uttaratantra*¹¹⁸⁰) of 100 000 verses, the *Kālacakra* of 12 000 verses, the *Yoga-anuvidyā*¹¹⁸¹) of 36 000 verses, the *Māyājālā*¹¹⁸²) of 16 000 verses, the *Mahāmāyā* of 18 000 verses, the great *Raktayamāri*-

¹¹⁶⁵) Gcig-las-ḥphros-pa. ¹¹⁶⁶) Dran-pa-ñier-gṭag.

¹¹⁶⁷) Dpaḥ-bar-ḥgro-baḥi-mdo.

¹¹⁶⁸) De-bḫin-gcegs-paḥi-gtsug-gtor-chen-po.

¹¹⁶⁹) Rtogs-pa-chen-po. ¹¹⁷⁰) Zla-ba-sñiñ-pos-ḫus-pa.

¹¹⁷¹) Rnam-par-sbyon-baḥi-sa-chen-po. ¹¹⁷²) Ye-ḫes-rdo-rje-kun-las-btus.

¹¹⁷³) Bya-baḥi-rgyud. ¹¹⁷⁴) Spyod-paḥi-rgyud.

¹¹⁷⁵) Rtog-paḥi-rgyud. ¹¹⁷⁶) Rnal-ḥbyor-chen-poḥi-rgyud.

¹¹⁷⁷) Rnal-ḥbyor-chen-po-bla-na-med-paḥi-rgyud.

¹¹⁷⁸) Ḥidar-byed-kyi-gliñ-na (?) Kye-rdo-rje.

¹¹⁷⁹) Bde-mchog-mñon-pa-brjod-par-chen-po.

¹¹⁸⁰) (Bde-mchog-gi) (?) rgyud-phyi-ma. ¹¹⁸¹) Rnal-ḥbyor-rjes-su-rig-pa.

¹¹⁸²) Sgyu-ḥphrul-dra-ba.

*tantra*¹¹⁸³) of 300 000 verses, the *Tārā-abhyudaya-tantra*¹¹⁸⁴) of 700 Chapters, the *Hayagrīva-kalpa*¹¹⁸⁵) of 700 Chapters, the *Amoghā-pāca-tantra*¹¹⁸⁶) etc. are said to exist in the region of the gods, in Çambhala, Uḍḍiyāna, etc.

Moreover, in India, Kashmir, Nepal, Kāśī, Kāśīśāstra¹¹⁸⁷), China, the Great China¹¹⁸⁸), Persia, Campaka, in the monkey-realm, in the country of the Golden-eyed, in Rugma, Rāmya¹¹⁸⁹), Tāmra-dvīpa¹¹⁹⁰), Sīṃhaladvīpa, [131 b.] Priyāṅgudvīpa, Yamunādvīpa, Suvarṇadvīpa¹¹⁹¹), Makha, Khaçya, Gyiljoṇ, Shañ-shuñ, Bru-sha, A-sha, Sum-pa, Sahor, Mi-ñag, the country of Jañ, of the Yogurs, the Thogar, Uḍḍiyāna, Dramila¹¹⁹²), Andhra¹¹⁹³), Cola, Kalinga, and other great kingdoms as well as in the districts of Tibet, as the Teaching was expounded, disappeared, and again began its existence in them, the Scriptures of the 3 Vehicles, either complete or incomplete, in parts, have been preserved. It is said, likewise, that a great number of sacred texts exist in the region of the Nāgas. In the *Çiṣya-lekha* we read¹¹⁹⁴). —

The Teaching which is like a precious jewel,
Being sublime and indestructible,
And which shows the Path of Purity,
Has been contemplated with reverence by the hooded Nāgas,
Like the diamonds in their diadems, and disperses
The darkness for those who dwell in the depths of the earth.

IV. Acc₁ b₂ c₃ c₄. The Way how the Doctrine will cease to exist.

It is said in the *Candragarbha-pariprcchā*¹¹⁹⁵): — O Lord, how will the Highest Doctrine finally cease to exist? Owing to what

¹¹⁸³) Gçin-rjeñi-gçed-dmar-poñi-rgyud.

¹¹⁸⁴) Sgrol-ma-mñon-par-ñbyuñ-bañi-rgyud.

¹¹⁸⁵) Rta-mgrin-gyi-rtog-pa. ¹¹⁸⁶) Don-yod-ñags-pañi-rgyud. ¹¹⁸⁷) Li.

¹¹⁸⁸) Bu-ton makes the difference between Rgya-nag = Cina and Rgya-nag-chen-po = Mahāçīna.

¹¹⁸⁹) Ram-ma. ¹¹⁹⁰) Zañs-gliñ. ¹¹⁹¹) Gser-gliñ.

¹¹⁹²) Hgro-ldiñ-bañi-yul.

¹¹⁹³) Loñ-bañi-yul. Bu-ton evidently read Andhraçya, "the country of the blind" instead of Andhraçya. ¹¹⁹⁴) Tg. MDO. XXXIII. 71 a. 4—5. (N.)

¹¹⁹⁵) Kg. MDO. XXXII. 216 b. 6—220 b. 4. The prophecy concerning the cessation of the Doctrine is treated in the Kangyur like a separate text: Hphags-pa Zla-bañi-sñiñ-pos ñus-pañi mdo-las sañs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa gnas-pa dañ hñig-pañi tshul luñ-bstan-pa.

factors is it to disappear, and who will be the cause of its destruction? — (The Buddha replied): — After I have passed away, during 500 years, a great number of living beings is to appear, who will act according to my Doctrine and obtain deliverance. Thereafter, during 500 years there will appear many who practise meditation. But the kings, the ministers, and the ordinary living beings^{1194a)} who were devoted to the Doctrine will subsequently become less in number. Thereupon, during another 500 years, a great number of teachers who expound the Highest Doctrine, and who lead the living beings to salvation will appear. The number of the Ārāvaka Arhats will however become diminished. The kings [132 a.] and the greater part of the living beings will become mere hearers, but will not apply energy to realize (the precepts) and to live according to them. In such a way faith will become weakened. The protectors of the Highest Doctrine will grow distressed, and those who are not devoted to the Highest Doctrine will become more powerful than before. The kings of Jambudvīpa will invade each other with war and disturbances will arise^{1194b)}. When 300 years of these 500 will have passed away, the gods and Nāgas^{1194c)} who live according to the Doctrine will no more exist, and the living beings will cease to believe in the Highest Doctrine. Even those who are virtuous will not act according to the precepts. And, as they will have no energy, their achievements will be likewise feeble. The 4 chief colours and those derived from these 4, as well as the smells, tastes, etc. will become weak. There will be likewise famine and plagues befalling men and cattle. When 200 years will have remained, the monks will no more act according to the Doctrine and search for worldly gain and renown. They will lack Commiseration, will not live morally, and will depreciate those who act righteously according to the Doctrine. They will appropriate riches and objects of enjoyment, rely upon the orders of temporal power, rule kingdoms, be the messengers of kings, and seek to please them. They will sow disunion between the kings

^{1194a)} Sic. acc. to the Kg. — *rgyal-po dan blon-po dan sems-can-phal-rnams kyañ* . . . The Xyl. has: *rgyal-po dan sems-can phal-cher*.

^{1194b)} The Kg. has after this (fol. 217 a. 3): *bdud-kyi ris kyañ hphel-bar-hgyur-ro* — the family of the Evil One will likewise increase. This passage is left out in the Xyl.

^{1194c)} The Kg. has = *lha klu-la-sogs-pa sems-can-eruñs-ma-rnams*. — The gods and the Nāgas who protect the living beings.

and their subjects, and will seek means of livelihood by traffic and gain. Those acting according to the Highest Doctrine, will not do so by realizing it in harmony with their internal constitution, but will only act for outward show, and turn hypocrites. At that time all the gods and Nāgas, devoted to the Doctrine will abandon the lands where the monks live in such a way, and will not abide there anymore. The hosts of Māra and other foes of the Doctrine will appear there and become powerful. [132 b.] The kings, ministers, etc. will lose faith and will no more draw a distinction between virtue and sin. They will inflict wounds upon the Highest Doctrine, and will rob and carry away the property of the 3 Jewels and that of the Congregation. They will have no shame in committing sinful deeds and will destroy the images and sanctuaries, so that the objects of worship will grow scant. But then, by the force of the virtue the monks and householders acting according to the Doctrine who are to appear and will abide in some places, rain and snow will descend in different countries at due time, prosperous years will come, human and animal diseases will grow less, and (a time of) happiness for the lands will appear.

But this is not to have a long duration. For the greater part there will be manifold suffering and uneasiness. At that time, 3 kings, neither of Indian, nor of Chinese descent, Yavana, Palhika and Çakuna^{1194d}) will appear. These will not act according to the Highest Doctrine, will conduct wars, fight and quarrel and will lay waste many districts in the west and in the north. The sanctuaries and temples in these countries they will destroy, and burn down with fire, and rob the objects of worship, the property of the 3 Jewels etc. These 3 kings will be in mutual strife and the reign of each of them will not be happy. But then, at a certain time, they will become allies, unite in one kingdom, collect a great army, and take possession of Gāndhāra, Mahādeça, and other countries lying on this side of the Ganges.

At that time, on the other side of the Ganges, to the south, in the country of Kauçambi, there will be a king named Mahendrasena. This king will have a son called Duḥprasahahasta¹¹⁹⁵) with an iron mark on his forehead and with the lower part of his body,

^{1194d}) Sic. acc. to Kg. (fol. 217 b. 4) The Xyl. has: Balabū and Çlkuna. We could perhaps translate: "The Grecian, the Persian and the Scythian kings".

¹¹⁹⁵) The Xyl. here and further on: Duprasaha. Kg.: Dusprasahasta.

up to the elbows stained with blood [133 a]. At that time to 500 ministers 500 sons will be born who will be stained with blood up to their waists. At the same time the king will become possessed of a colt that will speak. And, the evening on which that (colt is to be born) a rain of blood is to descend from the skies. The king will ask the meaning of these omens from an anchorite possessed of the 5 forms of supernatural perception and the latter will utter the following prophecy: — O sovereign, thy son will moisten the soil of Jambudvīpa with blood, and thereafter he will make himself the Lord of Jambudvīpa. Thereupon, after 12 years will have passed away since the birth of the prince, the allied forces of the 3 kings mentioned before, Yavana and the rest, 300 000 in number with the kings at their head, will invade the realm of the king Mahendrasena. Thus war will break out, and the king will be distressed and lament. As he will thus abide in sorrow, his son Duḥprasahahasta will ask: Father, wherefore art thou grieved? — And the father will say: — I am grieved, because the armies of the 3 kings have appeared in our country. — To this the son will reply: — Father, do not be distressed, I shall vanquish these armies. — Well, — will say the father. Thereafter, the prince will put 500 Pāṣaṇḍakas, sons of ministers and others at the head of an army of 200 000 men. At the time of battle, the iron mark on the prince's forehead will appear distinctly, the whole of his body will become of iron, with terrible fury he will charge and conquer. After the victory, the army of Duḥprasahahasta will return and the father will say: — My son, thou hast fought with such an army of 3 kings and hast conquered. [133 b.] Well hast thou done. Henceforth thou art to rule the kingdom, and I in my turn will embrace religious life. — And, obeying to his orders, the son will assume the reign. Thereafter, during 12 years he will fight with the armies of the 3 kings and will gradually vanquish a great number of these forces. He will capture the 3 kings themselves and cause them to be put to death. Thereupon he will make himself emperor of Jambudvīpa. Then the king will say to his ministers: — The fact that I have become the Lord of Jambudvīpa should make me rejoice. But great is the sin (I have committed) by causing so many living beings to be killed. Therefore I am grieved. What am I to do in order to be purified from this sin? — The ministers will say: — In the country of Pāṭaliputra there is a teacher of the Doctrine versed in the 3 Codes, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Agnidatta

called Çișyaka¹¹⁹⁶) who abides in a monastery. If he is invited he will be able to purify thee from thy sin. The king will be delighted, and, having invited the monk Çișyaka, will ask him: — By what means can I become purified from my sins? — The monk will reply: — Thou must worship the 3 Jewels for 12 years and seek their protection. If thou doest this, thou canst be purified from thy guilt. — Then the king will send messengers to whatever monks will be living in Jambudvīpa in order to assemble them all at Kauçāmbi and will not allow them to practise their religious obeisances in other countries. But the monks on the way, will for the greater part perish from wild beasts, savages, floods etc., — and only 100 000 will come into the king's presence. These will come, and the king will make a feast, offer presents to them and worship. Thereafter [134 a.] the members of the Congregation will ask each other. — Where is thy teacher? Where are thy pupils? Where are thy friends, thy associates in the observances? And they will relate how such and such were killed by wild beasts and savages, were carried away by the flood, had died, being overcome by illness, and so on. Each of them will become full of grief, they will shed tears and beat their breasts. Then the king will bid them not to be grieved, but the members of the Congregation will not listen to him. The king will be distressed, will turn his face down and fall asleep. And whilst sleeping he will utter the following entreaty: — From the Congregation of monks who are mere worldly beings I will have no protection. O may I behold the countenance of an Arhat! And the gods of this world will say to him whilst he is dreaming: — On the mountain Gandhamādāna¹¹⁹⁷) there abides an Arhat called Surata¹¹⁹⁸), the son of the merchant Sudhana^{1199a}). If he be invited he will purify thee from thy guilt and clear all thy doubts. — And the king, in accordance with the dream will, immediately after awakening, send messengers, invite the Saint, worship him and make his salutations. Then, on the 14th day of that month, the Congregation will assemble, and of those

¹¹⁹⁶) Slob-ma-can. Corrected acc. to Kg. (fol. 218 b. 3—4) — bram-ze Agnidattaputra . . . mīn ni Çișyaka ste Slob-ma-can. The Xyl. has: bram-ze Akan-dra-dhāṇi-bu. (Sic!)

¹¹⁹⁷) The Xyl. has Gandhamahāna.

¹¹⁹⁸) Des-pa.

^{1199a}) Corr. acc. to Kg. (fol. 219 a. 5) Su-dha-na-pu-tra ra-rna-ça (?) ste tshoñ-dpon Nor-bzañs-kyi bu žes-bya-ba rab-tu-byuñ-ba Su-ra-ta ste Des-pa . . .

who have newly taken orders some will pray the teacher *Çiṣyaka* to expound the Vinaya. But *Çiṣyaka* will say: — If a man has lost his eyes and has no ears and nose, of what use is a mirror to him? I can teach the Vinaya, but ye will not act according to it and will not preserve your morals. What use is it therefore of teaching the Vinaya to you? Then the Arhat *Surata*, with a voice resembling the roar of a lion, will say: — I have observed the precepts of the Doctrine of Buddha the Lord, and, up to this day, I have not lost the slightest part of it. [134 b.] Thou must not speak like that, but expound the Vinaya. — Thus will he speak, and the teacher *Çiṣyaka*, having recognized in him an Arhat, will be full of shame and sit without uttering a word. Then the pupil of *Çiṣyaka*, the monk called *Angada*¹¹⁹⁹) will rise up from his seat and say to the Arhat: — How canst thou, thyself immoral and ignorant of the Vinaya, show contempt with our teacher who is versed in the 3 Codes of Scripture? — And, coming into a rage, he will strike the Arhat and kill him. Thereafter the *Yakṣa Dadhimukha*¹²⁰⁰), devoted to the Highest Doctrine, will seize a thunderbolt, appear visibly and say to the monk *Angada*: — Wherefore hast thou killed the Arhat? — Then he will strike him with his thunderbolt and kill him. After that the monk *Kerāda* will kill *Çiṣyaka*, and then all the monks will kill each other, so that not one of them will be left. Thereafter the gods, *Nāgas* and the other guardians of the Doctrine who abide in the skies, will for the greater part become distressed. They will weep, and their tears will fall down on earth as a rain of blood and fire. The skies will turn yellow, black and red and there will be lightning and great thunder. From the body of the star called *Dhūmaketu* black smoke will come forth, owing to which the sun, the moon, etc. will lose their shine. At that time the gods of the region of the Thirty-three, the Mother *Mahāmāyā* and others will come. They will lament, collect all the coloured garments of the monks and carry them to the region of the 33 gods. Then the king will ask: — From where comes this great noise?— And they will say to him: — There arose a quarrel amongst the members of the clergy and they have killed each other. — The king, distressed, will rise up [135 a.] and at

¹¹⁹⁹) The Xyl. has *Dpuñ-rgyan*. Kg. (fol. 219 b. 3): *Çi-ṣya-kañi slob-ma dge-sloñ Am-ga-da ste Dpuñ-gi-tshogs-ñjigs-su-ruñ*.

¹²⁰⁰) *Žo-gdon*.

daybreak will go to the outward temple to see. There he will behold some of the monks with their heads cut off, some with their arms and legs severed from the body, and others with their eyes cast out, having thus in different ways met with their death. Full of grief, he will search for the bodies of the Arhat and of Çiṣyaka, the teacher versed in the 3 Codes. He will take them under his right and his left arm-pit and say: — The Arhat was to me like a father ^{1200a}). The teacher of the 3 Codes was the treasury of the Doctrine. Now, as they both have died, I shall henceforth have no pleasure in life. My kingdom — I will give it to anyone who wishes to have it. — Thus saying, he will shut his eyes and cease to look about. Then the ministers in order to appease the grief of the king, will give to 500 men the appearance of monks. They will not, however, shave their heads and beards with a razor, but will burn them with fire. They will dress them in the hide of black and red cattle^{1200b}), will come into the king's presence and say: — 500 monks have arrived. — The king, delighted, will open his eyes, and behold (the so-called monks) dressed in the hide of cattle and with their hair and beards singed. Then he will order to bring the sacrificial tools for worshipping the 3 Jewels and will perform the sacrificial rites. Thereafter he will question (the newcomers) concerning the Doctrine. But, as they will not know even a single word of it, the king will again become full of grief. And after that he will collect the corpses of the monks, cause them to be burned, and perform the funeral rites. —

At that time all the supports of the Highest Doctrine in Jambudvīpa will meet with an end. Thereafter gold will be transformed into bad silver and stone, silver will be changed, into bad brass and stone, brass — into copper, and pearls — into horn. Of the 6 tastes [135 b.] only 2, viz. the bitter and the sour will remain. —

And in the prophecy of Sanghavardhana¹²⁰¹) etc. it is said: — The cast images etc. will be taken into the realm of the Nāgas.

^{1200a}) Corrected arr. to Kg. (fol. 220 a. 3): *dgra-bcom-pa ñaḥi pha yin*. The Xyl. has *ñaḥi ma yin* "mother".

^{1200b}) The Xyl. leaves out (Kg. fol. 220 a. 4—5) — *tshon sna-brgya yañ dshī-tshe nub-pas ban-da lña-brgya yañ chos-gos mi-bdog-nas phyugs nag-po* etc. — At that time the hundred different colours will have ceased to exist. Therefore, as it will be impossible (to obtain for) the 500 monks religious robes, they will dress them, etc.

¹²⁰¹) *Dge-hdun-hphel-gyl lun-bstan-pa*.

All the writings will become corrupt, all the clothes will be coarse, all the tastes except the bitter and the stringent and all the jewels will disappear. The kings themselves will die from grief that the Doctrine is to exist no more. —

All this is said in accordance with (the prophecy that) the Doctrine is to exist 2000 years. In the Sub-commentary to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, composed by Dharmamitra¹²⁰²), it is clearly said that such facts have likewise taken place before. —

In general the causes owing to which the Doctrine ceases to exist, are the cessation of the force of a Buddha's previous vows and entreaties and the fact that the converts to the Teaching are no more to be found. As concerns the conditions, it is said that a Doctrine ceases to exist owing to 3 such conditions, viz. 1. The deterioration of the religious ascetics from their philosophical views and observances, 2. the loss of devotion to the church from the part of the alms-givers, and 3. impediments caused by Māra, by the gods of the latter's realm and by malignant ghosts (*preta*). With regard to the Doctrine of this our Teacher it is clearly said that the conditions for its cessation are the first two. As concerns the time of cessation it is said that, according to the *Prajñapti-śāstra*, (the Doctrine) will disappear when human age will be 40 years. Chag says that it will happen at the period when it will be 30 years. I, however, have not seen any authoritative source affirming this. —

We read moreover in the *Karuṇāpundarika*¹²⁰³): — After the cessation of Buddha Čākyamuni's Highest Doctrine, the relics (of the Buddha) will sink down to the golden foundation of the earth. Then, when the Sahālokadhātu¹²⁰⁴) will become deprived of precious jewels, these relics will become a Vaiḍūrya stone called Ketumatī¹²⁰⁵) which will remove all poverty. Thereafter these relics [136 a.] will rise up till Akaniṣṭha. A rain of flowers will then descend and, from that rain, the names of the 3 Jewels and other different words of the Doctrine will be heard. The gods abiding in the World of Desire and in the Ethereal Sphere will hear these words of the Doctrine and remember their previous virtuous deeds. They will descend into Jambudvīpa and convert men to the 10

¹²⁰²) Tg. MDO. VIII. 121 a. 8. (Pek.) Cf. vol. I. note 1246.

¹²⁰³) Kg. MDO. VI. 354 a. 3—355 b. 1. (N.) The passage in the Xyl. is condensed.

¹²⁰⁴) Mi-mjed-kyl-hjig-rten-gyl khams.

¹²⁰⁵) Tog-gi-blo-gros.

virtues. Moreover, the flowers in the skies will be transformed into diverse precious jewels and will descend into the Sahāloka-dhātu. And all strife and the like of the living beings in the Sahāloka-dhātu will be pacified and there will be prosperity and absence of illness. The living beings who will perceive these jewels, touch, and enjoy them, will be rendered irretrievable from (the Doctrine of) the 3 Vehicles. Then the relics will again take up their abode in the depths of the golden foundation of the earth. In a similar manner, at the times of war and famine, and when the 3 intervening ages will come, those relics will be transformed into precious sapphires, will rise up to Akaniṣṭha and abide there. As before, the rain of flowers will descend, the Words of the Doctrine will be heard, a rain of jewels will come down, and all hostile elements will be pacified. Then the relics will again come to abide in the depths of the golden foundation of the earth. —

In the *Nandamitra-avadāna*¹²⁰⁰) it is said: — When the age of men will have the duration of 700 years, the 16 great Elders (Sthaviras) will assemble together all the collections of sacred books belonging to the Doctrine of Čākyamuni wherever they might be. [136 b.] Then they will make a sanctuary of the 7 kinds of jewels and circumambulate (the sacred books) deposited there. Then, having seated themselves down cross-legged, they will say: — Praise be to the Lord, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfect Supreme Buddha Čākyamuni! — Having made this salutation, the Elders will pass away into the final Nirvāṇa. The sanctuary of the 7 kinds of Jewels will disappear and abide below, in the golden foundation of the earth. After that, the Teaching of the Buddha Čākyamuni, the Highest Doctrine will cease to exist, and thereupon 70 millions of Pratyekabuddhas will appear in this world. Thereafter, when the age of the living beings will have a duration of 80 000 years, the Tathāgata Maitreya will make his apparition on earth. — In the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* it is said that in the intervening age, from the time when human age will be reduced to 10 years and till the coming of Maitreya, in the period of growth, 80 000 Pratyekabuddhas will appear. According to some sources, the Buddha Maitreya will appear 570 000 000 years after the attainment of Nirvāṇa by the Buddha Čākyamuni. —

¹²⁰⁰) Dgaḥ-baḥi-bces-gñen-gyl-rtogs-brjod. Tg. MDO. XC.

Conclusion.

1. The Teaching of the Lord which is a lamp made of precious jewels,
And is the treasury of all the virtues that lead to the super-bliss (of Salvation)¹²⁰⁷,
By the force of time comes to its end
And fades away like a flower deprived of moisture.
2. Now the Doctrine will not abide for long,
Human life is unsteady like a torch exposed to the wind,
The consequences of former deeds, the passions, and the Lord of Death are full of power,
Therefore be devoted to the Doctrine and secure its treasures!¹²⁰⁸
3. This history the monk of Çākya's (spiritual) descent
Who is in the power of this age and deprived of true concentration,
Bu-ton with the large mouth and resembling a parrot, has written down.
May he by the virtue of this soon come to see the countenance of the Invincible (Maitreya)! [137 a.]

Of the History of Buddhism entitled "the Jewellery of Scripture" finished the 2^d Chapter "On the rise of the Doctrine in this world in general".

¹²⁰⁷) *hes-legs* = *niḥṣreyasa*.

¹²⁰⁸) *rin-chen grub* — an illusion to Bu-ton's personal name.

IV B. The History of Buddhism in Tibet

The second general topic is the way how the Doctrine took its origin in Tibet. We have here 3 sub-divisions: —

- a) The early period of the propagation of the Doctrine.
- b) The subsequent period of propagation.
- c) The index of the doctrinal works translated during these 2 periods.

IV Ba. The Earlier Period of Propagation.

As concerns the way how the human generation first appeared in Tibet, we read in the Commentary on the *Devāṭiṣayastotra*¹²⁰⁹) that at the time when the 5 Pāṇḍavas¹²¹⁰) were fighting with the 12 armies of the Kauravas¹²¹¹), the king Rūpati with 1000 warriors, in the disguise of women, fled into the rocky district of the Himālaya. Of these (the Tibetans) are considered to be the offspring. In the Tibetan legends it is said that (the Tibetans) are the descendants of a monkey and the fiendess of a rock. A detailed account of this is to be found elsewhere.

As regards the genealogy of the Tibetan kings, some say that (their ancestor) was the 5th descendant of Prasenajit the king of Kosala, according to some it was the 5th descendant of the youngest, feeble son of Bimbisāra.³ Still others say that at the time when the Tibetans were oppressed by 12 petty chiefs of the demons and Yakṣas, the king of Vatsa, Udayana¹²¹²), had a son born to him, whose eyelids were overhanging and whose fingers were connected with a web. As the child with such distinctive marks appeared, (the king) was frightened and ordered him to be put into a leaden^r box and thrown into the Ganges. (The boy) was however found

¹²⁰⁹) Lha-las-phul-du-byuñ-baḥi bstod-paḥi ḥgrel-pa. The work of Prajñā-varman, Tg. BSTOD. I.

¹²¹⁰) Skya-bseñ-bu lña.

¹²¹¹) Sgra-nan. The Xyl. has erroneously Dgra-nan.

¹²¹²) Ḥchar-byed.

by a peasant who brought him up. When he grew older, and the story (how he was found) was related to him, he became full of grief and fled to the Himālayas.

Gradually he passed by the Hla-ri Yöl-wa¹²¹³) and came out into the plain of "Tsan with the 4 gates"¹²¹⁴). The Bön priests who came from the Mu-thag¹²¹⁵) and Mu-kā¹²¹⁶) declared that he was a god. [137 b.] After they had asked him who he was and he replied: — I am a mighty one¹²¹⁷), — they inquired from where he came and he pointed with his finger to the sky. After their efforts to comprehend the language of each other turned to be unsuccessful, (the Böns) placed him on a wooden throne which they loaded on the necks of four men and said: — We shall make him our lord. — Therefrom he derived his name of Ña-ṭhi-tsen-po¹²¹⁸) "the neck-chaired Mighty One". It was he who became the first king of Tibet.

His son was Mu-ṭhi-tsen-po¹²¹⁹), the son of the latter Tiñ-ṭhi^{1219a}), the son of this one So-ṭhi, the latter's son Ye-ṭhi, the son of this one — Dag-ṭhi¹²²⁰), and the son of the latter — Si-ṭhi-tsen-po¹²²¹). These are accordingly called the 7 Ṭhi. Up to the time of the latter the worship called the Döl-bön¹²²²) was spread. Of the 3 sons of this king, one who was called Ja-ṭhi¹²²³) received the surname of Pu-de-k'uñ-gye¹²²⁴). His son was A-ṣo-leg¹²²⁵), and the son of the latter — I-ṣo-leg who built the Chin-bar-tag-tse¹²²⁶), — the first fortified castle. The son of this king was T'o-ṣo-leg who had a son called K'u-rub-leg. The latter's son was Doñ-je-leg¹²²⁷), and the son of this one — Tho-ṣo-leg. These six are known as the "6 Good-Ones of the Earth"¹²²⁸). The son of the last of these kings was Gye-śa-nam-śin-de¹²²⁹) and the son of this one — De-nöl-nam¹²³⁰). From the time of the latter and up to Ṭhi-thog-je-thog-tsen¹²³¹) there was a long succession of kings. As the 26th of this line, there appeared the king Tho-tho-ri-ñan-tsen¹²³²). When the latter attained the age of 16 years and was

¹²¹³) Lha-ri-yol-ba.

¹²¹⁴) Btsan-thañ-sgo-bži.

¹²¹⁵) Dmu-thag.

¹²¹⁶) Dmu-skas.

¹²¹⁷) Btsan-po.

¹²¹⁸) Gñah-khri-btsan-po.

¹²¹⁹) Mu-khri-btsan-po.

^{1219a}) Diñ-khri.

¹²²⁰) Gdags-khri.

¹²²¹) Sri-khri-btsan-po.

¹²²²) Rdol-bon.

¹²²³) Bya-khri.

¹²²⁴) Spu-ide-guñ-rgyal.

¹²²⁵) A-ṣo-legs.

¹²²⁶) Hchññ-bar-stag-rtse.

¹²²⁷) Hbroñ-rje-legs.

¹²²⁸) Sañi legs drug.

¹²²⁹) Rgyal-za-rnam-zin-ide.

¹²³⁰) Lde-snoł-gnam.

¹²³¹) Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan.

¹²³²) Tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan.

abiding on the summit of the palace Yam-bu-la-gai, a casket fell from the skies, and when its lid was opened, the *Karaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*¹²³³), the 100 *Precepts*¹²³⁴) concerning *Worship* and a golden Caitya were found within. The casket received the name of the "Mysterious Helper" and was worshipped (by the king). The latter came to live 120 years and came to witness the dawn of the Highest Doctrine¹²³⁵); up to that time the kingdom had been ruled by the Bön. In a dream (which this king had) it was prophesied to him that on the 5th generation one would come to know the meaning of these (sacred texts which he had miraculously obtained). His son [138 a.] was Ṭhi-ñan-śun-tsen¹²³⁶) who in his turn had a son named Ḍo-ñan-de-ru¹²³⁷). The latter's son was Tag-ri-ñan-śig¹²³⁸) who was born blind. After this son had ascended the throne, he worshipped "the Mysterious Helper" and through this his eyes became opened. He received his surname owing to the fact that he beheld on the Tag-ri a wild sheep (ñan)¹²³⁹) that was going about. The son of this king was Nam-ri-sroñ-tsen¹²⁴⁰). The latter (in his turn) had from his wife Ṭhse-poñ-s'a-qi-s'a-thö-kar¹²⁴¹) a son endowed with special marks of beauty and with the form of Amitābha abiding on his head. He was born in the year of the fire-cow and received the name of Ṭhi-de-sroñ-tsen¹²⁴²). The form of Amitābha on his head was encircled by a wreath of poppies. Thirteen years of age he ascended the throne and brought under his power all the petty chieftains of the borderland who offered him presents and sent their messages (of submission). —

As at that time no writing existed in Tibet, the son of Anu of the Thon-mi tribe was sent with 16 companions (to India) in order to study the art of writing. After having studied with the Paṇḍit Devavidyāsimha¹²⁴³), they shaped, in conformity with the Tibetan language, (the alphabet) consisting of 30 consonants¹²⁴⁴) and 4 vowels¹²⁴⁴). The form (of these letters) was given a resemblance

¹²³³) Za-ma-tog-bkod-pa. Kg. MDO. VII.

¹²³⁴) Pan-goñ-phyag-rgya-pa. Kg. MDO. XXIV.

¹²³⁵) Lit.: "Found the head of the Highest Doctrine" (*dam-paḥi-chos-kyi dbu brñes*).

¹²³⁶) Khri-gñan-zuñ-btsan. ¹²³⁷) Hgro-gñan-lde-ru.

¹²³⁸) Stag-ri-gñan-gzigs. ¹²³⁹) gñan. ¹²⁴⁰) Gnam-ri-sroñ-btsan.

¹²⁴¹) Ṭshe-spoñs-za-ñbri-za-thod-dkar.

¹²⁴²) Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan. ¹²⁴³) Lhañi-rig-pa-señ-ge.

¹²⁴⁴) gsal-byed. ¹²⁴⁴) āli.

with the Kashmirian characters. After (this alphabet) had been definitely formed at the Maru temple of Lhasa, (Thon-mi) composed 8 works on writing and grammar, and the king studied them 4 years abiding in seclusion. The *Karaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the 100 *Precepts*, the *Ratnamegha-sūtra* and others were then translated (into Tibetan).

As at that time the Tibetan subjects were disregarding the royal power, (the king) introduced laws harmonizing with the 10 virtues and converted the Tibetans to Buddhism. Owing to this he is known by the name of Sroṅ-tsen-gam-po¹²⁴⁵) — “Sroṅ-tsen the most accomplished”.

Thereafter, from southern India, (the statue of) the 11 faced Avalokita of finest sandal wood which had become originated by itself was brought. [138 b.] The king then took in marriage Ṭhi-btsun, the daughter of the Nepalese king Aṃṇuvarman¹²⁴⁶). This princess brought with her the images of Akṣobhya-vajra¹²⁴⁷), Maitreya, and Tārā, the latter being of sandal wood. After that the king married the Chinese princess Oñ-co, — the daughter of the Chinese Emperor Seṅ-ge-tsen-po¹²⁴⁸), who brought with her the statue of the Buddha which was afterwards placed in the Ṭhul-nañ¹²⁴⁹) temple. Thereupon Ṭhi-btsun had the desire of building a monastery, but had not the power of doing this. (The king) saw that the ground of Tibet was like (the body of) a she-devil that had fallen on her back, and that it was necessary to press (this she-devil) down. Accordingly, on the right shoulder (he caused to build) the monastery of Ka-tshe¹²⁵⁰), on the left one-Ṭha-ṇḍug¹²⁵¹), on the right leg — Tsañ-ḍam¹²⁵²), and on the left — Ḍom-pa-gyañ¹²⁵³), these being “the 4 monasteries of the 4 flanks”¹²⁵⁴). Then, on the right elbow, (the monastery of) Koñ-po-p'u-chu¹²⁵⁵), on the left — Hlo-ṭ'ag-khom-thiñ¹²⁵⁶), on the right knee — Ka-ṭ'ag¹²⁵⁷), and on the left Ṭ'a-t'um-tse^{1257a}), “the 4 subduers of the borders”¹²⁵⁸) were constructed. Thereafter on the palm of the right hand Luñ-nö¹²⁵⁹) of Jañ-tshe¹²⁶⁰) and on that

¹²⁴⁵) Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. ¹²⁴⁶) Hod-zer-go-cha. ¹²⁴⁷) Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje.

¹²⁴⁸) Seṅ-ge-btsan-po. ¹²⁴⁹) Ḥphrul-snañ. ¹²⁵⁰) Ska-tshal.

¹²⁵¹) Khra-ḥbrug. ¹²⁵²) Gtsañ-hgram. ¹²⁵³) Grom-pa-rgyañ.

¹²⁵⁴) Ru-bḥiḥi gtsug-lag-khañ bḥi. ¹²⁵⁵) Koñ-po-bu-chu.

¹²⁵⁶) Lho-brag-khom-mthiñ. ¹²⁵⁷) Ska-brag.

^{1257a}) Bra-dum-rtse. ¹²⁵⁸) Mthah-ḥdul bḥi. ¹²⁵⁹) Rluñ-gnod.

¹²⁶⁰) Byañ-tshal.

of the left one — the Dan-loñ-thañ-dön-ma of Kham^{1260a}), on the right foot — Jam-tin¹²⁶¹) of Mañ-yul, and on the left — the P'um-thañ-pa-t'o-kyer-chu¹²⁶²) of Mon-yul were built and many other monasteries besides. Thereafter, in the middle of the lake O-thañ, (the king) made a foundation of stone covered with wood. Cement having been made out of the mould of the Nāgas and earth having been brought with the help of a goat, the ground was levelled and the monastery of Lhasa, the Rā Ṭhul-nañ¹²⁶³) was built. From the working-tools heaped up in the northern projection of the temple there appeared by itself the form of Avalokita with 11 faces and was prayed to stay. —

Thereafter the king departed to the 5 peaked mountains of China, and built there 108 temples. The Chinese queen Oñ-co (in her turn) built the temple of Ra-mo-che. At that time the Indian teacher Kusara, [139 a.] the Brāhmaṇa Čamkara, the Nepalese teacher Čilamañju, the Chinese teacher Hva-čan Mahādeva-tshe, the translator Thon-mi Sañbhoṭa, his pupil Dharmakoça, and Dorje-pal of Hla-luñ translated and edited a certain number of the kanonical texts. —

The King (Sroñ-tsen-gam-po) is regarded as the incarnation of Avalokita and there exists a biography of him by 2 monks of Li. This king ruled 69 years and died 82 years of age. At that very time the queen Oñ-co said: — Let the statue of Čākyamuni¹²⁶⁴) be brought from Ra-mo-che and placed in the projection of Ṭhul-nañ. Let the door be covered with plaster, and may Mañjuçrī write upon it. — And, with Ṭhi-btsun (and the king), they all 3 coalesced with (the statue of) Avalokita and passed away. The ministers then made (the statues of) the 2 tutelary deities change their places, thus acting according to the testament.

The son of this king was Mañ-roñ-mañ-tsen^{1264a}), his son — K'uñ-sroñ-k'uñ-tsen¹²⁶⁵), the son of the latter Du-sroñ-mañ-po-je-lo-nam-ṭhul-gyi-gyal-po¹²⁶⁶), and the son of this one — Ṭhi-de-tsug-ten¹²⁶⁷). The latter built the fortress of Lhasa, the Phu-

^{1260a}) Hdan-kloñ-thañ-sgron-ma.

¹²⁶¹) Byams-sprñ.

¹²⁶²) Bum-thañ-spa-gro-skyer-chu.

¹²⁶³) Ras ḥphrul-snañ.

¹²⁶⁴) The Tib. has here and further on Lha Čākya-mu-ne (sic).

^{1264a}) Mañ-roñ-mañ-btsan.

¹²⁶⁵) Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan.

¹²⁶⁶) Hdu-sroñ-mañ-po-rje-blo-nam-ḥphrul-gyi-rgyal-po.

✓¹²⁶⁷) Ṭhi-de-gtsug-brtan.

nam-sä¹²⁶⁸) of Chim, the T'ar-phur-khar-hlag¹²⁶⁹), the Do-mad-liñ-chu-ṭhi-tse¹²⁷⁰), the Ga-chu-çar-go of the Red Cliff¹²⁷¹), the Phañ-thañ-ka-med¹²⁷²), the Ka-chu-pan-chuñ, the Ḍin-zañ of the Red Cliff¹²⁷³), etc.

Mūlakoṣa of Lan-ka¹²⁷⁴) and Jñānakumāra of Nāg¹²⁷⁵) translated the Sūtras *Karmaṣataka*¹²⁷⁶) and *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, as well as works on Mathematics and Medicine and furthered the spread of the Doctrine.

(The king Ṭhi-de-tsug-ten) had a son called Je-tsha-hla-pön¹²⁷⁷) who married the daughter of the Chinese Emperor Gyim-čan-[139 b.] oñ-co. The son of these died. (The princess) united with the grandfather and worshipped the statue of Čākyamuni. Thereafter, a boy endowed with special marks of beauty was born in the year of the male-earth-horse. At the time when the king departed in order to visit Phañ-thañ, the boy was carried off by Na-nam-s'a¹²⁷⁸), was brought up as the son of the latter and became known by the name of Ṭhi-sroñ-de-tsen¹²⁷⁹). When he was still a child, Sañ-çi and others, altogether 4 in number, were sent to China in search of kanonical works. At that time a Chinese Hva-čan who was endowed with the supernatural faculties spread the rumour that the Tibetan messengers were incarnations of Bodhi-sattva Saints and recommended to treat them as such. (The messengers) came, were honoured by the Chinese Emperor and sent back in the company of a Hva-čan. When they returned to Tibet, the king had died and, as the prince was still a child, the ministers violated the laws and customs, banished those who were acting according to the Doctrine, and made arrangements to send the statue of Čākyamuni back to China. But as 300 men were incapable of moving it, they buried it in sand and made of the temple a slaughter-house. At that time the Na-nam Ṭhi-thog-je-thañ-la-bar¹²⁸⁰) died, having broken his back. Cog-ṭ'u-kye-pa-ñe-gyal-goñ¹²⁸¹) likewise died, having withered away. (After that the ministers) said: — This is a punishment for our having buried

¹²⁶⁸) Phu-gnam-sral. ¹²⁶⁹) Dar-ḥphur-mkhar-lhag.

¹²⁷⁰) Mdo-smad-liñ-chu-khri-rtse. ¹²⁷¹) Brag-dmar du Sga-chu-çar-sgo.

¹²⁷²) Ḥphañ-thañ-ka-med. ¹²⁷³) Brag-dmar-ḥbrin-bzañs.

¹²⁷⁴) Blan-ka. ¹²⁷⁵) Gñags. ¹²⁷⁶) Las-brgya-pa.

¹²⁷⁷) Ḥjad-tsha-lha-dpon. ¹²⁷⁸) Sna-nam-za.

¹²⁷⁹) Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. ¹²⁸⁰) Khri-thog-rje-thañ-la-ḥbar.

¹²⁸¹) Cog-gru-skyes-pa-ñes-rgyal-dgoñ.

the deity under sand. — Accordingly, they hoisted the statue on a pair of mules and brought it to Kyi-roñ¹²⁸²) in Mañ-yul. Nevertheless, after that Khar-ṭ'ag¹²⁸³) and Ḍiñ-s'añ¹²⁸⁴) were both destroyed. At that time the nephew and niece of Ba-lañ-lag-gi-pä-sal-nañ¹²⁸⁵), — a brother and a sister had both died. The Hva-čan made magical implements owing to which the maiden a year after was reborn as his own son, in whom the remembrance (of previous existence) appeared. This one, (when he grew up) was selected by the prince as the governor of Mañ-yul and was sent there. At that time Sañ-çi, having arrived, took up his abode in solitude at Chö-ṭag¹²⁸⁶). Thereafter, Thi-sroñ-de-tsen, having attained the age of thirteen, ascended the throne. [140 a.] When the biography of this father and grandfather was related to him, the Doctrine was likewise mentioned (in the narrative). (The king) got the sacred texts that were concealed, expressed the wish to study them, and became full of faith. The Chinese Me and Go, and the Paṇḍit Ananta, these 3 were appointed to translate (the texts). The translation was accordingly begun, but the minister Ma-sh'añ-ṭ'om-pa-kye¹²⁸⁷) and others caused impediments to this. The ministers who were devoted to the Doctrine, sent Sañ-çi to Mañ-yul. Sal-nañ¹²⁸⁸) did not remain at Mañ-yul, but went to India and presented his sacrificial offerings at Mahābodhi and Āṛi-Nālanda. In Nepal he met with the preceptor Bodhisattva¹²⁸⁹) and invited him to Mañ-yul. Thereafter he built a monastery, made the Creative Effort for Enlightenment, and was henceforth known by the name of Ye-ṣei-vañ-po¹²⁹⁰) (Jñānendra). The teacher (Bodhisattva) whom he prayed to come (afterwards) to Tibet, gave his instructions and his consent and departed to Nepal.

Then, having studied the kanonical works that had been concealed, (Jñānendra) had an interview with the king at the palace of Luñ-tshug¹²⁹¹), held a discussion with him concerning the Doctrine, and related to him the biography of Bodhisattva. — Hide thyself, — said the king. — By the by I will make Sh'añ-ñam-s'añ¹²⁹²) discuss over the matter. — Thereafter Sh'añ-ñam-s'añ, Gō-ṭhi-s'añ¹²⁹³) and the other ministers, devoted to the Doctrine,

¹²⁸²) Skyid-groñ. ¹²⁸³) Mkhar-brag. ¹²⁸⁴) Hbrin-bzañ.

¹²⁸⁵) Ba-lañ-glag-gi-sbas-gsal-snañ. ¹²⁸⁶) Chos-brag.

¹²⁸⁷) Ma-žañ-grom-pa-skyes. ¹²⁸⁸) Gsal-snañ.

¹²⁸⁹) I. e. the teacher Āntirakṣita. ¹²⁹⁰) Ye-ṣes-dbañ-po.

¹²⁹¹) Rluñ-tshugs. ¹²⁹²) Žañ-ñam-bzañ. ¹²⁹³) Hgos-khri-bzañ.

received the orders to act for the sake of the latter. *Nam-s'an* said:—*Ma-sh'an*¹²⁸⁴) is very powerful and is hostile to the Doctrine. Therefore it will be impossible to attain any result. — *Gö* said: — I know a means of action, but you must assist me in the affair. — The king and the ministers gave their approval, and, after *Gö* had reflected (over the means of action), they cast *Ma-sh'an-t'om-pa-kye* alive into a grave and covered the aperture with a block of stone. Thereupon [140 b.] *Jñānendra* was sent to invite the *Ācārya* *Bodhisattva*. *Lañ-t'oñ-na-ra*¹²⁸⁵), *Ñer-tag-tsen-toñ-s'i*¹²⁸⁶), and *Ḍaṅ-gya-ra-le-s'i*¹²⁸⁷), — these 3 were afterwards despatched to meet them. After they had met at *Mañ-yul*, and *Lañ-t'oñ-na-ra* with the *Ācārya* had been left there, (the *Ācārya*) payed his respects to the governor in his palace. On this occasion the officials of *Sh'an* said: — One must investigate whether he mutters the bad spells of the south or of Nepal or not. Accordingly, *Sañ-çi*, *Señ-k'oñ-hla-luñ-s'i*¹²⁸⁸) and *Me-lan* of the *Chim-pa* tribe were sent (to get information on the subject), but they did not understand the language (of the *Ācārya*). They then prayed the Kashmirian *Ananta* to be interpret, and inquired of what kind the *Ācārya* was. And, as it was said that he was virtuous and had no obscene thoughts, he was invited to the palace and, with the Kashmirian *Ananta* as translator,—he expounded in the palace *Luñ-tshug* for 4 months the teaching of the 10 virtues, of the 18 component elements of the individual, and of the 12-membered causal chain. This brought the malignant deities of Tibet into a fury. *Phañ-thañ* was carried away by a flood, lightning struck in *Mar-po-ri*, and diseases befalling men and cattle broke out. The Tibetan subjects declared that this was a consequence of the propagation of a false doctrine, and the *Ācārya* was sent back to Nepal.

Then, after a long time, *Sal-nañ* of *Ba*¹²⁸⁹) was sent to China in search of kanonical texts. *Sañ-çi* and others, 30 in number, were in their turn despatched in order to invite the *Ācārya* again. At that time a *Hva-çañ* of China said: — In 6 months and 6 days an incarnation of the Saint *Açvaghōṣa* will come. — (The Tibetan envoy came), was favoured by the Chinese Emperor, got from the *Hva-çañ* the instructions concerning the concentration of mind, and communicated them to his companions. (When *Sal-nañ* had

¹²⁸⁴) Cf. above. Note 1287.

¹²⁸⁵) *Gñer-stag-btsan-toñ-gzigs*.

¹²⁸⁶) *Señ-goñ-lha-luñ-gzigs*.

¹²⁸⁷) *Lañ-groñ-sna-ra*.

¹²⁸⁸) *Sgrañ-rgya-ra-legs-gzigs*.

¹²⁸⁹) *Sba*.

returned from China, the king said to him): — The Ācārya has not up to this time been invited; go therefore (and fetch him). — Sal-nañ accordingly went to Nepal and invited the Ācārya. Thereafter, when he had come back, he met the king in *Ḍin-s'añ* of the Red Cliff and said to him: — As the demons of Tibet are not subdued, they do not admit that one acts for the sake of the Doctrine. [141 a.] They are powerful and endowed with huge bodies. It is therefore necessary to subdue them. Now there exists a teacher called Padmasambhava who is endowed with great power and dexterity. You must invite him (in order to pacify the devils). — The king having declared that this was told to him in a dream, sent Mañ-je-sal-nañ of Ba¹³⁰⁰), and Señ-k'oñ-hla-luñ, with 5 attendants, viz. Dorje-dud-jom¹³⁰¹) of Na-nam, Jñānasiddhi of Ce¹³⁰²), Čākyaprabha of Chim, Jayarakṣita of T'añ-ti and Čri-simha¹³⁰³) of Čü-pu¹³⁰⁴). The teacher came to know about this and went to K'uñ-thañ in Mañ-yul, where they met. Thereafter he gradually proceeded forward, subduing the malignant deities. Having come to Ha-sa-po-ri, he met with the king and then went to Mal-ṭoi-phu¹³⁰⁵), and subdued all the Tibetan demons. Thereafter the teacher was invited to Sam-yä and established his residence there.

The Ācārya Bodhisattva in his turn, examined the ground, took the monastery of Odantapuri as a model and made a plan containing the forms of the mount Sumeru, the 12 continents, both the sun and the moon, all these surrounded by a circumference of iron. In the female-fire-hare-year the foundation was laid, and first of all the temple of Avalokita was built, and images for which the men of Tibet served as patterns, were sculptured. The queen Che-va-tshe-peñ S'a-mar-gyal Me-tog Dolma¹³⁰⁶) built the Kham-sum-s'añ-khañ-liñ¹³⁰⁷), (the queen) Pho-yoñ-s'a-gyal-mo-tsün¹³⁰⁸) built the U-tshal-ser-khañ-liñ, and (the queen) Do-s'a-jañ-chub-man¹³⁰⁹) — the temple of Ge-gyā-je-ma-liñ¹³¹⁰). In the female-earth-hare-year the work was accomplished. The Ācārya Bodhi-

¹³⁰⁰) Sba Mañ-rje-gsal-snañ.

¹³⁰¹) Rdo-rje-bdud-hjoms.

¹³⁰²) Lce.

¹³⁰³) Dpal-gyl-señ-ge.

¹³⁰⁴) Čud-pu.

¹³⁰⁵) Mal-groñl-phu.

¹³⁰⁶) Che-ba-tshe-speñs Za-dmar-rgyal Me-tog Sgrol-ma.

¹³⁰⁷) Khams-gsum-zañ-khañ-gliñ.

¹³⁰⁸) Pho-yoñs-za-rgyal-mo-btsun.

¹³⁰⁹) Hbro-za-byañ-chub-aman.

¹³¹⁰) Dge-rgyas-bye-ma-gliñ.

sattva and Padmasambhava performed the rites of consecration and a feast was celebrated during 13 years. In the sheep-year 12 monks of the sect of the Sarvāstivādins were invited [141 b.], and it was put to the test, whether the Tibetans could become monks or not. For this purpose 7 men were selected and ordained as monks. According to some, the 3 elder ones of these were Mañjuçrī of Ba¹³¹¹), Devendra of Tsañ¹³¹²) and Kumudika of T'añ. The 3 younger ones were Nāgendra of Khön¹³¹³), Vairocana of Pa-k'or¹³¹⁴) and Ācārya Rin-chen-chog of Ma¹³¹⁵). The intermediate one was Katana of Lañ¹³¹⁶). The preceptor of these was said to be Dānaçila, and their religious names were Jñānendra, etc. (According to others), the Ācārya Bodhisattva, having been made preceptor, first of all Ja-ñhi-s'i¹³¹⁷) took orders and became possessed of the 5 supernatural faculties. Thereafter, Sol-nañ of Ba, Tshi-sh'er of Bā, Çita of Sañ, Vairocana Rakṣita of Pa-k'or, Jinottamaghoṣa^{1317a}) of Ran-la, Nāgendarakṣita¹³¹⁸) of Khön, Ācārya Rin-chen-chog of Ma, and Leg-ḍub¹³¹⁹) of Tsañ, — 7 in number, who received the religious names of Jñānendra, Çrighoṣa, etc. (were ordained). These are spoken of as "the 7 selected ones"¹³²⁰). If we examine the ends of their names and take in consideration that the name of Bodhisattva was Çāntirakṣita, it will be clear that they were the pupils of the latter. The spiritual ancestral line of preceptors¹³²¹) was: — Çāriputra, Rāhula¹³²²), Nāgārjuna, Bhāvaviveka, Çrigupta, Jñānagarbha and the preceptor Bodhisattva. The portraits of these were painted on the northern wall of Sam-yā.

Thereafter the teacher Padma transformed the sands of Nan-çon into fertile ground, forced the Tsañ-po river to flow downward, and performed other miraculous acts. Then he took the silver urn in which the king used to keep fresh water for washing, cast it into the air and, having obtained the water of the gods of the colour of milk, prayed the king to refresh his body. The ministers however were displeased with this and sent him away.

Furthermore, the Indian teachers Vimalamitra, Buddhaghya¹³²³), Çāntigarbha, Viçuddhasiṃha [142 a.] with the Tibetan

¹³¹¹) Dbañ.

¹³¹²) Rtsaṅs.

¹³¹³) Hkhon.

¹³¹⁴) Pa-gor.

¹³¹⁵) Rma.

¹³¹⁶) Glañ.

¹³¹⁷) Bya-khri-gzigs.

^{1317a}) Rgyal-ba-mchog-dbyaṅs.

¹³¹⁸) Kluñl-dbañ-po-bsruñ-ba.

¹³¹⁹) Legs-grub.

¹³²⁰) Sad-mi mi bdun.

¹³²¹) mkhan-brgyud.

¹³²²) Sgra-can-zin.

¹³²³) Sañs-rgyas-gsañ-ba.

translators, viz. the 7 selected ones, Dharmāloka¹³²⁴), the Bande Nam-khā, Ratnasena of Do¹³²⁵), Nam-par-mi-tog-pa¹³²⁶), Čākya-prabha¹³²⁷) and others interpreted and translated numerous kano-nical works. The Tantric exorcist¹³²⁸) Dharmakīrti having been invited, the rites of consecration of the Yogavajradhātu¹³²⁹) and other magic circles in the Dūd-dül-ñag-pa-liñ¹³³⁰) were performed. The Kashmirian Pañḍits Jinamitra, Dānaçila and others established the rules of monastic discipline in the Nam-dag-ñhim-khañ-liñ¹³³¹). The Chinese Hva-çañ and others underwent the practice of meditation in the Mi-yo-sam-ten-liñ¹³³²), works on Grammar and Dictionaries were composed in the Da-jor-tshañ-pai-liñ¹³³³), treasures were stored up in the Kor-dzö-p'e har-liñ¹³³⁴), and the canonical works were discussed in the monastery of Vairocana. By these and other similar works the Doctrine was fully and thoroughly introduced.

In the year of the dragon the teachers residing in the palace of Den-kar¹³³⁵), the translators Ban-de Pal-tseg¹³³⁶), the Ban-de Nāgendra¹³³⁷) and others made a list of the titles of the sacred texts that were translated in Tibet, as well as the number of divisions¹³³⁸) and Çlokaś contained in them, and wrote all this down in the form of a catalogue.

Thereafter the Ācārya Bodhisattva declared that no heretics would appear in Tibet, but that the church of the Buddha would itself be split into 2 sects, and that dispute and controversy would take place. Therefore, — said he, — when that time will come, you must invite my pupil Kamalaçila and, after a controversy will have been held, all strife will be pacified and the true form of the Teaching established. — Thus did he prophesy and soon, having been kicked by a horse, he went to his rest.

Thereafter Çriḡhoṣa¹³³⁹) was appointed teacher and expounded the Doctrine. Jñānendra fled and gave himself up to meditation in Hlo-t'ag¹³⁴⁰). The number of pupils of the Chinese Hva-çañ [142 b.] Mahāyāna increased. These favoured nihilistic views and

¹³²⁴) Chos-kyl-snañ-ba. ¹³²⁵) Sgro Rin-chen-sde.

¹³²⁶) Rnam-par-mi-rtog-pa. ¹³²⁷) Čākya-ñod. ¹³²⁸) Śnags-ñchañ.

¹³²⁹) Yo-ga-rdo-rje-dbylñs. ¹³³⁰) Bdud-ñdul-sñags-pa-gliñ.

¹³³¹) Rnam-dag-khrims-khañ-gliñ. ¹³³²) Mi-gyo-bsam-gtan-gliñ.

¹³³³) Brda-sbyor-tshañs-pañi-gliñ. ¹³³⁴) Dkor-mdzod-pe-har-liñ.

¹³³⁵) Ldan-dkar. ¹³³⁶) Dpal-brtsegs. ¹³³⁷) Kluñi-dbañ-po.

¹³³⁸) Bam-po. ¹³³⁹) Dpal-dbyañs. ¹³⁴⁰) Lho-brag.

did not exert themselves in the practice of virtue, saying: — By acting according to the Doctrine, by virtuous acts of body and speech, one cannot become a Buddha. One attains the state of the latter by abiding in perfect inactivity. — The Tibetans, for the greater part, found pleasure (in such a conception of the Doctrine) and studied the system (of the Hva-çañ). Çrighoṣa, Ratna of Ba and a few others who adhered to the system of the Ācārya Bodhisattva did not agree (with the Hva-çañ) neither in the theory nor in the practice, and there was strife (between the 2 parties). When the king gave the order that one should follow theoretically and practically the system of the Ācārya Bodhisattva, the Tön-mün-pa¹³⁴¹) (the Chinese party) were enraged, armed themselves with sharp knives and threatened to kill all the Tsen-min-pa (the adherents of Bodhisattva)¹³⁴²). The king, distressed, sent for Jñānendra in order to summon him. Twice (the envoys) sought and did not find him. They were then sent for a third time with the directions to kill (Jñānendra) if he did not come. Accordingly, they came into a cavern, 12 fathoms deep, and having descended (and found Jñānendra there), they prayed him to come. Thinking that if he would not go, he would be killed or would have to commit suicide, he went and told the king that it was not proper to summon him, since the commandments of the teacher (Bodhisattva) were of another kind. By this the king was reminded (of the Ācārya's instructions) which he had forgotten, and sent a messenger to invite the teacher Kamalaçila. This the Hva-çañ came to know and, having obtained the *Çatasāhasrikā* and other Sūtras of profound meaning, taught and explained them, and composed the *Dhyāna-svapna-cakra*¹³⁴³), "the Attainment of the state of Absorption", refuting the challenges directed against the preceding work, "the Repeated Attainment", "the Reverse Side of the System", vindicating the theory by Logic, "the Sources in the form of 80 Sūtras"¹³⁴⁴), proving it by means of Scripture, etc. In all these works it was demonstrated that the action according to the Doctrine was unnecessary, and that it was sufficient to abide in a state of sleep. And, seeing that the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra* disagreed with his views and conduct, (the Hva-çañ) cast it away with a kick. At that time Jñānendra [143 a] prayed the king to

¹³⁴¹) Ston-mun-pa. Cf. below.

¹³⁴²) Cf. below.

¹³⁴³) Bsam-gtan-ñal-baḥi-ḥkhor-lo.

¹³⁴⁴) Mdo-sde-brgyad-cu-khuñs.

listen himself to the exposition of the precepts of the Ācārya. The king was delighted and said: — You are my Ācārya! — Thereafter the teacher Kamalaçila arrived. The king seated himself in the middle, the Hva-çañ was given a place to his right and the teacher (Kamalaçila) to his left side. The Tsen-min were placed so as to form the retinue (of Kamalaçila). The king, having handed to both wreaths of flowers, declared: — Ye two are to hold a controversy. To him who conquers, the vanquished must present his wreath and dare no longer abide here! —

Then the Hva-çañ spoke: — If one commits virtuous or sinful deeds, one comes to blissful or to evil births (respectively). In such a way the deliverance from the Saṃsāra is impossible, and there will be always impediments to the attainment of Buddhahood. (The virtuous and the sinful deeds) are just like white and black clouds which alike obscure the sky. But he who has no thoughts and inclinations at all, can be fully delivered from Phenomenal Life. The absence of any thought, search, or investigation brings about the non-perception¹³⁴⁵) of the reality of separate entities. In such a manner one can attain (Buddhahood) at once, like (a Bodhisattva) who has attained the 10th Stage. —

To this Kamalaçila himself answered as follows: — Thou sayest thus that one ought not to think about anything whatever. But this means the negation (or rejection) of the Highest Analytic Wisdom likewise. Now as the latter represents the foundation of the Divine Wisdom of a Saint, the rejection of it necessarily leads to the negation of this sublime Transcendental Wisdom. If Analytic Wisdom is absent, what meditator can come to abide in a state where there is no constructive thought? — If one has no thought concerning any of the elements of existence and does not direct the mind upon them, this does not mean that one can cease to remember all that one has experienced and to think of it. If I think: — [143 b.] I must not recall in my mind any element of existence, — such a thought will itself be an intense recollection and activity of the mind. If the mere absence of (consciousness and) recollection is regarded as sufficient, it follows that in a swoon or at the time of intoxication one comes to the state where there is no constructive thought. Now, (in reality) without correct analysis there is no means of attaining the liberation from constructive

¹³⁴⁵) *mi-dmigs-pa* = *anupalambha*.

མི་དམིགས་པ་ མི་དམིགས་པ་ in Tibetan མི་དམིགས་པ་

thought. If we merely cease to reflect and have no discrimination, how can we come to the cognition of the Non-substantiality of all the elements? — And, without the cognition of Non-substantiality, it is impossible to remove the Obscurations. Therefore, the incorrect representation can be cast away only by means of the correct Analytic Wisdom. For this reason it is not proper to say, that one does not reflect, when in reality it is the reverse. Without recollection and correct activity of the mind, how can one come to remember the place of former residence¹³⁴⁶) and attain Omniscience? And how will it be possible to extirpate the passions? — But the Yogin who reflects over an object by means of correct Analytic Wisdom, cognizes all the external and internal elements in the present, past, and future as non-substantial, has all thought-construction pacified within him, and rejects all the evil doctrines. On this foundation he becomes skilful in expedients and in the manifestation of Highest Wisdom. And, having through this cleared all the Obscurations, he can attain the state of a Buddha. —

Thereafter the king said: — All the adherents (of Kamala-çīla) must likewise make their objections. — Accordingly Çrighoṣa spoke as follows: — The Chinese are of the opinion that one has to enter (the Stage of a Buddha) at once, but not by gradual practice. According to them, the 6 Transcendental Virtues are to be taken as the mere negation of their reverse. Highest Charity¹³⁴⁷) is thus viewed only as the absence of greediness. The fact of abstaining from every kind of appropriation thus represents the Highest Transcendental Charity. So they have it in connection (with each of the 6 virtues) up to that of Highest Wisdom. [144 a.] For a long time after the Teacher had passed away, there were no disagreeing points in (the main points of) the Teaching. At present, contrary to the 3 varieties of the Mādhyamikas, the Tön-mün-pa wish to attain Buddhahood at once, and (pretend to) do so without searching and cognition. Of course, there are many methods of acting, but the very process of attaining Enlightenment, as well as the result of it is only one; (therefore it is impossible to attain it by means of a way that is quite unsuitable for this). —

Then spoke Jñānendra: — The attainment (of Buddhahood) at once and the action by degrees must both be investigated. If

¹³⁴⁶) *ñhon-gyi gnas rjes-su-dran-pa* = *pūrvā-nivāsa-anuṣṛṇī*.

¹³⁴⁷) *abyin-paḥi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *dāna-pāramitā*.

the action by degrees is right, then (in doing nothing) you cannot be possessed of the factors of attainment and will be very unlike us. And, if you attain (Buddhahood) at once, what are you doing at present? You must be Buddhas from the very beginning and, (according to your point of view), there will be no fault in admitting this. Now, when you ascend a mountain, you must do it step by step, but you are not capable of doing it at once. In a similar manner, if it be difficult to attain the first Stage (even by degrees), what is there to say of the attainment of Omniscience? According to the point of view of us, the Tsen-min-pa, it is necessary to become trained in the 3 kinds of Analytic Wisdom, then, on the basis of all the different subjects of Scripture, to apprehend correctly the meaning of the latter, to receive training in the practice of the 10 virtues, to attain steadfastness by the means of profound meditation, to enter the first Stage and come to the guiltless state (of a Bodhisattva)¹³⁴⁹, and then, passing through gradual training on the 10 Stages, to attain Buddhahood by means of the 10 virtues. — If we admit your point of view, it follows that the Accumulations of Merit need not to be brought to accomplishment, mental training is not required, and the knowledge of the worldly matters is unnecessary. But, in such a case, how can the knowledge of everything cognizable be attained? If you do nothing and only sleep, you will not even take food and thus die of hunger! And, in such a way, where and when are you to attain Buddhahood? If you walk without searching and investigating, you will needs fall; where and when can you thus cognize the Truth? —

Thus and more spoke he in detail and the Tön-mün-pa were incapable of giving an answer. They gave the wreath of flowers to the teacher, and declared themselves vanquished. [144 b.] Co-ma-ma¹³⁴⁹ and other (adherents of the Hva-čan) were distressed and, having smitten their bodies with stones, died, as runs the tradition.

Thereafter the king gave the following order: — Henceforth, as concerns the theory, one must adopt the system of Nāgārjuna. With regard to the practice, — one must become trained in the 10 kinds of virtuous conduct and in the 10 Transcendental Virtues.

¹³⁴⁹) (*byan-chub-sems-dpañi*) *skyon-med-pa* = (*bodhisattvasya*) *nyāma*.

¹³⁴⁹) Co-rma-rma.

As to the Tön-mün views, the propagation of these is not to be permitted! — Accordingly the Hva-čan was sent back to China, and his books were collected and kept concealed in a store-house. Now, Tön-mün and Tsen-min are Chinese words signifying “simultaneists” and “gradualists”. —

Later on, four Chinese butchers, sent by the Hva-čan, killed the teacher Kamalaçila by squeezing his kidneys. Jñānendra passed away, having refused to take food. The king in his turn died 69 years of age, and was held to have been an incarnation of Mañjuçrī. His son, Mu-ne-tsen-po assumed the reign in the male-water-tiger-year, caused 4 great religious services to be celebrated at Sam-yä, and thrice established equality between the rich and the poor of his Tibetan subjects. Having reigned for a year and 7 months, he died 17 years of age, having been poisoned by his mother. After that, his younger brother, Ṭhi-de-tsen-po¹³⁵⁰, then 4 years of age, was made king, and was (later on) known by the surname of Se-na-le¹³⁵¹. (This king built the Kar-chuñ-gya-de¹³⁵²) and greatly furthered the spread of the Doctrine. Five sons were born to him: Ṭhi-de-sroñ-tsen¹³⁵³, Ral-pa-cen-tsañ-ma¹³⁵⁴, Ṭhi-darma-u-t'um-tsen¹³⁵⁵, Hla-rje-hlün-dub¹³⁵⁶, and Ṭhi-chen-po¹³⁵⁷. Ral-pa-cen who was considered to be the incarnation of Vajrapāṇi began to reign 18 years of age and built the palace of Ōn-cañ-do¹³⁵⁸) with 9 storeys. Before, in the time of his forefathers, the teacher Bodhisattva, [145 a.] Jñānendra, Sh'añ-gyal-ñen-ña-s'añ¹³⁵⁹, Lön-ṭhi-sh'ir-sañ-çi¹³⁶⁰), the translators Jñānadeva-koṣa, Khyi-ḍug¹³⁶¹ of Ce¹³⁶²), the Brāhmaṇa Ananta and others created a literary language that contained many words unintelligible to the Tibetans. Besides, different translations were made from the Chinese, from the language of Li and Sahor, etc. Owing to this there were many different renderings of words and the study of the Doctrine became very difficult. Seeing this, the king issued the following order: — The Aparāntaka teachers¹³⁶³) Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Çilendrabodhi, and Bodhimitra, the Tibetan

¹³⁵⁰) Khri-lde-btsan-po.

¹³⁵¹) Sad-na-legs.

¹³⁵²) Skar-chuñ-rgya-sde.

¹³⁵³) Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan.

¹³⁵⁴) Ral-pa-can-gtsañ-ma.

¹³⁵⁵) Khri-dar-ma-u-dum-btsan.

¹³⁵⁶) Lha-rje-lhun-grub.

¹³⁵⁷) Khri-chen-po.

¹³⁵⁸) Hlon-cañ-rdo.

¹³⁵⁹) Žaṇ-rgyal-ñen-ña-bzañ.

¹³⁶⁰) Blon-khri-bžir-sañ-çi.

¹³⁶¹) Khyi-ḥbrug.

¹³⁶²) Lce.

¹³⁶³) Ni-ḥog-gi-mkhan-po.

teachers Ratnarakṣita and Dharmatāṣila, the skilful translators Jñānasena¹³⁶⁴), Jayarakṣita, Mañjuçrivarman, Ratnendračila and others are to translate the Hinayānistic and Mahāyānistic Scriptures into Tibetan directly from the Sanskrit^{1364a}). The titles are to be registered and written down so as to form an index. In no case are the rules of translation to be violated, and one must make the translations so that it could be possible for everyone to study. — Moreover, the texts translated before were re-edited in the new language, 3 different forms of instructions were made, and it was prescribed that the Hinayānistic Scripture other than that acknowledged by the Sarvāstivādins, and the secret charms were not to be translated. Finally, measures as the *Droṇa*¹³⁶⁵), *Sraṇ*, *Sho*, and others were introduced, in accordance with those of India. To every ecclesiastic 7 families were appointed, from which he was to receive his alms. (The king himself honoured the members of the clergy) by making of his head a seat for them and by touching their feet with his head. He made war with China, was victorious, and the numerous reports of his generals were written down on the Long Stone¹³⁶⁶) in Lhasa.

Now, as the government of the city was entrusted to a monk, the ministers who rejoiced in sinful deeds were enraged [145 b.] and made secret machinations in order to violate the precepts of the Doctrine. The king's son Tsañ-ma who had taken orders was expelled to T'omo. Scandalous talk was spread about that the queen Nañ-tshul-ma and the great Bande Yon-ten-pal¹³⁶⁷) had secrete intercourse with each other. Finally, the great Bande was murdered and the queen committed suicide. The king himself, 36 years of age, in the female-iron-bird-year was assassinated by Pā-gyal-to-re¹³⁶⁸) and Co-re-leg-ma¹³⁶⁹) who turned round his neck. Thereafter, the Tsen-po Lañ-dar-ma-u-dum-tsen took possession of the kingdom. The devil-like Pā-gyal-to-re who was appointed minister for inward affairs, the minister Na-nam-gyal-tsha-ṭhi-sum¹³⁷⁰) and others did much that was contrary to the

¹³⁶⁴) Usually known by his Tibetan equivalent — Ye-ces-sde.

^{1364a}) Cf. Cordier, Index du Bstan-hgyur, II. p. 487. All the translators and Paṇḍits just mentioned are indicated as those who have compiled the Mahāvyutpatti.

¹³⁶⁵) Bre-bo. ¹³⁶⁶) Rdo-rins. ¹³⁶⁷) Yon-tan-dpal.

¹³⁶⁸) Dpas-rgyal-to-re. ¹³⁶⁹) Co-re-legs-smra.

¹³⁷⁰) Sna-nam-rgyal-tsha-khri-gsum.

precepts of the Doctrine. The school-house where the Lotsavas and Paṇḍits had translated the kanonical works was destroyed, the translations remained inachieved, and the consecration of the Ōn-cañ-do was not performed. Thereafter, when the king grew older, a devil took possession of his mind, and he ordered that all the monks were to renounce to religious life. To all those who did not wish to give up the distinctive marks of monkhood, he ordered to give bows, arrows, drums and tambourins, and sent them to transact the business of hunters. Those who disobeyed were put to death. As the king was not able to remove the statue of Čākyamuni, he ordered to hide it, having buried it in sand, barred the doors of the temple, covered them with plaster and ordered to draw upon them the picture of a monk drinking wine. The doors of Sam-yā and Ra-mo-che were likewise plastered with mould, and the books for the greater part hidden amidst the rocks of Lhasa.

Then, some time after, Pal-gyi-dorje of Hla-lun who was practising meditation at Yer-pai-lhai-ñiñ-po¹³⁷¹⁾ heard about all this, and the Highest Commiseration with the king¹³⁷²⁾ became originated

¹³⁷¹⁾ Yer-paḥi-lhaḥi sñiñ-po.

¹³⁷²⁾ It seems strange that Lañ-dar-ma's assassin, setting out to murder the king, should have "thoughts of Commiseration" with respect to him. But, in accordance with the Tantric standpoint, the murder itself is committed out of Commiseration. This is clearly expressed in Tripitakamāla's Naya-traya-pradīpa, Tg. RGYUD. LXXII. 26 a. 5—7. — *gañ yañ chos bstan-pa-la-sogs-pas sdig-pa-las ldog-par mi-nus-la / ma-bzlog-na-ni ñes-par-spyod-pa ma-bzad-pa byas-paḥi phyir dmyal-ba-la-sogs-paḥi sdug-bsñal-las gdon-par mi-nus-so // deḥi-phyir ni sñags-pas Gcin-rje-gced-la-sogs-paḥi tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin dan sñags dan rygud-kyi sbyor-bas bsad-pa yañ rjes-su-snañ-ba yin-no // de-lta-bus ḥchi-ba-ni gñis-su-med-paḥi tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin-la so-sor-brten-pas bde-ḥgror skye ñiñ byañ-chub-kyi-sems-kyi sa-bon-la rjes-su-ñugs-pas deḥi dgos-pa chen-po-ñid-du ḥgyur-ba-ñie yin-no //* There are some whom it is impossible to divert from sin by teaching (to them) the Doctrine and the like. But, if they are not converted, they will continue to commit sinful deeds of great violence, and it will be therefore quite impossible to rescue them from the sufferings of hell and the like (which will be the consequence of their deeds). It is for this reason that, in accordance with the Tantric proceeding, as for instance we have it in the transic meditation and spells of Yamāri and the like, the taking away of life (of a living being in order to save him) is permitted. He who is caused to die in such a manner can subsequently take recourse to the transic meditation contemplating the unity of the Universe (*advaya-samādhi*), can assume a blissful state of existence, and can further the origination of the mind directed toward Enlightenment (*bodhi-citta*). Therefore (the act of killing such a being in order to transfer him to a blissful existence) is of great help (and furthers the weal of this being).

in him. He mounted a white horse, having smeared it black with coal, put on a fur-coat with the white side inward and the black one outward, took an iron bow and an iron arrow, came to Lhasa, saw the king as he was reading the inscriptions of the Long Stone, [146 a.] dismounted before him as he was sitting with his body leaning on the sanctuaries of the monastery and of that of Gānden. Having approached him, he lowered his knee and at the same time, bent his bow. The king, in his turn, thought that he was saluting him. At the first salutation he bent the bow. At the second he fitted the arrow, and at the third he loosened the bow-string. The arrow, parting, struk the breast (of the king). (Pal-dorje) said: — I am the black demon Ya-sh'er. If a sinful king is to be killed, it must be done in such a manner. With these words he fled. A great clamour arose in Lhasa: — The king has been murdered; hasten to the pursuit of the assassin! — (Pal-dorje) then washed the horse in the lake of Mi-nag, put on his coat, having turned it with the white part outward, and, saying:— Now I am the white demon of the skies¹³⁷³), continued his flight. It was thus impossible for the pursuers to get hold of him. Some say that they lost sight of him at Drañ-sroñ-srin-po-nañ¹³⁷⁴) others — at T'ib-se-ḍom-gyi-phu¹³⁷⁵), and still others — at Than-mo-do-riñ after it had grown dark. Thereafter, having taken with him the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, the Vinaya text *Prabhāvatī*, and the *Karmaṣataka*, (Pal-dorje) departed to Kham. Now, of the Pañ-ḍits, some were banished and some driven out of the country. The greater part of the Lotsavas had fled, and Tiñ-ñe-dzin-s'añ-po¹³⁷⁶) of Ñañ, Rin-chen-chog of Ma, and others were killed by murderers who were sent to them. In such a manner the Doctrine was rooted out.

Now, the eldest wife of Lañ-dar-ma declared that she was pregnant with a child, and then, after she had sought and found a little child, she showed it saying: — It has been born to me yesterday. — The ministers said to this: — A child born a day before cannot have teeth. Let him carefully preserve the instructions of his mother!¹³⁷⁷) Accordingly the boy became known by

¹³⁷³) *gnam-ihēḥu-dkar-po*.

¹³⁷⁴) *Drañ-sroñ-srin-po*.

¹³⁷⁵) *Grib-se-sgrom-gyi-phu*.

¹³⁷⁶) *Tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin-bzañ-po*.

¹³⁷⁷) The context is not quite clear — *mḍañ skeyes-paḥi bu-chuñ-la so mi-ḥbyuñ-sie / yum-gyi bkahḥ brtan-du-chug gsuñs-pas / yum-brtan ḥes-grags-to /*

the surname of Yum-tan¹³⁷⁸) (preserving his mother's word). His son was Thi-de-gön-po¹³⁷⁹), and the son of this one — Gön-fien. The latter in his turn had 2 sons — Rig-pa [146 b.] -gön-po¹³⁸⁰) and Ni-ö-pal-gön¹³⁸¹). The son of Rig-pa-gön was Thi-de-po¹³⁸²), and the latter's son — Thi-ö-po¹³⁸³). This one had 3 sons: A-tsa-ra, Gön-po-tsen¹³⁸⁴), and Gön-po-tseg¹³⁸⁵). The son of Ni-ö-pal was Gön-cö¹³⁸⁶) and the son of the latter was Tsha-nal Ye-çei-gyal-tshen¹³⁸⁷). — This is the elder line.

The younger queen (of Lañ-dar-ma) had a son born in the year of the wooden cow. As she feared that the elder queen would kill the boy or carry him away, she held watch over him, keeping him constantly in the light, — of the sun at day-time and of that of a lamp by night. Owing to this he was called Ö-sruñ¹³⁸⁸) — “guarded by light”. This son ascended the throne and died 63 years of age. His son was Pal-khor-tsen-po¹³⁸⁹) who began to reign with 13 years and died, aged 31. He had 2 sons, — Ta-çi-tseg-pa-pal¹³⁹⁰) and Thi-kyi-de-ñi-ma-gön¹³⁹¹). The first of these became king and had in his turn 3 sons, — Pal-de¹³⁹²) the eldest, Ö-de¹³⁹³) the intermediate, and Kyi-de¹³⁹⁴) the youngest. Ni-ma-gön having been banished to Na-ri, built in Pu-rañ a castle called Ni-s'uñ and lived there. He had 3 sons: The eldest, Pal-gyi-de-rig-pa-gön¹³⁹⁵) ruled the country of Mar, the intermediate — Ta-çi-de-gön¹³⁹⁶) was in possession of Pu-rañ and the youngest — De-tsug-gön¹³⁹⁷) governed Sh'añ-sh'uñ. The latter prince had 2 sons, — Khor-de¹³⁹⁸) and Sron-de. At that time in Ü and Tsañ religious discipline, the exposition of the Doctrine, and the study and preaching of it had altogether ceased. The stewards of the monasteries wore skirts with collars, called themselves Sthaviras and Arhats, and said that they were observing the monastic rules. In reality, they kept them only during the short time of the 3 summer months. Then, having declared that the time of fast had passed away,

¹³⁷⁸) Yum-brtan.

¹³⁷⁹) Khri-ide-mgon-po.

¹³⁸⁰) Rig-pa-mgon-po.

¹³⁸¹) Ni-hod-dpal-mgon.

¹³⁸²) Khri-ide-po.

¹³⁸³) Khri-hod-po.

¹³⁸⁴) Mgon-po-btsan.

¹³⁸⁵) Mgon-po-brtsegs.

¹³⁸⁶) Mgon-spyod.

¹³⁸⁷) Tsha-nal Ye-çes-rgyal-mtshan.

¹³⁸⁸) Hod-sruñs.

¹³⁸⁹) Dpal-hkhor-btsan-po.

¹³⁹⁰) Bkra-çis-brtsegs-pa-dpal.

¹³⁹¹) Khri-skyid-ide-ñi-ma-gön.

¹³⁹²) Dpal-ide.

¹³⁹³) Hod-ide.

¹³⁹⁴) Skyid-ide.

¹³⁹⁵) Dpal-gyi-ide-rig-pa-mgon.

¹³⁹⁶) Bkra-çis-ide-mgon.

¹³⁹⁷) Lde-gtsug-mgon.

¹³⁹⁸) Hkhor-ide.

they did no more observe (the rules prescribed for the clergy). The exorcists [147 a.] did not understand the meaning of the Tantras and indulged in adultery and the like.

IV. Bb. The Subsequent Propagation of the Doctrine in Tibet.

At the time of the persecution of the Doctrine by Dar-ma, 3 men¹³⁹⁹) viz. Rab-sal of Tsañ¹⁴⁰⁰), Yo Ge-juñ¹⁴⁰¹) of P'o-t'ōn-pa and Mar Čäkyamuni of Tö-luñ¹⁴⁰²) were abiding in meditation on the Pal-chu-vo-ri¹⁴⁰³). They chanced to see the monk Khyi-ra-je-pa¹⁴⁰⁴), asked what the news were, and came to know that the king had rooted out the Doctrine. They then loaded the Vinaya texts on a young mule, fled to the upper Na-ri and, having made their way through Gar-log, they reached the land of Hor. They had the intention of introducing the Doctrine into this land of a different race and language, but were unable of doing this. So they went to the P'e-ro-tsha-tshon in the southern Amdo and again gave themselves up to meditation in the Ma-luñ-dorje-ṭ'ag-ra-an-chuñ-nā-dzoñ-ṭ'ar-rig-čel-gyi-yañ-gön¹⁴⁰⁵). Thus they were seen by the shepherds of Ma-chu who told about them to the people of Goñ-ka¹⁴⁰⁶). Now, Mu-s'ug-la-bar who was virtuous and worthy and who had attained the stage of Action in Faith^{1406a}) went to see them and, having become full of devotion, prayed to be admitted into the religious order. Accordingly, the text of the Vinaya was handed over to him (by the meditators) who said: — Read this! If thou wilt believe we shall ordain thee. — He read, became full of faith, and shed tears. And, at that very place he was made a novice, Tsañ having become his principal¹⁴⁰⁷), and Yo — his teacher¹⁴⁰⁸). He received his religious name from both principal and teacher and was called Ge-va-rab-sal¹⁴⁰⁹). Later on, owing to his sublime mind, he became known as Goñ-pa-rab-sal¹⁴¹⁰) "he with

¹³⁹⁹) Hjad-kyi gyel-mi. (?) ¹⁴⁰⁰) Gtsañ Rab-gsal.

¹⁴⁰¹) Gyo Dge-ḥbyuñ.

¹⁴⁰²) Stod-luñs-pa Smar Čäkyamuni. (sic.)

¹⁴⁰³) Dpal-chu-bo-ri. ¹⁴⁰⁴) Khyi-ra-byed-pa.

¹⁴⁰⁵) Rma-luñ-rdo-rje-brag-ra-an-chuñ-gnas-rdzoñ-dar-rig-čel-gyi-yañ-dgon.

¹⁴⁰⁶) Dgoñs-ka.

^{1406a}) *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi sa* = *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*.

¹⁴⁰⁷) *mkhan-po*. Here and further on Tsañ for Rab-sal of Tsañ. Cf. above.

¹⁴⁰⁸) *slob-dpon*. Yo is an abbreviation of Yo Ge-juñ. (Gyo Dge-ḥbyuñ). Cf. above.

¹⁴⁰⁹) Dge-ba-rab-gsal.

¹⁴¹⁰) Dgoñs-pa-rab-gsal.

sublime thoughts". Thereafter he requested to become fully ordained as a monk, but they told him that not less than 5 monks had the right to do this. Now, before [147 b.] he had seen 3 monks who had been ordained by Pal-dorje of Lha-luñ and who were abiding in Loñ-thañ¹⁴¹¹). He searched for them, and, having met with Pal-gyi-dorje, repeated his request. But (Pal-gyi-dorje) said: — I have killed the king and cannot therefore fill up the number required. I shall therefore seek (for others). Accordingly, he found the Chinese Hva-çañs Ke-vañ and Gyi-vañ and sent them. Thereafter, when the year of his noviciate had passed, (Goñ-parab-sal) was ordained by the conclave of 5 (monks). His former principal and teacher became such anew. Mar was appointed as his esoteric teacher¹⁴¹²), and the 2 Chinese monks were the assistants.

Thereupon, 5 years passed away, and then 5 men of Ü, viz. Lag-pa-lam-pa Lu-mê tshul-ñhim¹⁴¹³), Çei-rab-dīñ Ye-çei-yon-tan¹⁴¹⁴), Rag-çi Tshul-ñhim-juñ-nā¹⁴¹⁵), Tshul-ñhim-lo-dö¹⁴¹⁶) of Ba, and Ye-çei-lo¹⁴¹⁷) of Sum-pa, and 5 men of Tsañ, viz. from Gurmo Rab-kha-pa Lo-tön¹⁴¹⁸) and Dorje-vañ-chug¹⁴¹⁹), Çei-rab-señ-ge of Çab-go-ñai-tshoñ-tsün¹⁴²⁰), the 2 brothers Ö-gye of Ña-ri¹⁴²¹), and U-pa-t'e-kar-pa¹⁴²²) of P'o-t'oñ, — altogether 10 men came and prayed Tsañ¹⁴²³) to ordain them. But he said: — I am old and cannot take pupils under my care. Address yourself therefore to the Great Lama¹⁴²⁴). — Accordingly, they repeated their request to the latter, but this one said: — Five years have not yet passed away, since I have been ordained myself. I cannot therefore be a principal. But Tsañ said in his turn: — Be such, as an exception! — Thus the Great Lama was made principal, Tsañ and Yo became respectively the moral preceptor and the esoteric teacher, and Mar with the Hva-çañs were the assistants. Thereafter the Great Lama said: — Lo-tön, as he is powerful, must protect the church, Lu-mê, being highly revered, is to be principal, Tsoñ-ge¹⁴²⁵), as

¹⁴¹¹) Klon-thañ. ¹⁴¹²) gsañ-ston.

¹⁴¹³) Klag-pa-lam-pa Klu-mes tshul-khrims.

¹⁴¹⁴) Çes-rab-hbrin Ye-çes-yon-tan.

¹⁴¹⁵) Rag-çi tshul-khrims-hbyuñ-gnas.

¹⁴¹⁶) Rba Tshul-khrims-blo-gros. ¹⁴¹⁷) Ye-çes-blo.

¹⁴¹⁸) Lo-ston. ¹⁴¹⁹) Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug.

¹⁴²⁰) Çab-sgo-ñahi tshoñ-btsun Çes-rab-señ-ge.

¹⁴²¹) Mñah-ris-pa Hod-brgyad sbung ñis.

¹⁴²²) U-pa-de-dkar-pa. ¹⁴²³) I. e. Rab-sal.

¹⁴²⁴) I. e. Goñ-parab-sal. ¹⁴²⁵) I. e. Tshoñ-tsün Çel-rab-señ-ge.

he has an acute mind, is to become preceptor, *Ḍiñ*, as he is skilful in transacting business, is to be the custodian of the place [148 a.]. Thereafter the greater part of them went upward (that is to Tibet proper), but *Lu-mê* remained studying the *Vinaya* with *Ye-ḥeigyal-tshen* of *Dum*¹⁴²⁶). At that time the younger brother of *Rag-ḥi* and the younger brother of *Ba*¹⁴²⁷) came to meet them. They encountered at *Loñ-thañ* and the 2 juniors, having come to faith, took orders, *Lo* having become their preceptor and the 2 seniors — their teachers. This is the reason why the 2 *Ba* and the 2 *Rag* are always mentioned together. Then *Lo-tön* said: — You are to remain here. I in my turn shall make friends with these merchants that go to *Ü* and *Tsañ*, depart with them and see if I can propagate the Doctrine there. If I am able to do this, I shall remain, and you must likewise come. If not, I shall come back. Accordingly, he made company with the merchants of *Dan-ma*. Now, as these merchants, thinking that in *Sum-ṭhañ*¹⁴²⁸) some commercial affairs could be transacted, were about to return, he said to them: — Do not carry on your trade here, but go to *Tsañ*. In *Gur-mo* there is a man called *Lo-nä-tsug-na*¹⁴²⁹). To him you must say: — Thy son has taken orders, and thou must now reside in *Ü*. Having thus spoken, he encouraged them to go. Accordingly, they had good luck in their trade, and up to this day, *Gur-mo* is a commercial centre, having become such by the grace of *Lo-tön*. The next year *Lu-me* said to his principal: — I am going to *Ü* and *Tsañ* and pray thee to give me an object of worship. (The principal) gave him a *Bon-pa* cap which he had ceased to wear and which was covered with yellow ground, as it had been thrown into a pit. — Wear this and remember me, — such were the teacher's words. Thereupon *Lu-mê* went upward to Central Tibet, and soon they all came to *Ü*. Now, in former times the place of residence of the learned and the monks was *Lhasa*. But recently it had become the place of slaughter and massacre and it was therefore not proper for them to go there. So they went instead to *Sam-yä*. After that *Lu-me* took possession of *Ku-chu*, [148 b.] and his spiritual descent maintained the *U-chal*¹⁴³⁰) and *U-tse*.¹⁴³¹) The

¹⁴²⁶) *Grum Ye-ḥes-rgyal-mtshan*.

¹⁴²⁷) *Rba*, i. e. *Rba Tshul-khrims-blo-gros*.

¹⁴²⁸) *Sum-ḥphrañ*.

¹⁴²⁹) *Lo-nad-gtsug-na*. This is evidently the father of *Lo-tön*.

¹⁴³⁰) *Dbu-chal*.

¹⁴³¹) *Dbu-rtse*.

spiritual descent of Rag-çi occupied the Ge-gyā¹⁴³²), and Dīn¹⁴³³) the S'añ-khañ¹⁴³⁴). Thereafter the 5 monks of Ü declared that it was necessary to build places of residence for themselves. Accordingly Lu-mê built the La-mo-chag-t'eu¹⁴³⁵). He had 4 pupils: —

1. T'u-mar Tshul-thim-juñ-nä¹⁴³⁶), built the Sol-nag-thań-chen; the fraternity residing there was called the Thań-kor¹⁴³⁷);

2. Sh'añ Na-nam Dorje-vañ-chug¹⁴³⁸) built the Ra-tshag-t'ar-gyal. The fraternity of it was called the Sh'añ-kor¹⁴³⁹);

3. Dog Jań-chub-juñ-nä¹⁴⁴⁰) built the Yer-pa-pa-rań. The filial fraternities belonging to his spiritual descent built the S'ad-kyi-dīn-va¹⁴⁴¹), Chu-čul-gyin-po, Pu-de-hlo-k'oń¹⁴⁴²), Yol-thań, Lab-so, Dal-ma-thań¹⁴⁴³) and Kha-rag-so-cig. Thereafter, in Tsań they built the Sh'ui-kun-ga-ra-va¹⁴⁴⁴) and Tshal-mig¹⁴⁴⁵). In Kyi-čö, Dog¹⁴⁴⁶) and Sum-pa Ye-čei-lo-dö¹⁴⁴⁷) built the Yu-go-khań mar¹⁴⁴⁸). The spiritual descent of them is called the Dog-tsho-kor¹⁴⁴⁹).

4. Lan Ye-čei-čei-rab¹⁴⁵⁰) became the principal of Gyal-sar-gań¹⁴⁵¹), of Lag-da-hla-khań¹⁴⁵²) and of the 2 Tshal-chuń. The filial branches of these are called the Lan-kor.

Sum-pa Ye-čei-lo-dö built Me-ru¹⁴⁵³) in Dö-thań. This monastery was destroyed and there was no fraternity belonging to it.

Rag-çi built the temple of Rag-çi-thä-og¹⁴⁵⁴).

Ba built the Yuń-gur¹⁴⁵⁵), and subsequently became the principal of Lan-pa-cil-bu¹⁴⁵⁶). His pupil Mal Sem-pa-čei-rab¹⁴⁵⁷) built the Tö-lug-tsha-thog¹⁴⁵⁸) and thereafter assumed the principality

¹⁴³²) Dge-rgyas. ¹⁴³³) Hbrin t. e. Hbrin Ye-čes-yon-tan.

¹⁴³⁴) Zańs-khań. ¹⁴³⁵) La-mo-chag-dehu.

¹⁴³⁶) Gru-mar Tshul-khrims-hbyuń-gnas. ¹⁴³⁷) Thań-skor.

¹⁴³⁸) Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbań-phyug. ¹⁴³⁹) Žań-skor.

¹⁴⁴⁰) Rdog Byań-chub-hbyuń-gnas. ¹⁴⁴¹) Gzad-kyi-Idiń-ba.

¹⁴⁴²) Spu-sde-lho-goń. ¹⁴⁴³) Oral-ma-thań.

¹⁴⁴⁴) Gzuńi-kun-dgań-ra-ba. ¹⁴⁴⁵) Htshal-mig.

¹⁴⁴⁶) I. e. Rdog Byań-chub-hbyuń-gnas.

¹⁴⁴⁷) Sum-pa Ye-čes-blo-gros.

¹⁴⁴⁸) Gyu-ego-khań-dmar. ¹⁴⁴⁹) Rdog-tsho-skor.

¹⁴⁵⁰) Glan Ye-čes-čes-rab. ¹⁴⁵¹) Rgyal-gsar-sgań.

¹⁴⁵²) Glag-mdań-lha-khań. ¹⁴⁵³) Rme-ru.

¹⁴⁵⁴) Rag-çi-hphrad-ğog. ¹⁴⁵⁵) Yuńs-ğgur.

¹⁴⁵⁶) Lan-pa-spyi-bu. ¹⁴⁵⁷) Mal Sems-pa-čes-rab.

¹⁴⁵⁸) Stod-lugs-tsha-thog.

in the temple of Thag-ma and Mön-ḍa¹⁴⁶⁹). His spiritual descent is called Ba-tsho.

The younger Ba built the temple of Gye-re-tshar-nai-da-ḍoñ¹⁴⁶⁹) and subsequently became the principal of Sh'oi-che-khañ¹⁴⁶¹) [149 a.].

Rag-ḥi then became the principal of Ka-tshal-t'ar-sh'a and the fraternity founded there and descending from him is called the Rag-tsho.

The younger Rag-ḥi assumed the principality of Ge-gyā¹⁴⁶²). His pupil Tha-sh'i-gyal-phag¹⁴⁶³) likewise maintained the rule there. His pupil Sh'añ-tsun-ḥei-rab-phag¹⁴⁶⁴) built the Ta-ḍē of Lan-pa. The fraternity thus founded is called "the spiritual line of Rag-ḥi the junior".

Ḍiñ built the Ñan-lam-ci-mo¹⁴⁶⁵) and after that maintained the principality of Kar-chuñ and, subsequently, of Ñe-thañ-ḍag-na¹⁴⁶⁶). In the interspace between these two he built the Ḍañ Ra-mo-che. The fraternity founded in the latter monastery was called the "Lower Community of Ḍiñ"¹⁴⁶⁷). That residing at Ñan-lam-pa is known as the higher (or upper) fraternity of Ḍiñ¹⁴⁶⁸), and that of Lu-goñ is "the intermediate fraternity of Ḍiñ".

Lo-tön Dorje-vañ-chug of Tsañ built the Gyan-k'oñ¹⁴⁶⁹). He had 24 pupils.

Gya Ḥākya-sh'on-nu¹⁴⁷⁰) built the La-tö-mar-la-thañ¹⁴⁷¹); it was divided into the middle section of K'ul-tog-hla-khañ¹⁴⁷²) in the centre, and the others which are known by the name Gya-tsho.

Kyo Ḥei-rab-dorje¹⁴⁷³) built the T'on-mo-ri. The "upper section" (of the fraternity there) is founded by him.

Tag-lo-sh'ön-tson¹⁴⁷⁴) built the temple of Tag-lo, and the fraternities that represent his spiritual descent are known as the Tag-tsho.

A-me Sh'u-cig-ma maintained the principality of Thañ¹⁴⁷⁵) and Ḍag-mar¹⁴⁷⁶). The fraternities founded by him are the Sh'u-tsho.

¹⁴⁶⁹) Mon-gra. ¹⁴⁶⁹) Gye-re-mtshar-snañi-mdañ-groñ-lha-khañ.

¹⁴⁶¹) Gzohi-ḥchad-khañ. ¹⁴⁶²) Dge-rgyas.

¹⁴⁶³) Mthañ-bzi-rgyal-ḥphags. ¹⁴⁶⁴) Zañ-btsun-ḥes-rab-ḥphags.

¹⁴⁶⁵) Ñan-lam-spyi-mo. ¹⁴⁶⁶) Sñe-thañ-brag-sna.

¹⁴⁶⁷) Ḥbrin-tsho-smad-pa. ¹⁴⁶⁸) Ḥbrin-tsho-stod-pa.

¹⁴⁶⁹) Rgyan-goñ. ¹⁴⁷⁰) Rgya Ḥākya-gzön-nu.

¹⁴⁷¹) La-stod-mar-la-thañ. ¹⁴⁷²) Gul-rtog-lha-khañ.

¹⁴⁷³) Skyo Ḥes-rab-rdo-rje. ¹⁴⁷⁴) Stag-lo Gzön-brtson.

¹⁴⁷⁵) Ḥphrañ. ¹⁴⁷⁶) Brag-dmar.

Dar¹⁴⁷⁷) Čākya-yon-tan maintained the principality of S'ū-po¹⁴⁷⁹). His spiritual descent is the Dar-tsho.

Li Lo-ḍö-sh'on-nu¹⁴⁷⁹) built the Jo-mo and his spiritual descent is called the Li-tsho.

In the 5 divisions of Mā¹⁴⁸⁰) and the Gyan-k'oñ-mai-kor¹⁴⁸¹), Lag Jañ-chub-gyal-tshen^{1481a}) built the Chu-mig and the fraternity founded there is the Lag-tsho.

Chag Mi-ga Čei-rab la-ma built the Āem¹⁴⁸²), and Nōg Ye-čei-juñ-nā¹⁴⁸³) built the Pañ-kar-hla-luñ¹⁴⁸⁴). These two have no spiritual descent. [149 b.]

Lañ-tsün-jam-pa¹⁴⁸⁵) built the Khom-phug and subsequently maintained the principality of Tsañ-dam¹⁴⁸⁶). After that, in Phum-thañ, Chag-sa, Dri-gog, Ma-gö, Tön-ṭhöl-ma¹⁴⁸⁷) etc. the Upper¹⁴⁸⁸) and the Lower¹⁴⁸⁹) Lañ-tsho were located.

Go-va Ye-čei-yuñ-druñ¹⁴⁹⁰) maintained the principality of Bre-lha-khañ¹⁴⁹¹). His pupil Ce-tsün Čei-rab-juñ-nā¹⁴⁹²) built the Sh'a-lu-ma and then went to India where he took the vows again. Whilst he was travelling, Go-va-yuñ-druñ maintained the principality of Sh'a-lu. Here there were 4 primary and 6 secondary sections. The spiritual descent is called "the division of the 100 of Sh'a-lu"¹⁴⁹³).

Gyi Ye-čei-vañ-po¹⁴⁹⁴) built the Khar-luñ¹⁴⁹⁵) of Čañ, subsequently — Gya-re-lañ-ra¹⁴⁹⁶) and on the way between them — Ro-kam of Mu-čañ¹⁴⁹⁷). The fraternity of Lañ-la is called Lañ-ra-kor. The sections belonging to the Tsug-gi U-luñ bear the name of the U-tsho. Both are spoken of as the "lower Gyi-tsho. From Lañ-ra the principality was maintained over the Ṭhii-chad-gön-pa¹⁴⁹⁸).

Thereafter the pupil of A-me, Sh'añ-tön-tshul-phag¹⁴⁹⁹) go-

¹⁴⁷⁷) Hdar. ¹⁴⁷⁸) Gzus-po. ¹⁴⁷⁹) Li Blo-gros-gžon-nu.

¹⁴⁸⁰) Smad-kyl lña-la. ¹⁴⁸¹) Rgyan-goñ-mahi skor.

^{1481a}) Glag Byañ-chub-rgyal-mtshan. ¹⁴⁸²) Sñems.

¹⁴⁸³) Rñog Ye-čes-hbyuñ-gnas.

¹⁴⁸⁴) Spañ-dkar-lha-luñ. ¹⁴⁸⁵) Glañ-btsun-byams-pa.

¹⁴⁸⁶) Gtsañ-hgram. ¹⁴⁸⁷) Ston-khrol-ma. ¹⁴⁸⁸) Stod.

¹⁴⁸⁹) Smad. ¹⁴⁹⁰) Mgo-ba Ye-čes-gyuñ-druñ.

¹⁴⁹¹) Sbre-lha-khañ. ¹⁴⁹²) Lce-btsun Čes-rab-hbyuñ-gnas.

¹⁴⁹³) Ža-lu-brgya-skor. ¹⁴⁹⁴) Gyi Ye-čes-dbañ-po.

¹⁴⁹⁵) Mkhar-lun. ¹⁴⁹⁶) Gya-re-glañ-ra.

¹⁴⁹⁷) Mu-čañs-kyl Ro-skams.

¹⁴⁹⁸) Hkhris-kyl-hchad-dgon-pa. ¹⁴⁹⁹) Žañ-ston-tshul-hphags.

verned the C'a-gyā¹⁵⁰⁰). Another pupil of A-me, Coñ-po Thar-pa-rin-chen had 4 pupils. — S'u-tön-phan-t'ag occupied the principality of Ďei-ce-tsham¹⁵⁰¹) and Gyan-khar-tag-luñ¹⁵⁰²). The communities belonging to these are called the S'u-tsho. Ce-tsün-kar-po¹⁵⁰³) governed the Añ-yig and Yuñ-tön-dza-ka-ris-pa ruled over Or. The fraternities founded by him became united with the A-mei-kor. Therefore there is no separate spiritual descent (from this teacher).

Çab-tse¹⁵⁰⁴) founded the Çab-tse-lha-khañ; the community thereof is called the Koñ-tsho and another section is styled the Kyi-tsho.

A-me, from the Kha-che-gön-pa¹⁵⁰⁵) ruled over the Se-kyil-ter. Of the higher section of it there were 3 filial branches called the Öñ-pa-sh'añ.

Ṭhi-tön-tsön-bar¹⁵⁰⁶) maintained the principality of Çoñ-na-ra. The section belonging to it is the Ṭhi-tsho [150 a.] Sa-be-tsün-chuñ maintained the rule of Ďan-chuñ, and his spiritual descent is styled the Ďan-chuñ-kor.

Gya-tön Āryadeva maintained the Go-ru-du-na¹⁵⁰⁷), and his descent is called the Gya-tsho.

The abbot Sh'on-nu Çākya maintained the Sa-phug, and his descent bears the name of Sa-tsho. The upper section of it had 4 divisions which were known as "the upper Kyi-tsho".

The spiritual son of A-me, Pañ¹⁵⁰⁸) maintained the Thii-kyañ, and Sh'añ-tsün-sö-nam-çag held the rule of the C'a-gyā. These 2 are spoken of as the intermediate Kyi-tsho.

The disciple descending from the higher Kyi-tsho, Sh'on-nu-juñ-nā maintained the Gyan-khar-thur-la¹⁵⁰⁹). The monastic division belonging to it is known as the Thur-tsho.

Kyi-tsun Pal-gyi-ye-çei¹⁵¹⁰) occupied the principality of the Ďuñ-kün-ga-ra-ba¹⁵¹¹). The fraternity of it is a filial branch of the higher Kyi-tsho.

The Tshoñ-tsho had 9 secondary divisions¹⁵¹²). In the higher Tshoñ-tsho there were the 2 sections of Kal-kor¹⁵¹³) and Gyan-kor.

¹⁵⁰⁰) Bya-rgyas. ¹⁵⁰¹) Sgreñi lce htshams.

¹⁵⁰²) Rgyan-mkhar-stag-luñ. ¹⁵⁰³) Lce-btsun-dkar-po.

¹⁵⁰⁴) Çab-rtse. ¹⁵⁰⁵) Kha-chad-dgon-pa.

¹⁵⁰⁶) Khri-ston-brtson-ñbar. ¹⁵⁰⁷) Sgo-ru-du-sna. ¹⁵⁰⁸) Spañ.

¹⁵⁰⁹) Rgyan-mkhar-thur-la. ¹⁵¹⁰) Kyi-btsun Dpal-gyl-ye-çes.

¹⁵¹¹) Hbruñ-kun-dgañ-ra-ba. ¹⁵¹²) Khral-tsho. ¹⁵¹³) Skal-skor.

Dar¹⁴⁷⁷) Çäkyä-yon-tan maintained the principality of S'ü-po¹⁴⁷⁹). His spiritual descent is the Dar-tsho.

Li Lo-dö-sh'on-nu¹⁴⁷⁸) built the Jo-mo and his spiritual descent is called the Li-tsho.

In the 5 divisions of Mä¹⁴⁸⁰) and the Gyan-k'ön-mai-kor¹⁴⁸¹), Lag Jañ-chub-gyal-tshen^{1481a}) built the Chu-mig and the fraternity founded there is the Lag-tsho.

Chag Mi-ga Çei-rab la-ma built the Ñem¹⁴⁸²), and Ñog Ye-çei-juñ-nä¹⁴⁸³) built the Pañ-kar-hla-luñ¹⁴⁸⁴). These two have no spiritual descent. [149 b.]

Lañ-tśün-jam-pa¹⁴⁸⁵) built the Khom-phug and subsequently maintained the principality of Tsañ-dam¹⁴⁸⁶). After that, in Phum-thañ, Chag-sa, Dri-gog, Ma-gö, Tön-ñhöi-ma¹⁴⁸⁷) etc. the Upper¹⁴⁸⁸) and the Lower¹⁴⁸⁹) Lañ-tsho were located.

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Gyi Ye-çei-vañ-po¹⁴⁹⁴) built the Khar-luñ¹⁴⁹⁵) of Çañ, subsequently — Gya-re-lañ-ra¹⁴⁹⁶) and on the way between them — Ro-kam of Mu-çañ¹⁴⁹⁷). The fraternity of Lañ-la is called Lañ-ra-kor. The sections belonging to the Tsug-gi U-luñ bear the name of the U-tsho. Both are spoken of as the "lower Gyi-tsho. From Lañ-ra the principality was maintained over the Tñii-chad-gön-pa¹⁴⁹⁸).

Thereafter the pupil of A-me, Sh'añ-tön-tshul-phag¹⁴⁹⁹) go-

¹⁴⁷⁷) Hdar. ¹⁴⁷⁸) Gzus-po. ¹⁴⁷⁹) Li Blo-gros-gžon-nu.

¹⁴⁸⁰) Smad-kyl iña-la. ¹⁴⁸¹) Rgyan-goñ-mahl skor.

^{1481a}) Olag Byañ-chub-rgyal-mtshan. ¹⁴⁸²) Sñems.

¹⁴⁸³) Rñog Ye-çes-ñbyuñ-gnas.

¹⁴⁸⁴) Spañ-dkar-lha-luñ. ¹⁴⁸⁵) Glañ-btsun-byams-pa.

¹⁴⁸⁶) Qtsañ-ñgram. ¹⁴⁸⁷) Ston-khrol-ma. ¹⁴⁸⁸) Stod.

¹⁴⁸⁹) Smad. ¹⁴⁹⁰) Mgo-ba Ye-çes-gyuñ-druñ.

¹⁴⁹¹) Sbre-lha-khañ. ¹⁴⁹²) Lce-btsun Çes-rab-ñbyuñ-gnas.

¹⁴⁹³) Ža-lu-brgya-skor. ¹⁴⁹⁴) Gyi Ye-çes-dbañ-po.

¹⁴⁹⁵) Mkhar-lun. ¹⁴⁹⁶) Gya-re-glañ-ra.

¹⁴⁹⁷) Mu-çañs-kyl Ro-skams.

¹⁴⁹⁸) Hkhris-kyl-ñchad-dgon-pa. ¹⁴⁹⁹) Žañ-ston-tshul-ñphags.

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A-me, from the Kha-che-gñn-pa¹⁵⁰⁵) ruled over the Se-kyil-ter. Of the higher section of it there were 3 filial branches called the Õn-pa-sh'añ.

Thi-tön-tsön-bar¹⁵⁰⁶) maintained the principality of Çoñ-na-ra. The section belonging to it is the Thi-tsho [150 a.] Sa-be-tsün-chuñ maintained the rule of Ðan-chuñ, and his spiritual descent is styled the Ðan-chuñ-kor.

Gya-tön Āryadeva maintained the Go-ru-du-na¹⁵⁰⁷), and his descent is called the Gya-tsho.

The abbot Sh'on-nu Çākya maintained the Sa-phug, and his descent bears the name of Sa-tsho. The upper section of it had 4 divisions which were known as "the upper Kyi-tsho".

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The disciple descending from the higher Kyi-tsho, Sh'on-nu-juñ-nā maintained the Gyan-khar-thur-la¹⁵⁰⁹). The monastic division belonging to it is known as the Thur-tsho.

Kyi-tsun Pal-gyi-ye-ḥei¹⁵¹⁰) occupied the principality of the Ðuñ-kün-ga-ra-ba¹⁵¹¹). The fraternity of it is a filial branch of the higher Kyi-tsho.

The Tshoñ-tsho had 9 secondary divisions¹⁵¹²). In the higher Tshoñ-tsho there were the 2 sections of Kal-kor¹⁵¹³) and Gyan-kor.

¹⁵⁰⁰) Bya-rgyas.

¹⁵⁰¹) Sgreñi lce htshams.

¹⁵⁰²) Rgyan-mkhar-stag-luñ.

¹⁵⁰³) Lce-btsun-dkar-po.

¹⁵⁰⁴) Çab-rtse.

¹⁵⁰⁵) Kha-chad-dgon-pa.

¹⁵⁰⁶) Khri-ston-brtson-hbar.

¹⁵⁰⁷) Sgo-ru-du-sna.

¹⁵⁰⁸) Spañ.

¹⁵⁰⁹) Rgyan-mkhar-thur-la.

¹⁵¹⁰) Kyi-btsun Dpal-gyl-ye-ḥes.

¹⁵¹¹) Hbruñ-kun-dgañ-ra-ba.

¹⁵¹²) Khral-tsho.

¹⁵¹³) Skal-skor.

In the intermediate Tshoñ-tsho there were likewise 2, viz. the Nā-sar¹⁵¹⁴) and Nā-ñiñ¹⁵¹⁵). The lower section had 5 sub-divisions.

At the time when Tshoñ-tsūn was maintaining the Tsii-kyi-yañ-ben¹⁵¹⁶), A-me entrusted to him the Tsii-hla-khañ which was subsequently conferred to Ba-tsūn Lo-ṭ'ō yon-tan. After the latter had become principal, the section ruled by him was called the Ba-tsho. His pupil Yol-chō-vañ maintained the Kye-nā-ñiñ¹⁵¹⁷). The section belonging to it was called the upper Ba-tsho.

Yol-thog-beb¹⁵¹⁸) maintained the Cañ-ra. Tag-pa-jo-btsun held the principality of the Ce-pe¹⁵¹⁹). These 2 represent the intermediate Ba-tsho.

The section located in Tsii is known as the lower section of Ba. Thereafter the Ñan-tsho was entrusted to A-me and, subsequently, to his pupils Rva Lo-ḍö-s'añ-po and to Kham-pa. Rva occupied the Nur-mig¹⁵²⁰), and Kham-pa — the Cag-khar¹⁵²¹). The sections founded by them are called the Rva-tsho and the Kham-tsho, [150 b.] and both were known as the Ñan-tsho-kor.

The Tag-tshal-gyi-c'a-chö-khar-po-che¹⁵²²) was likewise given to A-me and subsequently entrusted by the latter to his pupil Gya-gyal-bu-tshul-señ¹⁵²³). Gya was entrusted to Koñ-po-ye-juñ¹⁵²⁴) of Gyä. Koñ-po maintained both the Mui nā-mo-che¹⁵²⁵) and the Ja-chö¹⁵²⁶) and founded the Gyä-t'a-thañ. These divisions are called the Ja-chö-kor.

Thereafter the Yön-dag-mo-ñö-mö-mön-ḍo in Mar-ṇul was given over to A-me and entrusted by him to his pupil Mar-pa Dorje-ye-ḥei and by the latter to his own pupil Ne-po Dag-pa-gyal-tshen¹⁵²⁷) who maintained the principality of Roñ-khar-phug. Subsequently, A-me founded the Kyag-tsham-tag-tshal-kyü-thañ and gave it to Mar-pa who in his turn built the Ṭhan-ma-gañ-po. With the Lag-ḍoi as a fourth they became known as the "4 children of Mön-ḍo" which bore a similarity with a mother. They were all called the Mön-ḍo-kor¹⁵²⁸).

Moreover, subsequently, A-me, having maintained the prin-

¹⁵¹⁴) Gnas-gsar. ¹⁵¹⁵) Gnas-rñiñ. ¹⁵¹⁶) Rtsis-kyi-yañ-dben.

¹⁵¹⁷) Skyegs-gnas-rñiñ. ¹⁵¹⁸) Yol-thog-ḥbebs. ¹⁵¹⁹) Lce-spe.

¹⁵²⁰) Nur-smrig. ¹⁵²¹) Lcags-mkhar.

¹⁵²²) Stag-tshal-gyi-bya-chos-mkhar-po-che.

¹⁵²³) Rgya Rgyal-bu-tshul-señ. ¹⁵²⁴) Rgyas Kon-po-ye-ḥbyuñ.

¹⁵²⁵) Dmuḥi gnas-mo-che. ¹⁵²⁶) Bya-chos.

¹⁵²⁷) Sne-po Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. ¹⁵²⁸) Smon-gro-skor.

cipality in Ser-gyi-goñ-thog¹⁵²⁹), entrusted it to his pupil Sh'añ-pa-tshor-thö¹⁵³⁰). The latter built the Ser-gyi-ḍag-ḥö¹⁵³¹) and then maintained the Tsen-po-diñ¹⁵³²), the Tsii-kyi-yañ-ben, the Ra-sog-tshar-la, and the Tag-tshal-kar-po-che¹⁵³³). (All) these were entrusted to his pupil, Ba-ge-thoñ¹⁵³⁴). The latter maintained the P'a-t'o of Roñ and entrusted it to his pupil De-tsün-nön-mo¹⁵³⁵). These sections are called the T'o-tsho.

Now, at the time when the secondary sections had assembled to hold council together, there appeared 3 inferior monks. When they were asked: — Whither has your preceptor gone? — they replied that he had died. If this be so, — (said the others), — you are living like orphans. And thencefrom they were known as T'o-tsho, — “the section of the orphans”. All these divisions (taken together) are called “the 5 lower Tson-tsho”. The principal monastery of all the 9 Tshoñ-tsho was the Nö-liñ¹⁵³⁵).

Furthermore, A-sh'a Ye-ḥei-yuñ-druñ, the son of A-sh'a Go-vo-che¹⁵³⁶), [151 a.] who had the wish of going to Kham in order to become a monk, arrived at Lhasa. And, on the lower part of a staircase leading to the upper storey of one of the buildings of Lhasa (he saw) the form of Çri-Mahākāla that was painted there. When (A-sh'a) ascended, it was only a picture (that was before him), but when he descended, Mahākāla appeared directly (before him), holding a skull containing a human head mixed with blood which he was eating with a spoon made of a human rib. To him (A-sh'a) addressed his entreaty, and (Mahākāla) said: — I will be the protector of thy Doctrine. — Therefore, during a month, thou must circumambulate me. — This is the reason why the A-tsho (the section founded by A-sh'a) is so powerful.

Thereafter A-sh'a went to the school of Kham and prayed Ṭe-vo-chog-la¹⁵³⁷), the pupil of the Great Lama (Goñ-pa-rab-sal) to grant him the favour (of ordaining him). The teacher said: — I shall make the offering of water and then come! But, as the teacher died suddenly without having granted his favour, A-sh'a was considered to have received the consecration by the mere

¹⁵²⁹) Ser-gyi-sgoñ-khrog.

¹⁵³⁰) Žañ-pa-tshor-khrod.

¹⁵³¹) Ser-gyi-brag-ḥod.

¹⁵³²) Btsan-po-sdiñs.

¹⁵³³) Stag-tshal-mkhar-po-che.

¹⁵³⁴) Rba Dge-mthoñ.

¹⁵³⁵) Bra-btsun-sñon-mo.

¹⁵³⁶) Sño-gliñ.

¹⁵³⁷) Ḥa-za-mgo-bo-che.

¹⁵³⁸) Kre-bo-mchog-bla.

words "I will make the offering of water and then come". He is accordingly known as "the novice of the water-offering". After he had been made principal, he maintained the Na-nam-dre-dā¹⁵³⁹), and subsequently, the U-yug-dai-ra-ça¹⁵³⁹), as well as the Tag-gi-nā-mo-che¹⁵⁴⁰) situated between the former two. His pupil, Çeu-te-nam-pa maintained the Lhan-gyi-so-thañ, and subsequently the Khor-re-kya-gañ¹⁵⁴¹), the Ñañ-ro-p'ū-do¹⁵⁴²), the Khor-re-p'a-khor, and the Lhan-gyi-dro-çon in gradual succession. His pupil, Sog Tshul-ñhim maintained the Bo-tsho-thañ and had himself a pupil Pañ Dul-dzin¹⁵⁴³) who maintained the Tag-gi-pen-can¹⁵⁴⁴). The pupil of this one Nub Rin-chen-dag¹⁵⁴⁵) occupied the principality of Khu-luñ-lha-t'al and, from Ra-ça, ruled over U-yug-sal-gañ. All these (monastic divisions) were called the A-tsho.

Moreover, De-sh'on-tshul went to Kham in the purpose of taking orders. [151 b.] Having met with Ya-s'i-p'ön-tön¹⁵⁴⁶), the pupil of the Great Lama, in the Thi-kha-khar-ma of Kham, he prayed him to grant his favour. (P'ön-tön) said: — Be it so, — but died before the vows were made and accepted. De in his turn declared: — I have been ordained, since the disciple (of the Great Lama) has said: — Be it so. — Accordingly, he was known as the one who was ordained by (the words) "Be it so". He maintained the Ja-tshañ of Ta-nag-phu¹⁵⁴⁷), and, subsequently the Ja-phug of Çañ¹⁵⁴⁸). We have 8 monasteries representing the filials of Ja Tshañ. This division is called the De-tsho.

In such a manner the 10 men started their propagation (of the Doctrine). However, as Sum-pa of Ü and the 2 brothers Ö-gye left no descent, (the new founders) are known as "the Six Men". A-sh'a and De are not included in their number.

Some say that the disciple of the teacher Bodhisattva was Ratna of Ba, that the latter ordained Hla-luñ Rab-jor-yañ¹⁵⁴⁹), that this one in his turn ordained the Great Lama Goñ-pa-rab-sal, whose disciple was Ye-k'ön Ye-çei-yuñ-druñ¹⁵⁵⁰). The latter is said to have ordained Dum Ye-çei-gyal-tshen, and this one — Lu-mē and the rest.

¹⁵³⁹) Sna-nam-ñdre-brdas.

¹⁵³⁹) Hu-yug-mdañi-ra-ça.

¹⁵⁴⁰) Stag-gi-gnas-mo-che.

¹⁵⁴¹) Hkhor-re-skya-sgañ.

¹⁵⁴²) Ñañ-ro-bud-mdo.

¹⁵⁴³) Spañ-ñdul-ñdzin.

¹⁵⁴⁴) Stag-gi-span-can.

¹⁵⁴⁵) Snubs Rin-chen-grags. ¹⁵⁴⁶) Ya-ñi-bon-ston.

¹⁵⁴⁷) Rta-nag-phuñi Bya-tshañ.

¹⁵⁴⁸) Çañs-kyl bya-phug.

¹⁵⁴⁹) Lha-luñ Rab-ñbyor-dbyaṅs.

¹⁵⁵⁰) Ye-goñ Ye-çes-gyuñ-druñ.

In a certain testament it is to be read that Ratna of Ba (was ordained), the Ācārya Bodhisattva having become his principal, and Dānaçila and Jinamitra — his teachers. Ba ordained Yo-ge, the latter — Gon-pa-sal, this one — Mañjuçrī of Do¹⁵⁵¹), this one — Dum Ye-çei-gyal-tshen, and the latter — Lu-mē.

Rig-ral says that the 10 men of Ü and Tsañ were ordained by Dum, the disciple of the Great Lama. This requires proof. Moreover, some are of the opinion that Yo and the rest belong to the spiritual descent of Jinamitra. Others in their turn affirm that this genealogy is to be counted from Çāntirakṣita. This must likewise be scrutinized.

Thus, 70 years after the Church had ceased to exist in Ü and Tsañ, it was again introduced there by the 10 men of these provinces. [152 a.] At the time when the 10 arrived at Ü, an old woman said: — When I was 6 years of age, I last saw a monk. — And how old art thou now? — asked they. — Seventy-six, was the answer. So runs the tradition. Some say that (from the time of the persecution up to that of the restoration) 108 years had elapsed.

Rig-ral affirms the following: — From the time of the 6 men and up to the coming of Ratnabhadra¹⁵⁵²) there was no study and preaching of the Doctrine, and there existed only a resemblance of the latter. Then, after the king had become alms-giver, the Lotsavas and Paṇḍits translated the kanonical works. This is the intermediate period of the spread of the Doctrine. Thereupon, without the assistance of the king, Nog and others have made their translations. This time is to be regarded as that of the latest propagation of the teaching.

This is not correct. (Rig-ral) himself admits that (from the time of the ten) the vows of monkhood were perfectly pure. The statement that there was only a resemblance of the Doctrine is therefore contradictory. (Rig-ral) affirms this saying: "Since there was no study and preaching". This is likewise incorrect. Indeed, the Vinaya with the necessary instructions had been exposed by the Paṇḍit Jinamitra to the translator Lui-gyal-tshen, to Yo-ge-juñ etc., by the latter to the Great Lama, by him to Dum, by this one — to Lu-me, and by the latter — to S'ü Dorje-gyal-tshen. This one had 4 pupils: — Lan tshul-jañ¹⁵⁵³), Ka-chu-pa Tshul-juñ¹⁵⁵⁴), Ne-po Dag-gyal¹⁵⁵⁵), Jim-pa-çar-ö¹⁵⁵⁶). The pupil of Ne-

¹⁵⁵¹) Sgro. ¹⁵⁵²) Rin-bzañ l. e. Rin-chen-bzañ-po.

¹⁵⁵³) Klan-tshul-byañ. ¹⁵⁵⁴) Tshul-ñbyuñ.

¹⁵⁵⁵) Sne-po Grags-rgyal. ¹⁵⁵⁶) Hjims-pa-çar-hod.

po was Sog Tshul-thim-la-ma, the pupil of Ka-chu-pa was Ñaṅ-tsham¹⁵⁵⁷) Rin-chen-la-ma, and pupil of Jim-pa — Ko-Khyim-pa Ye-ṅei-la-ma. The exposition of the Vinaya with the necessary instructions was conducted by these 3 and delivered to Gya Dul-dzin Vañ-chug-tshul-thim, to his pupil Ma-tsho Jañ-dor, to Ja Dul-dzin¹⁵⁵⁸), to Kyi-po Tshul-phag, and up to Ḥa-mi and the rest. Moreover the teaching of the Abhidharma had been uninterruptedly conducted by Jinamitra, by Ka¹⁵⁵⁹), Cog¹⁵⁶⁰), and Sh'añ, by Nam-nañ-da-vai-dorje¹⁵⁶¹), Pal-gyi-dorje, by Gyal-ba-ye-ṅei of Ba, by Chog-gi-ye-ṅei of Cog-ḍu¹⁵⁶²), [152 b.], Se-tsün Sh'ön-nu¹⁵⁶³), Gar-mi Yon-tan-yuñ-druñ, Khu-tön Ḥei-rab-tsön-ḍü¹⁵⁶⁴), Rva-ṅhi S'añ-bar¹⁵⁶⁵), Gya Gyal-bu-tshul-le¹⁵⁶⁶), Ḍaṅ-ti¹⁵⁶⁷) Dar-ma-ñiñ-po, to his pupils, Ban and Rog etc.

The discrimination (made by Rig-ral) between an intermediate and a later propagation of the Doctrine is likewise false. There was no "intermediate" propagation at all, since there occurred no interruption. The earlier and the later propagation are regarded as 2 different periods, with the view that the Doctrine, having been rooted out by Lañ-dar-ma, had, for a certain number of years, ceased to exist in Ü and Tsañ. The Paṇḍit Tsan-nag-pa likewise says that there was "the later period of propagation" (without counting an intermediate one). In such a way, the fire of the Doctrine, having begun in lower Tibet, spread and expounded through Ña-ri. The king Khor-de entrusted the kingdom to his younger brother Sroñ-de and himself took orders, having adopted the religious name of Ye-ṅei-ö¹⁵⁶⁷). He acknowledged the Vehicle of Philosophy¹⁵⁶⁸) to be the Word of the Buddha, but as concerns the Tantras, he was in doubt as to their being the true teaching, since the tantric exorcists indulged in perverse acts, as that of deliverance through sexual extasy, etc. Accordingly, he selected 21 young men, Rin-chen-s'añ-po and others and sent them to India in order to study the Doctrine. But, with the exception of

¹⁵⁵⁷) Ñaṅ-mtshams. ¹⁵⁵⁸) Bya Ḥdul-ḥdzin.

¹⁵⁵⁹) Ska i. e. Ska-pa Dpal-brtsegs.

¹⁵⁶⁰) I. e. Cog-ro Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan.

¹⁵⁶¹) Nam-nañ Zla-baḥi-rdo-rje.

¹⁵⁶²) Cog-gru Mchog-gi-ye-ṅes. ¹⁵⁶³) Se-btsun-g'zon-nu.

¹⁵⁶⁴) Khu-ston Ḥes-rab-brtson-ḥgrus.

¹⁵⁶⁵) Rva-khri Bzañ-ḥbar. ¹⁵⁶⁶) Rgya Rgyal-bu-tshul-le.

¹⁵⁶⁷) Brañ-ti. ¹⁵⁶⁷) Ye-ṅes-ḥod. ¹⁵⁶⁸) mtshan-ñid-theg-pa.

Rin-chen-s'añ-po and Leg-pai-çei-rab, they died without having achieved their study. Rin-chen-s'añ-po became profoundly versed in all the branches of Tantra and philosophy and, having invited the Paṇḍits Çraddhākaravarman, Padmākaragupta, Buddhaçri-çānta, Buddhapāla, Kamalagupta, and others, achieved the translation of the philosophical part of the Kanon and of the 4 divisions of Tantra. In particular, many texts of the Yogatantra, the Guhyasamāja etc. were translated and the Tantric parts of Scripture revised. [153 a.]

Gyal-vai-çei-rab of Sh'añ-sh'uñ, having invited the Paṇḍits Dharmapāla and Prajñāpāla, took orders and then, having gone to Nepal, studied the practical Vinaya with Pretaka. His pupils Pal-jor, Jañ-chub-señ-ge of Sh'iñ-mo-che, and others, in gradual succession, propagated the teaching of the Higher Vinaya. The Princely Teacher (Ye-çei-ö) built the monastery of Sh'añ-sh'uñ-tho-liñ and became the householder of numerous Lotsavas and Paṇḍits. The son of his younger brother Sroñ-de called La-de invited the Paṇḍit Subhāṣita. This king had 3 sons, — Ö-de¹⁵⁶⁹), the lay prince Sh'i-va-ö and the ecclesiastic Jañ-chub-ö. Of these three, the latter gave gold to 5 men, Nag-tsho Tshul-gyal etc. and ordered them to select the translator Gya Tson-dü-señ-ge¹⁵⁷⁰) as their chief, and to invite a good Paṇḍit. Accordingly, they invited Dipamkaraçrijñāna¹⁵⁷¹) who was the son of Kalyāṇaçri the king of Bengal, and who had received a brilliant education at the monastery of Vikramaçila¹⁵⁷²). (Dipamkaraçrijñāna) accordingly accepted their invitation and came, since he had obtained a corresponding prophecy from Tārā. On the way Gya Tson-dü-señ-ge died and they arrived, having appointed Nag-tsho to be interpreter. When they came to the sleeping chamber of the great translator Rin-chen-s'añ-po, the latter first made his salutation, and then the Paṇḍit addressed a hymn of praise to each of the images of the Tantric deities that were in the translator's room. The great translator was delighted, and they held together many discussions on religious questions. (The translator) again made his salutations and prayed to expound the Doctrine. After that they made numerous translations, and especially put in order the

¹⁵⁶⁹) Höd-lde. ¹⁵⁷⁰) Rgya Brtson-hgrus-señ-ge.

¹⁵⁷¹) Usually known as Jo-vo-rje "the Great Master" or Atiça.

¹⁵⁷²) The Xyl. has Bri-ka-ma-la-çi-la (sic!)

texts of the Yoga-tantra in accordance with the explanations of Anandagarbha and added numerous instructions to them.

By the by the Great Master (Dīpaṃkaraçriñāna) [153 b.] went to Ü and delivered numerous instructions to his pupils Khu, Nög, and Dom¹⁵⁷³). In particular, he delivered to Dom the precepts of the Ka-dam-pa¹⁵⁷⁴) which thenceforth became expounded. The Great Translator Rin-chen-s'aṅ-po subdued the Nāga Kar-gyal and refuted the false exorcists by means of the Doctrine. Tradition says that he secured the proximate factors of Deliverance and passed away to heaven in his bodily form¹⁵⁷⁵). His assistant Dag-jor-çei-rab translated the works of the cycles of Çamvara and Varāhi, logical treatises, etc. and likewise passed away to heaven in his bodily form. The inferior translator Bar-chö-s'aṅ, after having translated the so-called "Six texts of the Lotsavas" (?)¹⁵⁷⁶), departed to the 5 mountains.

The translators who had first been with the Great Master and, moreover, Çäkyaprabha, Yöl-cog Dorje-vaṅ-chug, Ge-vai-lo-dö translated and revised a great number of works. The prince Sh'i-va-ö in his turn translated the *Çriparamādīṭikā*¹⁵⁷⁷), the logical work of Çāntirakṣita¹⁵⁷⁸) etc.

At the time of the princely teacher Ye-çei-ö 2 Paṇḍits, Smṛti and Sūkṣmadīrgha¹⁵⁷⁹) came, having been invited by the Nepalese Padmaruci. But as the translator had died in Nepal of cholera, the 2 Paṇḍits who did not know the Tibetan language, roamed about in Ü and Tsaṅ, and Smṛti was forced to become a shepherd in Ta-nag. Subsequently Cal-se-tsab Sö-nam-gyal-tshen¹⁵⁸⁰) invited him to Man-luṅ¹⁵⁸¹) and studied the Doctrine with him. Thereafter, having gone to Kham, (Smṛti) established the school of the Abhidharmakoça at Dan-loṅ-thaṅ¹⁵⁸²). Subsequently, having become proficient in Tibetan, he made numerous translations of his own works, as the *Catuhpīṭha-tikā*¹⁵⁸³), the cycle of *Mañjuçri-*

¹⁵⁷³) I. e. Khu-ton (Khu-ston) Çei-rab-tson-dü (Çes-rab-brtson-hgrus). Nög (Rnög) Lo-dan-çei-rab (Blo-lan-çes-rab) and Dom (Hbrom)-tön.

¹⁵⁷⁴) Bkaḥ-gdams-pa. ¹⁵⁷⁵) *mkhaḥ-spyod-du-gcegs*.

¹⁵⁷⁶) Lo-tsaḥi-chos-drug.

¹⁵⁷⁷) Dpal-mchog. Tg. RGYUD. LIV. 57—297, LV and LVI. 1—227.

¹⁵⁷⁸) Ži-ba-ḥtshoḥi tshad-ma. This is Çāntirakṣita's Tattvasaṅgraha, Tg. MDO. CXIII. 1—159. ¹⁵⁷⁹) Phra-la-rin-ba.

¹⁵⁸⁰) Dpyal-se-rtsab Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.

¹⁵⁸¹) Sman-luṅs. ¹⁵⁸²) Hdan-kloṅ-thaṅ.

¹⁵⁸³) Tg. RGYUD. XXIII. 1—89.

*guh-yāpanna*¹⁵⁸⁴), the *Mantra-artha-vipaṣyini*¹⁵⁸⁵), and many others. [154 a.] Subsequently, he went to Li-chu-ser-khab and composed there the *Vacanamukha*¹⁵⁸⁶). The Paṇḍit Sūkṣmadirgha became the curator of Roñ-pa Chö-s'añ and Roñ-pa came to the knowledge of numerous kanonical texts.

The king Ö-de invited Sunayaçrī¹⁵⁸⁷).

His son Tse -de invited the Kashmirian Jñānaçrī and, Khyañ-po Chö-tson¹⁵⁸⁸) having been appointed as interprete, the *Vajra-çikhara-tantra*¹⁵⁸⁹), the Ācāra-tantras, the *Pramāṇa-viniṣcaya*^{1590a}) and the Commentary thereon, composed by Jñānaçrī himself¹⁵⁹⁰), were translated.

Moreover Candrarāhula having been invited, the Lotsava Tiñ-ñe-dzin-s'añ-po¹⁵⁹¹) carried out the translation of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*¹⁵⁹²) and other works.

Nog Lo-dan (çei-rab) was sent by Tse-de to Kashmir, studied Logic with Parahitabhadra¹⁵⁹³) and Bhavyarāja¹⁵⁹⁴), and the treatises of Maitreya with the Brāhmaṇa Sajjana¹⁵⁹⁵), Amaragomin¹⁵⁹⁶), and others. After Vañ-de¹⁵⁹⁷) had become alms-giver, he (Nog Lo-dan-çei-rab) translated the *Pramāṇavārtika-alamkāra*¹⁵⁹⁸) etc.

¹⁵⁸⁴) Tg. RGYUD. LX. 127—178. — Ārya-Mañjuçrī-nāma-saṃgīti-guhya-āpanna-upāyika-vṛtti Jñāna-dīpa (Hphags-pa Hjam-dpal-gyi mtshan yañ-dag-par-brjod-paḥi gsañ-ba-dañ-ldan-paḥi sgrub-paḥi thabs-kyi hgral-pa Ye-çes-gsal-ba), and Tg. RGYUD. LXI. 38—41. — Guhya-āpanna-upāyika-sūtra-vidhi (Sgrub-thabs gsañ-ba-dañ-ldan-paḥi thig-gi-cho-ga).

¹⁵⁸⁵) Śnāgs-don-rnam-gzigs. ¹⁵⁸⁶) Smra-sgo. Tg. MDO. CXVI.

¹⁵⁸⁷) The Xyl. has here and furtheron Sunyaçrī. ¹⁵⁸⁸) Chos-brtson.

¹⁵⁸⁹) Rdo-rje-rtse-mo. In the Kg. RGYUD. VIII we have the Vajra-çikhara-mahā-guhya-yoga-tantra, Karmavajra and Sh'on-nu-tshul-ñhim (Gžon-nu-tshul-khrims) being indicated as translators.

^{1590a}) Tg. MDO. XCV. 250—329. (Pek.) The Tangyur text is a translation made by Nog Lo-dan-çei-rab with the assistance of the Paṇḍit Parahitabhadra.

¹⁵⁹⁰) Tg. MDO. CX. 209—355. (Pek.) Translators the same as indicated by Bu-ton.

¹⁵⁹¹) Tiñ-ñe-ñdzin-bzañ-po.

¹⁵⁹²) The Tangyur text of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* is a translation made by the Paṇḍit Kanakavarman and the Lotsava Dad-paḥi-çes-rab.

¹⁵⁹³) Gžan-phan-bzañ-po. ¹⁵⁹⁴) Skal-ldan-rgyal-po.

¹⁵⁹⁵) He is the Paṇḍit who assisted in the translation of the Uttaratantra and Uttaratantra-vyākhyā.

¹⁵⁹⁶) Go-mi-ñchi-med. With the assistance of this Paṇḍit Lo-dan-çei-rab translated the Abhisamayālamkāra. ¹⁵⁹⁷) Dbañ-lde.

¹⁵⁹⁸) Tshad-ma-rgyan. Tg. MDO. XCIX and C. Translators acc. to Tg. Lo-dan-çei-rab and Bhavyarāja.

Thi Ta-çi Vañ-chug Nam-kha-tsen¹⁵⁹⁹) likewise became an alms-giver of translators and lived 17 years in Kashmir and 34 years in Tibet. The Paṇḍits Sthirapāla¹⁶⁰⁰), Atulyadāsa¹⁶⁰¹), Sumatikirti, Amaracandra, and Kumārakalaça¹⁶⁰²) translated a great number of texts, taught at Sañ-duñ-neu-thog and other places, and furthered the spread of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, the works of Dharmottara, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* etc. The service rendered by them is of exclusive importance.

P'a-tshab Ni-ma-ḍag¹⁶⁰³) studied 23 years in Kashmir, invited the Paṇḍit Kanakavarman, and explained the works of the Mādhyamika cycle. [154 b.] His pupils were the "Four Sons of P'a-tshab" and others.

Ḍog-mi Čākya-ye-čei invited the Paṇḍit Gāyadhara, gave him 500 pounds of gold, and translated the *He-vajra-pañjara*¹⁶⁰⁴), the *Samputa*¹⁶⁰⁴) the *Rali*¹⁶⁰⁵), the *Arali*¹⁶⁰⁶), these four and other

¹⁵⁹⁹) Khri Bkra-čis-dbañ-phyug Nam-mkhañ-btsan.

¹⁶⁰⁰) Hbum-phrag-gsum-pa. Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 249.

^{1600a}) Gžon-nu-bum-pa. (The Xyl. has . . . hbum-pa.)

¹⁶⁰¹) The Xyl. has Atulyadāsa. ¹⁶⁰²) Pa-tshab Ni-ma-grags.

¹⁶⁰³) Kyehi rdo-rjeñi-gur. Kg. RGYUD. I. No. 10. In the Kg. the full title of this work is Ārya-dākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa. Translators acc. to Kg. — the same as with Bu-ton.

¹⁶⁰⁴) Samputa-nāma-mahā-tantra, Kg. RGYUD. III. No. 8. Acc. to Kg. translators — the same.

¹⁶⁰⁵) This is a division of Tantric works called by Bu-ton the Bde-mchog Ra-liñi-rgyud (Rali-Čamvara-tantras). These are: — 1. Guhya-vajra-tantra-rāja (Tg. RGYUD. IV. No. 1), 2. Guhya-sarva-cchinda-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 2), 3. Cakra-saṁvara-guhya-acintya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 3), 4. Khasama-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 4), 5. Mahā-khasama-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 5), 6. Ratna-mālā-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 7), 7. Mahā-samaya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 8), 8. Mahā-bala-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 9), 9. Jñāna-guhya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 10), 10. Jñāna-mālā-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 11), 11. Candra-mālā-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 13), 12. Ratna-jvāla-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 14), 13. Sūrya-cakra-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 15), 14. Jñāna-rāja-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 16), 15. Vajra-dāka-guhya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 17), 16. Jvalāgni-guhya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 18), 16. Amṛta-guhya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 19), 17. Čmaçāna-alaṁkāra-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 20), 18. Vajra-rāja-mahā-tantra (Ibid. No. 21), 19. Jñāna-āçaya-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 22), 20. Rāga-rāja-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 23), 21. Dākinī-saṁvara-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 24), 22. Dākinī-guhya-jvāla-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 25), 23. Vajra-bhairava-vidāraṇa-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 26), 24. Agni-mālā-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 27), 25. Vajra-siddha-jāla-saṁvara-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 28), 26. Mahābala-jñāna-rāja-tantra-rāja (Ibid. No. 29), and 27. Cakra-saṁvara-tantra-rāja Adbhuta-čmaçāna-alaṁkāra (Ibid. No. 30).

¹⁶⁰⁶) In the Kg. RGYUD. IV we have: Vajra-arali-mahā-tantra-rāja (No 37), and Rigy-arali-tantra-rāja (Nr. 38). Translators acc. to Kg. — the same.

Cycles of Propitiation¹⁶⁰⁷) belonging to the Mother-Tantras¹⁶⁰⁸) with the supplementary instructions to them.

Hlā-tsā¹⁶⁰⁹) of Gö-khug¹⁶¹⁰) went to India 3 times and studied the Doctrine with 72 Paṇḍits who had attained the mystical powers. In particular he took recourse to the aid of Cāntibhadra, Rāhulabhadra etc., and translated the works on the Guhyasamāja belonging to the school of Nāgārjuna¹⁶¹¹), works belonging to the cycle of Čamvara¹⁶¹²), Vajradāka¹⁶¹³), Catuḥpīṭha¹⁶¹⁴), Mahāmāyā¹⁶¹⁵), Hevajra¹⁶¹⁶) etc.

Gyi-co Da-vai-ö-s'er¹⁶¹⁶) translated the *Kāla-cakra* [-garbha]¹⁶¹⁷),

¹⁶⁰⁷) Sgrub-skor.

¹⁶⁰⁸) Ma-rgyud. ¹⁶⁰⁹) Lhas-btsas.

¹⁶¹⁰) Hgos-khug. Cf. Cordier, Index I. p. 99. — du monastère de Hgos et de la tribu Khug (originaire du district de Rta-nag, province du Gtsan Intérieur).

¹⁶¹¹) Gsañ-ñdus-ñphags-skor. Tg. RGYUD. XVII—XXXII.

¹⁶¹²) Kg. RGYUD. IV, No. 32.

¹⁶¹³) Čri-vajra-dāka-nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja, Kg. RGYUD. II, No. 6. In the Tanyur we have, belonging to this Cycle and translated by this Lotsava, the Čri-vajra-dāka-nāma-mahā-tantra-rājasya vivṛttiḥ, Tg. RGYUD. IX. 1—238, the work of Bhavabhaṭṭa. Translators acc. to Kg. the same.

¹⁶¹⁴) Čri-Catuḥpīṭha-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja, Kg. RGYUD. IV, No. 39, Translator acc. to Kg. the same. In the Tg. we have, translated by this Lotsava, 1. Čri-Catuḥpīṭha-tantra-rājasya ſikā Smṛti-nibandha, Tg. RGYUD. XXII. 260—407, the work of Bhavabhaṭṭa; 2. Čri-Catuḥpīṭha-tantra-rāja nāma-maṇḍala-upāyikā-vidhi Sāra-samuccaya, Tg. RGYUD. XXIII. 142—172, the work of Āryadeva; 3. Čri-Catuḥpīṭha-sādhana-upāyikā, Ibid, XXIII. 179—185; 4. Čri-Catuḥpīṭha-tattva-catuṣka, Ibid, 202—207, the work of Jetāri.

¹⁶¹⁵) Kg. RGYUD. IV, No. 36. Translator acc. to Kg. the same. In the Tg. we have, translated by this Lotsava and belonging to the Cycle of Mahāmāyā: 1. Guṇavati Čri-Mahāmāyā-ſikā, Tg. RGYUD. XXIII. 223—249, the work of Ratnākaračānti; 2. Mahāmāyā-tantrasya vṛttiḥ Smṛti-nāmā, Ibid. 249—271, the work of Kṛṣṇavajra; 3. Mahāmāyā-sādhana-maṇḍala-vidhi. Ibid. 288—305, the work of Kukkuripāda.

¹⁶¹⁶) The works of this Cycle translated by Hlā-tsā are: — 1. Hevajra-nāma-mahātantra-rāja-dvikaipa-māyasya pañjikā Smṛti-nibandha, Tg. RGYUD XVII. 169—228, the work of Kṛṣṇa; 2. Čri-Hevajra-pañjikā Muktikāvali. Ibid. 262—349, the work of Ratnākaračānti.

¹⁶¹⁷) Gyi-co Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer.

¹⁶¹⁸) Kg. RGYUD. I. No. 5. In the Tg. we have, translated by this Lotsava and belonging to the Cycle of Kālacakra: 1. Čri-Kālacakra-garbha-alamkāra-sādhana, Tg. RGYUD. 206-218, the work of Bhadrabodhi; 2. Kāla-cakra-upadeśa Ibid. 218—220.

the *Buddhakapāla*¹⁶¹⁸), *Vajra-amṛta*^{1618a}), (works of the cycle of) *Çamvara*^{1618b}) etc.

Mar-pa Chö-kyi-lo-ḍḍo¹⁶¹⁹) of Hlo-ḍag¹⁶²⁰) went jo India 3 times, became the pupil of the Guru Nāḍapāda¹⁶²¹), Maitripāda, Çāntibhadra¹⁶²²), Pha-mthiñ¹⁶²³)(?) and others studied the instructions to the Guhyasamāja, Çamvara, Mahamāyā, Catuḥpiṭha, etc. and augmented the number of the students of the Tantras of Propitiation.

Phag-pai-ḥei-rab of S'an-kar studied with the Paṇḍits Aranya-ka¹⁶²⁴)(?) of Kashmir, Tejodeva, Parahitabhadra and others, and made translations of (works belonging to the cycles of) Yogatantra, Uṣṇiṣa^{1624a}), Vajrapāṇi of Sugatigarbha¹⁶²⁵), and Vaiçravaṇa^{1625a}),

¹⁶¹⁸) Sañs-rgyas-thod-pa. Full title: Buddha-kapāla-nāma-yoginī-tantra-rāja. Kg. RGYUD. IV, No. 35. Translator acc. to Kg. the same. In the Tg. we have, translated by him and belonging to the Cycle of Buddhakapāla: 1. Çri-Buddhakapāla-tantrasya pañjikā Jñānavatī nāma, Tg. RGYUD. XXIV. 119 — 168, the work of Saraha; 2. Çri-Buddhakapāla-sādhana. Ibid. 251—256, author ditto; 3. Çri-Buddhakapāla-nāma-maṇḍala-vidhi-krama-pradyotana, Ibid. 257—271. Author ditto.

^{1618b}) Rdo-rje-bdud-rtsi, Kg. RGYUD. V, No. 4. Translator not mentioned.

¹⁶¹⁹) In the Tg. we have: Çri-varja-ḍāka-tantrasya Tattva-susthirā-nāma pañjikā, Tg. RGYUD. VIII. 238—254.

¹⁶²⁰) Mar-pa- Chos-kyi-blo-gros. ¹⁶²⁰) Lho-brag.

¹⁶²¹) Bla-ma Nā-ro. ¹⁶²²) Ži-ba-bzañ-po.

¹⁶²³) Cf. Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 249 and 330. ¹⁶²⁴) Dgon-pa-pa.

^{1624a}) Gtsug-tor-gyi-skor. The works translated by Phag-pa-ḥei-rab, belonging to this Cycle are: — 1. Ārya-sitāpatrā-aparājītā-nāma-upāyikā. The work of Candragomin, Tg. RGYUD. LXIX. 196, 197. (Pek.); 2. Ārya-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitāpatrā-aparājītā-pratyangirā-nāma-dhāraṇī-sādhana. The work of Candragomin, Ibid. 204—206; 3. Author and title ditto. Ibid. 210—211; 4. Ārya-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitāpatrā-nāma-dhāraṇī-vidhi. Author ditto. Ibid. 211, 212.; 5. Uṣṇiṣa-sitāpatrā-vidhi. The work of Çūraṃgavajra, Ibid. 217, 218; 6. Ārya-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitāpatrā-aparājītā-nāma-maṇḍala-vidhi. The work of Padmāmkuṇa, Ibid. 227—234; 7. Ārya-sitāpatrā-nāma-saṅcaka-vidhi. Author ditto, Ibid. 234—238.

¹⁶²⁵) Phag-na-rdo-rje Hgro-bzañs-kyi-skor. These are: 1. Bhagavan-nīlāmbara-dhara-Vajrapāṇī-sādhana. Tg. RGYUD. LXVIII. 291, 292; 2. Nīlāmbaradhara-Vajrapāṇī-bali-vidhi, Ibid. 292, 293; 3. Nīlāmbaradhara-Vajrapāṇī-nāga-bali-vidhi, Ibid. 293, 294; 4. Gaṇacakra, Ibid. 294, 295; 5. Vajrapāṇī-maṇḍala-vidhi, Ibid. 295—298.

^{1625a}) Rnam-thos-sras-kyi-skor. These are: — 1. Mahārāja-Vaiçravaṇa-sādhana. Tg. RGYUD. LXXII. 276—278; 2. Vaiçravaṇa-sādhana, Ibid. 284 — 285, the work of Çūraṃgavarman; 3. Vaiçravaṇa-kalpa. Ibid. 285, 286; 4.

the Great Commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, (works of the cycle of) *Çaṁvara*^{1625b}) etc. Dar-ma-ḍag of Nan¹⁶²⁶) lived in India 12 years, studied with the Paṇḍit Mati, invited the Paṇḍit Sunayaçrī, and translated the Great Commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, (works of the cycles of) Tārā¹⁶²⁷), of the Custodians of the Faith^{1627a}) etc. [155 a.]

The youths Dab Khor-lo-ḍag¹⁶²⁸), Sal-pa-ḍag of Poñ-sh'o¹⁶²⁹) and Mi-ñag-tsa-mi Sañ-gyā-ḍag of Tsoñ-kha, having taken recourse to the help of the Paṇḍit Abhayākara-gupta, translated (works on) the *Kālacakra*, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*¹⁶³⁰), the *Munimatā-lankāra*¹⁶³¹), the *Āmnāyamañjarī*¹⁶³²) and other works.

The translator of T'e-vo¹⁶³³), — Çei-rab-pal, with the assistance of that very Paṇḍit, translated the *Marmakaumudī*¹⁶³⁴) etc. Rin-chen-ḍag of Pha-ri invited the Paṇḍit Amoghavajra and translated the *Amoghapāṣa*^{1634a}), the *Pañcarakṣā*¹⁶³⁵), the works on the Cycle

Mahārāja-Vaiçravaṇa-kalpa *Çaṁkara-vidhi* (? kalpa)-viçva-koça. Ibid. 286—287.

^{1625b}) These are: — 1. Padārtha-prakāṣikā nāma Çrī-Çaṁvara-mūla-tantra-fikā. Tg. RGYUD. VII. 400—503. (Pek.) The work of Viravajra; 2. Çrī-cakra-saṁvara-tantra-rāja-Çaṁvara-samuccaya-nāma-vṛtti, Tg. RGYUD. VIII. 1—151, the work of Indrabhūti; 3. Mūla-tantra-saṁgraha-hṛdaya-abhidhāna-uttaratāntra-mūla-mūla-vṛtti. Ibid. 151—286, the work of Çūraṁgavajra.

¹⁶²⁶) Gñan Dar-ma-grags.

¹⁶²⁷) Sgrol-maḥi-skor. In Bu-ton's Index we have the Sgrol-ma spyiḥi sgrub-thabs ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Dar-ma-ḍag. It is indicated by Bu-ton (fol. 207 a. 2—b. 1) as not contained in the Tangyur (*Bstan-hgyur-du ma-chud*).

^{1627a}) Of this Cycle we have, translated by Dar-ma-ḍag, the Ucchūṣma-Jambhala-sādhana. Tg. RGYUD. LXXII. 295—296. The work of Mati or Āryamati.

¹⁶²⁸) Gdab Hkhor-lo-grags.

¹⁶²⁹) Spon-žo Gsal-pa-grags.

¹⁶³⁰) The Xyl. has Phreñ-ba-skor-gsum. This evidently refers to a work the title of which ends with "Phreñ-ba" (= mālā or āvalī). In the Tg. RGYUD. LXXXIV we have the work of Abhayākara-gupta: Çrī-Mañju-vajra-ādi-krama-abhisamaya-samuccaya-niṣpanna-yoga-āvalī. (fol. 114—188).

¹⁶³¹) Thub-pa-dgoñs-rgyan. Tg. MDO. XXIX. 71—398.

¹⁶³²) Man-ñag-sñe-ma. Tg. RGYUD. XIX.

¹⁶³³) Bre-bo-Lo-tsa-ba.

¹⁶³⁴) Gnad-kyi-zla-zer. Tg. MDO. XI. 1—256. (Pek.)

^{1634a}) Don (i. e. Don-yod)-žags-pa. This is the Ārya-Amoghapāṣa-panca-deva-stotra, the work of Erapati. Tg. RGYUD. LXVIII, No. 30.

¹⁶³⁵) Bsurñ-ba-lña.

of *Vijaya-vidāraṇī*¹⁶³⁶), of *Çaṁvara*^{1636a}), the *Sādhana-çataka*¹⁶³⁷), etc.

Log-kya¹⁶³⁸) *Çei-rab-tseg* translated the (works of the) Cycles of *Mañjuçrī-nāma-saṁgīti*¹⁶³⁹), and of *Tārā*, the *Mādhyaṁika-avatāra*¹⁶⁴⁰), etc. His pupil *Mal-gyo Lo-dō-ḍag-pa* translated the (works of the Cycles of) *Çaṁvara* and *Tārā* belonging to the system or *Sūryagupta*¹⁶⁴¹).

*Çei-rab-ḍag-of Do*¹⁶⁴²) went to Kashmir and, having invited the *Paṇḍit Somanātha*¹⁶⁴³), translated the detailed instructions to the *Kālacakra*^{1643a}), the Commentary on the *Hevajra-tantra* by *Vajragarbha*¹⁶⁴⁴), the Commentary on the first part of the *Tantra of Vajrapāṇi*¹⁶⁴⁵) etc. The translators *Thö-pa-gā*¹⁶⁴⁶) of *Pa-reg*, *Chö-bar* of *Ma-pan*¹⁶⁴⁷), and *Tshur*^{1647a}) studied with the Indian *Paṇḍit Vajrapāṇi* and translated the works belonging to the Cycle of the *Mahāmudrāsiddhi*¹⁶⁴⁸), the *Hṛdayasiddhi*¹⁶⁴⁹), the 3 Cycles

¹⁶³⁶) *Rnam-rgyal-rnam-hjoms*.

^{1636a}) The works belonging to the Cycle of *Çaṁvara* and translated by *Rin-chen-ḍag* are: — 1. *Çri-cakra-saṁvara-pañjikā*. Tg. RGYUD. VI. 159—280. The work of *Bhavabhaṭṭa*; 2. *Samanta-guṇa-çālīni*. Tg. RGYUD. VII. 177—233. The work of *Viravajra*; 3. *Yoginī-saṁcārya-nibandha*. Tg. RGYUD. XII. 139—160. The work of *Tathāgataraḥṣita*; 4. *Çri-Çaṁvara-saṁcaka-vidhi*. Tg. RGYUD. XIII. 86, 87. The work of *Prajñāraḥṣita*; 5. *Cakra-saṁvara-sādhana*. Ibid. 87—91. The work of *Jayabhadra*; 6. *Çri-Çaṁvara-maṇḍala-upāyikā*. Ibid. 91—125. Author ditto. ¹⁶³⁷) *Sgrub-thabs brgya-rtsa*. Tg. RGYUD. LXXI. No. No. 1—94. ¹⁶³⁸) *Glog-skya*. ¹⁶³⁹) *Mtshan-brjod*.

¹⁶⁴⁰) The translators of the *Mādhyaṁikāvatāra* indicated in the *Tangyur* are the *Paṇḍit Tilakakalaça* and *Ñi-ma-ḍag* (*Sūryakirti*) of *Ba-tshab*.

¹⁶⁴¹) *Sgrol-ma Ñi-ma-sbas-paḥi-lugs*. Tg. RGYUD. XXVI. No. No. 3—8, etc.

¹⁶⁴²) *Hbro Çes-rab-grags*. ¹⁶⁴³) *Zla-ba-mgon-po*.

^{1643a}) In the Tg. we have, translated by *Somanātha* and *Çei-rab-ḍag*: 1. The Great Commentary on the *Kālacakra* called *Vimalaprabhā*, Tg. RGYUD. I and II, and 2. *Çri-Kālacakra-tantra-rājasya seka-prakriya-vṛtti Vajra-pada-udghāṭiṇi*. The work of *Dārika*, Tg. RGYUD. IV. 48—87.

¹⁶⁴⁴) *Rdo-rje-shiñ-hgrel*. Full title: *Hevajra-piṇḍārtha-ṭikā*, Tg. RGYUD. XV. 1—139. The translators acc. to the Tg. are: *Maṭripāda* and *Çei-rab-ḍag*.

¹⁶⁴⁵) *Phyag-rdor-stod-hgrel*. In *Bu-ton's index* (fol. 209 a. 6—b. 1) we have the indication of *Phyag-na-rdo-rje-dbañ-bskur-baḥi-rgyud-kyl-stod-hgrel* — Commentary on the first part of the *Vajrapāṇy-abhiṣeka* as “not found”.

¹⁶⁴⁶) *Thos-pa-dgaḥ*. ¹⁶⁴⁷) *Rma-ban Chos-hbar*.

^{1647a}) The name of this *Lotsava* is *Ye-çes-hbyuñ-gnas* = *Jñānākara*.

¹⁶⁴⁸) *Phyag-rgya-chen-po-grub-paḥi-skor*.

¹⁶⁴⁹) *Shiñ-poḥi-skor*. The works belonging to these Cycles and translated by the said 3 *Lotsavas* are to be found in the Tg. RGYUD. XLVI, viz. No. No. 12, 14, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 40, 41.

of *Doha*¹⁶⁵⁰), the *Dohakoṣa*¹⁶⁵¹), the works on the Cycle of Čamvara by Maitripāda^{1651a}) etc.

Kun-gā-dorje of Cal¹⁶⁵²) studied with the Nepalese teacher Hañ-du the White¹⁶⁵³), and invited the Paṇḍit Čūnyatāsamādhi¹⁶⁵⁴) from whom he received a great number of instructions.

Rva Dorje-ḍag studied with the Nepalese Mahākāruṇika and translated the 3 Cycles of Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri and Bhairava [155 b.]¹⁶⁵⁵), the Cycle of *Heruka-abhyudaya*¹⁶⁵⁶) etc.

Bön-po Rva Chö-rab invited the Paṇḍit Samantaçri and translated the *Kālacakra*, the *Varāhy-abhibhāva*¹⁶⁵⁷), and the *Mahākāla-tantra-rāja*¹⁶⁵⁸).

Sh'añ Čei-rab-la-ma invited the Paṇḍit Amoghavajra and translated the Cycle of Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri^{1658a}) in detail.

Gyü Mön-lam-ḍag¹⁶⁵⁹) studied with the Paṇḍit Parahita and translated the *Samvara-udaya*¹⁶⁶⁰).

Sh'va-ma Señ-gyal secured the assistance of the Paṇḍit Mañi-bhadrarakṣita¹⁶⁶¹) and others and translated the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* with the Commentary thereon.

Mar-pa-t'o-pa Chö-kyi-vañ-chug of Ya-ḍog¹⁶⁶²) translated the

¹⁶⁵⁰) Tg. RGYUD. XLVII and XLVIII.

¹⁶⁵¹) Do-ha-mdzod. ^{1651a}) Tg. RGYUD. XIII. 143—149.

¹⁶⁵²) Dpyal Kun-dgañ-rdo-rje. ¹⁶⁵³) Hañ-du-dkar-po.

¹⁶⁵⁴) Stoñ-ñid-tñi-ñe-ñdzin.

¹⁶⁵⁵) Dgra-nag Hjijs-byed-kyl skor. In the Tg. we have the following works belonging to the Cycle of Bhairava and translated by Dorje-ḍag of Rva: 1. Čri-Bhairava-sādhana. Tg. RGYUD. XLIII. 208, 209; 2. Vajra-Bhairava-gaṇa-cakra. Ibid. 209—211. The work of Ratnākaraçānti; 3. Chucchundara-kalpa. Ibid. 211, 212; 4. Mahā-vajra-Bhairava-homa-vidhi. Ibid. 212—216. The work of Amogha-vajra.

¹⁶⁵⁶) Tg. RGYUD. XII.

¹⁶⁵⁷) Phag-mo-mñon-ñbyuñ. Full title: Dākini-sarva-citta-advaya-acintya-jñāna-vajra-varāhy-abhibhāva-tantra-rāja. Kg. RGYUD. IV. No. 33. Acc. to Kg. the translators are: Gāyadhara and Gyl-co Da-va-ö-s'er (Zla-ba-ñod-zer).

¹⁶⁵⁸) Acc. to Bu-ton: Mgon-po-mñon-ñbyuñ = Nātha-abhyudaya (or: — abhibhāva). Kg. RGYUD. V, No. 9. Cf. above note 858.

^{1658a}) In the Tg. we have, translated by this Lotsava: — 1. Čri-Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri-cakra-vidhi. Tg. RGYUD. XLIII. 235—237. The work of Amogha-vajra; 2. Karma-sahāya-karaṇa. Ibid. 237, 238; 3. Sad-dravya-adbhuta-vikurvita-sambhajana-vidhi. Ibid. 238, 239; 4. Čri-Vajra-Bhairava-stuti. Ibid. 246. The work of Amoghavajra.

¹⁶⁵⁹) Rgyus Smon-lam-grags. ¹⁶⁶⁰) Sdom-ñbyuñ.

¹⁶⁶¹) Nor-bzañ-sruñ-ba.

¹⁶⁶²) Ya-ñbrog-gi Mar-pa-do-pa Chos-kyl dbañ-phyug.

Commentaries on the *Çamvara-tantra* belonging to the Cycle of Propitiation¹⁶⁶³), in detail.

Chö-kyi-s'añ-po of Cal, lived in India 10 years, studied with the teacher of Vajrāsana — Niṣkalaṅka and translated the Cycles of *Çamvara* and *Rakta-Yamāri*. It is he who ordained the Kashmirian *Çākyaçīla* as a *Çramaṇera*.

The translator of Tho-phu, — Jam-pai-pal¹⁶⁶⁴) invited the Paṇḍit *Çrī Jaganmitra-Ananta* who is known by the surname of *Mitrayogin*. He translated the Cycle of *Çamvara-Ekajaṭā*^{1664a}), the *Svacitta-viçrama-upadeça*¹⁶⁶⁵), the *Sugata-çāsana-ratna-vohittha*¹⁶⁶⁶), etc.

Thereafter, having invited the Kashmirian Paṇḍit *Buddha-çriñāna*, he translated the Commentary on the *Abhisamayā-lamkāra* called *Prajñā-pradīpa*¹⁶⁶⁷), the *Jinamārga-avatāra*^{1667a}), the 100 Methods of Propitiation of *Avalokiteçvara*¹⁶⁶⁸), etc.

— After that the Paṇḍit *Çākyaçribhadra* of Kashmir was invited, and Cal Chö S'añ translated the Great Commentary of *Nāḍapāda*^{1668a}), and the Paṇḍit gave him numerous explanations and instructions. This Paṇḍit was accompanied by the inferior Paṇḍits *Vibhūticandra*, *Dānaçīla*, the Nepalese *Sanghaçrī*, [156 a.] *Sugataçrī* and others, their number being nine. *Vibhūti* and *Dānaçīla* lived in Tibet a long time and made translations of their own works.

Jam-pai-pal translated the *Vinaya-puṣpamālā*¹⁶⁶⁹) and received the instructions to it. Moreover he translated the *Vajramālā*, works belonging to the Cycle of *Çamvara* etc.

¹⁶⁶³) In the Tg. RGYUD. XII we have, translated by him: 1. *Bhagavac-chrī-cakra-Çamvarasya sādhanam Ratna-cūdāmaṇi* (fol. 284—294); 2. *Çrī-cakra-Çamvara-maṇḍala-upāyikā Ratna-pradīpa-uddiyotana* (fol. 294—332); 3. *Bhagavac-cakra-Çamvara-sādhana Ratna-cintāmaṇi* (fol. 271—276); 4. *Maṇḍala-deva-stotra Ratna-māyā-dāna* (fol. 280—282); 5. *Bhagavac-Chrī-Çamvara-maṇḍala-vidhī* (fol. 344—363); 6. *Vasanta-tīlaka* (fol. 371—381).

¹⁶⁶⁴) Khro-phu-lo-tsa-ba Byams-paḥi-dpal.

^{1664a}) Bde-chen Ral-gcig-gi-skor. Tg. RGYUD. XLIV. No.No. 31—37.

¹⁶⁶⁵) Sems-nid-ñal-gso. Full title: *Svacitta-viçrama-upadeça Gāthā-pañca-viṃçatikā*. Tg. RGYUD. XLIV. 213, 214.

¹⁶⁶⁶) Bstan-paḥi-gru. Tg. RGYUD. XLVIII. 170—174. The work of *Niṣkalaṅka*.

¹⁶⁶⁷) Tg. MDO. IX. 1—87. ^{1667a}) Rgyal-baḥi-lam-ñjug. Cf. below.

¹⁶⁶⁸) Thugs-rje-chen-paḥi sgrub-thabs-bgrya-rtsa-brgyad = *Ārya-Avalokiteçvara-aṣṭottara-çātaka-sādhana*. Tg. RGYUD. LXVIII. No.No. 48—154.

^{1668a}) *Vajra-pada-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā*. Tg. RGYUD. XVII. 69—169.

¹⁶⁶⁹) Tg. MDO. LXXXIX.

The great Kashmirian Paṇḍit (Çākyaçribhadra) ordained the Sa-kyā-Paṇḍita who studied with him and with the Nepalese Sanghaçrī the science of Grammar, and, moreover, with the Great Paṇḍit and Dānaçila, — the *Pramāṇavārtika*. Thereafter he made numerous corrections to the books that were translated before. Having become greatly learned, he refuted all who were not in possession of the pure Teaching.

Jañ-chub-pal and Dorje-pal were ordained by the Great Paṇḍit and kept the Observance of the Unique Seat¹⁶⁷⁰). Thereafter a great number of scholars belonging to the spiritual descent of the Great Paṇḍit appeared.

On the Srin-po-ri the Great Paṇḍit accomplished the *Vajramālā-abhiṣeka*¹⁶⁷¹) and greatly furthered the spread of the teachings granting magical power.

Chag Da-com¹⁶⁷²) went to India and translated the *Jinamārga-avatāra*^{1673a}) and other works. His nephew Chag Chö-rje-pal likewise went to India and, assisted by Devendra, Ratna-rakṣita and other Tantric Exorcists, translated the 9 *Uṣṇiṣa-tantras*¹⁶⁷³) and made numerous corrections of (previous) translations.

Dorje-gyal-tshen of Çoñ went to Nepal and, having invited the Paṇḍit Lakṣmiçrī¹⁶⁷⁴), translated the *Kavyādarça*¹⁶⁷⁵), the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*¹⁶⁷⁶), the *Nāgānanda-nāṭaka*^{1676a}), the 100

¹⁶⁷⁰) *gdon-gcig-paḥi-brtul-ñugs*.

¹⁶⁷¹) *rdo-rje-phreñ-baḥi-dbañ-bakur*.

¹⁶⁷²) *Dgra-bcom*.

^{1673a}) Tg. MDO. XXXII. 231—271. The Work of Buddhacriḥṇāna.

¹⁶⁷³) Gtsug-dguḥi-rgyud. These are evidently the following works: — 1. Sarva-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-vijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī kalpasahitā, Kg. RGYUD. XIV. No. 23. 2. Sarva-durgati-pariçodhani-uṣṇiṣa-vijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī, Ibid. No. 24. 3. Sarva-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-vijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī kalpasahitā, Ibid. No. 25. 4. and 5. works bearing the same title, Ibid. No. 26 and 27. 6. Ārya-sarva-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa sitātapatrā-nāma-aparāḷita-pratyangira-mahāvidyā-rāḷṇī, Ibid. No. 28. 7. Ārya-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitātapatrā-aparāḷita-mahāpratyangira-parama-siddhi-nāma-dhāraṇī, Ibid. No. 29. 8. Ārya-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitātapatrā-aparāḷitā-nāma-dhāraṇī. Ibid. No. 30, and 9. Ārya-tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitātapatrā-nāma-aparāḷita-dhāraṇī. Ibid. No. 31.

¹⁶⁷⁴) The Xyl. has: Lakṣiçrī.

¹⁶⁷⁵) *Sñan-ñag-me-loñ*. Tg. MDO. CXVII.

¹⁶⁷⁶) (*Rtogs-brjod*)-dpag-bsam-khri-çin, Tg. MDO. XCIII. 1—361. Translators acc. to Tg. Lakṣmīkara and Dorje-gyal-tshen.

^{1676a}) *Klu-kun-tu-dgaḥ-baḥi-zlos-gar*. The work of Çriharṣadeva, Tg. MDO. XCII. 269—304. Translators acc. to Tg. the same.

Hymns^{1676b}) etc. His younger brother Lo-ḍö-tan-pa translated the *Rakta-Yamāri-tantra*¹⁶⁷⁷) and made corrections of previous translations.

Ḍag-pa-gyal-tshen of Yar-luñ translated the *Acala-tantra*¹⁶⁷⁸), the *Sādhana-sāgara*¹⁶⁷⁹), [156 b.] the *Kriyā-saṅgraha*¹⁶⁸⁰) etc.

My own teacher Ni-ma-gyal-tshen-pal-s'añ-po studied in Nepal fourteen years and translated 14 Sūtras, the *Giryānanda*¹⁶⁸¹) etc. with the assistance of the Paṇḍit Anantaçrī. Above this he made many other fundamental translations and numerous corrections.

Pañ Lo-ḍö-tan-pa translated the Commentary to the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* of Jinendrabuddhi¹⁶⁸²), the Commentary to the *Kālacakra* called *Hṛdayāloka*¹⁶⁸³) and other works.

All these have greatly furthered the spread of the Doctrine. The minute details (concerning the lives of these Paṇḍits) may be known from the special biographies of each of them.

^{1676b}) Betod-pa-brgya-pa. Full title: Lokeçvara-çataka-stotra (Hjlg-rten-dbañ-phyug-gi bstod-pa-brgya-pa). Tg. RGYUD. LXVIII. 108—121. The work of Vajradeva.

¹⁶⁷⁷) Gçin-rje-gçed-dmar-gyl-rgyud. Full title: Çri-rakta-Yamāri-tantra-rāja, Kg. RGYUD. VII, No. 13. Translators acc. to Kg. Candrakīrti and Ḍag-pa-gyal-tshen.

¹⁶⁷⁸) In the Kg. we have the Acalakalpa (RGYUD. V, No. 1), translators Atulyadāsavañra and Chö-kyl-vañ-chug-ḍag, and the Ārya-acala-mahā-guhya-tantra (Ibid. No. 2), translators not indicated.

¹⁶⁷⁹) Sgrub-thabs-rgya-mtsho. Tg. RGYUD. LXXI. 95—340.

¹⁶⁸⁰) Bya-ba-badus-pa. Tg. RGYUD. LVII. 260—420.

¹⁶⁸¹) Rlñi-kun-dgañi-mdo, Kg. ÇER. (Prajñā-pāramitā) XXII, No. 20.

¹⁶⁸²) Tg. MDO. CXV.

¹⁶⁸³) Dus-ḥkhor-gyl-bçad-sbyar Sñlñ-po-snañ-ba. Full title: Çrīmad-Vimala-prabhā-tantra-avataraṇa-vāda Hṛdayāloka (Dpal-ldan Dri-ma-dañ-bral-baḥi-hod-kyl-rgyud-la ḥjug-paḥi bçad-sbyar Sñlñ-po-snañ-ba, Tg. RGYUD. III. 25—86.

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